A LETTER to a Person of Honour, concerning the Kings disavowing the having been Married to the D. *of* M's. *Mother.*

My Lord,

AS you cannot but have seen his *Majesties Declaration*, wherein he *Renounceth* the having been *Married* to the *D.* of *M*'s. Mother; so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sence of the Thinking-men about the Town concerning it. And this without either disguising, or concealing what is publickly discoursed, I shall, as becomes your *Lordships* servant, address my self to give you.

And in the first place; They say it is no surprize to them, that seeing the *D.* of *Y.* hath gotten the Ascendant of the King, he should hector him into, or at least extort from him the foresaid Declaration. For, can any imagine, that he who for some time renounced his own Wife, and had provided Persons to swear a familiarity with her which made her unworthy of being Dutchess of *York*; should scruple to importune the *King* to do as much by *Mrs. Walters*, tho it were never so demonstrable that he was married unto her. The course he practised himself, he may without any breach of Charity be thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is a Disease natural to the Family, and which runs in a Blood. Now we all know, not only with what Asseverations the *D.* disclaimed his Marriage with *Mrs. Hide*, but with what reflexions upon her Chastity he did it. And yet the Proofs of the said Marriage were so evident, that he was necessitate at last to acknowledge it; and to own her for his Wife, after he had by himself, and many others, Proclaimed her for no better than a Common Whore. And I'm sure it left this Impression upon most Persons, That his Faith to Men was not very far to be relied on, seeing he made so slight of that Faith which he had plighted in an Ordinance of God to a harmless Lady.

Secondly, Most men do observe this difference between the

Kings Renouncing *Mrs. Waters*, and the *Dukes* Diſclaiming *Mrs. Hide*; That what the *Duke* did, was an Act of Inclination and Choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the *King* hath done, is the reſult of Dread and Fear. For, to uſe his *Majeſties* own expreſſion not long ago, *He was haraſſed out of his Life, by the importunity of his Brother*; & as He added, *He could rather chuſe to Die than Live ſo uneaſily as he did, while he withſtood their daily Sollicitations in this matter*. And as nothing made the *Duke* honeſt to *Mrs. Hide*, but the interpoſition of his *Majeſties* Authority, from a ſenſe of the Juſtneſs of the Ladies Complaint; ſo they believe the King is only Injurious through the Influence of others, and that when reſcued out of ill Hands, and left to himſelf, he will return to be Juſt. For though his *Majeſty* be a Prince of that clearneſs of Underſtanding, that they cannot baffle him by falſe Reaſonings, yet he hath ſo much of *James's* timidneſs, that they can huffe and over-awe him to things moſt oppoſite to his Judgment, as well as croſs to his Intereſt. And let me upon this occaſion remind your *Lordship* of a Story, of a *Scots* Nobleman to my *Lord Burleigh*, upon that wiſe Stateſman's deſiring a Character of King *James*, long before he aſcended the *Engliſh* Throne. If *your Lordship*, ſaith the blunt *Scotſman* know a *Jack-a napes*, you cannot but underſtand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you, whereas if you get him into your hands, you may make him bite me.

Thirdly, The whole Town is apprehenſive, that the King through endeavouring by this Act to ſecure himſelf in the Grace at leaſt forbearance of the *Duke* and Popiſh Party, will find in the Iſſue that inſtead thereof, he hath left himſelf naked and expoſed to their wrath and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the *King* calls and intends only for a *Declaration* to ſerve his preſent Occaſions, they will transform into his Laſt Will and Teſtament, to accomodate theirs. If *Queen Elizabeth*, when tempted to declare Her Succeſſor, declin'd it with this ſaying, That *ſuch an Act would be the digging her Grave before She were dead*; have we not great Cauſe to apprehend

prehend that the *King* having by this Act digg'd his own Grave, his Brother, or the Jesuites, under whose Government he is, will find hands to bring and put him into't, least through delay something should intervene that would fill it up again. 'Tis a pitty, that none would call to his Majesties Memory, that saying of *Tacitus*, *Suspectus semper invisusq; Dominanti qui proximus destinatur*. Which, by varying a little from the *Latine*, I will *English* thus; *That he ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against by the Ruler, who most ardently hopes, and thinks himself in likelyhood to succeed him*. Statesmen in old Times reckoned it for a Maxime in Polliticks, that, *Nementio fieret Haredis vivo adhuc Principe; That while the Prince liveth, there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any whose right it was to come after*. For as subtile *Tiberius* upbraided *Macro*, that he forsook the setting Sun, to worship the rising; so *King Charles*, may have in time, if he have not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty Emperor knew more of the Art of self-preservation, than Crowned Heads in our dayes seem to do. For tho he had adopted *Germanicus* at the Command of *Augustus*, of whom he received the Empire, yet having a Son of his own, namely *Drusus*, He would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived, but Judged his own Safety to consist in leaving it doubtful whose Title to the Universal Monarchy was best. However (say most of his Majesties Subjects) tho we have not been able to prevent the King from this unwary Act, by which he hath stak't his Life to the pleasure of his Enemies, yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his Security, and that is by letting the World know, That we'll Revenge his Death, by sacrificing the whole Popish party upon his Grave, in case he should come to an untimely *End*.

Fourthly, This Declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of People, if *Kings* and *Princes* were not made of the same mould with other men, and lyable to the like failures and moral Prevarications that the rest of the Sons of *Adam* are. And therefore observing how common it is for Persons

upon a lower ground to renounce their Wives, and moſt ſacredly diſclaim their Marriages; they conceive it is not impoſſible but that theſe who move in higher ſpheres, may upon ſtrong Temptations do the like. Yea, our own Hiſtory furniſheth us with an Inſtance of a great King, and one who ſwaied the *Engliſh* Scepter, who is tranſmitted to us with this blot in his Scutcheon. The Perſon I mean is *Edvv.* the fourth, who being a ſprightly and amorous Prince, was ſuddenly Contracted and Married to *Elianor Talbot* Daughter of the Earl of *Shrevvbury*, and that not only without any witneſſes ſave *Dr. Thomas Stillington* Biſhop of *Bath*, into whoſe hands the Contract was made, and who officiated at and celebrated the Marriage, but beſides the poor Doctor was ſtrictly enjoyned by the *King* to conceal it; and you may eaſily ſuppoſe the timorous Prelate would not fail in his duty to Majeſty, at leaſt ſo long as he knew the King in a condition to puniſh and avenge the Diſcovery. Now *Ed.* 4. finding thereupon admiſſion into the embraces of the Lady, and having ſatiated himſelf a while by ſecret injoyments, and withall reckoning that none could or at leaſt durſt detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her; he did ſome years after (notwithſtanding the Perſon to whom he was Affianced ſtill ſurvived) both deny what was ſo ſolemnly tranſacted in the pteſence of *Almighty God betvven them*, and withal Married another Woman, namely my *Lady Eliz. Gray*. Your *Lordſhip* may ſee the ſtory both in *Buck's Life of Richard the Third*, pag. 16, *&c.* and in *Comines's* Hiſtory of *Levvis* the 11*th*. And without making any application of it to the preſent Caſe, I ſhall crave liberty to make theſe Remarks upon it.

I. That it is poſſible for Princes, eſpecially ſuch as have accompanied with many Women, to have weak Memories, and to forget upon what Terms they contracted their firſt Friendſhips with them. For finding how their Familiarity aroſe with others of that Sex, they may grow by degrees into a kind of perſwaſion that their Intereſt in all was eſtabliſhed upon no better terms. Or if they ſhould not be ſuppoſed ſo forgetful as this amounts, unto

unto, yet the Love of change may make them ſtifle their knowledg, eſpecially when the Objects of their freſh *Amours* cannot be otherwiſe brought to entertain their flame, but with a proviſion for their own Honour.

2. That the denyals of Kings are not to be ſubſcribed unto with an implicite Faith, but that we ought to uſe the ſame diſcretion in believing or not believing what they ſay, that we eſteem our ſelves priviledged to uſe towards others in the credit which they require we ſhould give unto them. For though Princes be not lyable to be impleaded in our Courts, nor be ſubject to Penalties that tranſgreſſing Subjects are; yet ſeeing they may be guilty of the ſame facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to puniſhments, it cannot rationally be expected that their bare words ſhould reſtrain the freedom of our Thoughts, or give law to our Underſtandings in the Judgement that we are to make of Caſes and Things.

3. I would obſerve, That though the Judicial Courts could not, and the Parliaments during *Edwards* Reign, would not take cogniſance of that Kings contemning and violating the Ordinance of God, by diſclaiming his lawful Wife; yet the Righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth in a little while after animadverted ſeverely on the Offence. For not only his *two Sons*, whom he had by the Lady *Gray*, were murdered by their Uncle, but the Kingdom was tranſlated from his Family, and not only beſtowed upon the chiefeſt enemy of his Houſe, but upon one who among all that for a long ſeries before had been Rivals for the Crown, had the weakeſt Title.

4. It is not unworthy alſo of our Notice, that notwithſtanding King *Edwards* denying his firſt Marriage, and aſſuming another Lady unto his Conjugal Bed; yet all this could neither prevent the future enquiry into this matter, nor the Parliaments recognizing the Marriage with *Elianor Talbot*, 1. of *Rich.* 3. And beſides the imputation of a *Bigamiſt* which is thereby ſtampt upon him to all Ages, his Children by the ſecond venture were Baſtardiſed

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by Statute, and an occaſion from thence taken to place the Scepter in the hand of *Richard*.

Fifthly, Nothing in this Declaration can preclude the *Duke* of *Monmouth*, or any other true *Engliſhman*, from enquiring (when time ſerveth) by legal and due wayes into the truth or falſhood of the Kings marriage with *Mrs. Walters*. For the D. cannot be denyed the ſame right which appertains to every perſon in the Kingdom, namely the juſtifying his own legitimacy in due courſe and form. And ſhould he chuſe to ſit down with the imputation of a Baſtard with all the other Loſſes which attend it; Yet there are thoſe in the Nation who preferring their duty to God, their Country, Themſelves, and an injured Gentleman, before a Reverence to one man, eſpecially acting under the Influence of a Popiſh Brother, will bring that whole buſineſs into an impartial examination before ſuch, where a ſingle Negative will not be allowed as a ſufficient proof to invalidate affirmative Teſtimonies, providing ſuch can be had. And ſhould that marriage hereafter be authentically proved, how ill will they be found to have deſerved both of the King and Kingdom, that have either ſurpriſed, cajol'd, or threatned his Majeſty to bring ſuch a ſlur upon his Honour and Reputation, as this Declaration will to all Ages Entail. And, my *Lord*, Is it not ſtrange, if there was never any ſuch Marriage, that *Mrs. Walters* ſhould not only when in travel with the ſaid D. but at many other times, particularly in her laſt hours, when in the Proſpect of approaching Death and enſuing Judgement, affirm it with that poſitiveneſs which ſhe did? And is it not more ſurpriſing, if there had been no ſuch Marriage, That *Dr. Fuller*, late *Bishop* of *Lincoln*, ſhould ſo often, and in *Verbo Sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy Perſons, *That he Married them*. Nay, What ſhould byaſs the *Inkeeper* at *Liege* to make it the great Myſtery with which he entertained his *English Gueſts*, *That the Marriage was cellebrated and conſummated in his Houſe, and that both he and his Wife were eye and ear Witneſſes of it*. Moreover, if it were ſuch an *Idle Story* as the *Declaration* repreſents it, how came it

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to pass, that when some persons lately examined about the *Black Box*, declared that they had heard of such a thing as the *Kings* being Married to that *Gentlewoman*, they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told that this was not the business they were interrogated about. Besides, *My Lord*, as all who were abroad with his Majesty at that time, knew the Passion the king had for that person; so some of us can remember, how through immoderate love to her being reduced to a condition that his Life was dispaired of, and the late *Queen* his *Mother* recieving intelligence both of his Disease and the Cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair than my late *Lord Chancellor*, *Hide*; so I'm sure the advantages likely to accrue to his off-spring by the secluſion of the *Duke of Monmouth* from all Title to the Crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with him, if not to have afferted the said *Dukes Bastardy*, yet to have been silent in the case, and not to have proclamed the Legittimacy. And yet that very Lord being in danger of an Impeachment in *Parliament* for advising and perswading the *King* to a Marriage with *Queen Katherine*, excused himself from all siniſtrous ends in that affair, by affirming, *That his Majesty had a lawful Son of his own by a former Marriage* (specifying by name the *D.* of *M.*) *to succeed to his Crown and Dignity*. Now though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lye for his Intereſt, yet no man can be thought to do so in order to the prejudice as well of himself as his whole Posterity. And if we believe men speaking falshoods in subserviency to their Honour and Profit; Shall we not give credit to them when they speak Truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly the positive Confession and Testimony of this one Person, being againſt the Intereſt of his whole Family, of moreweight than the denyals of any number whatsoever, when meerly to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the Exaltation of the Papal Cause. These are but few of the many

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particulars I could acqnaint your *Lordship* with relating to the confirmation of a Marriage between the *King* and *Mrs. Walters*; But it is a piece of neceſſary wiſdom at this juncture to know what not to ſay, as well as to underſtand what to ſay. And to tell you plainly, I'm more a Servant and a Friend to my Country, than by pretending to plead the *Dukes* Cauſe, and to be uſeful to the Nation, to diſcover the Witneſſes which are in reſerve, or betray the farther Evidences which are to be produced when this matter ſhall come before a competent Judicature.

Sixthly, 'Tis matter of no ſmall trouble to ſuch as truly love his Majeſty, that the Kings Integrity and Honour ſhould be brought to ſtake, in a matter wherein both the preſent Age and the ſucceeding, may take occaſion to queſtion and bring into examination his Truth and ſincerity. For though it is not impoſſible but that Princes (conſidering the Temptations with which they are ſurrounded) may ſometimes through inadvertency, and at other times upon State Motives endeavour to impoſe upon the credulity, if not abuſe the Faith of their People; Yet, the veracity of a Supream Governour is of that importance to himſelf, and ſo neceſſary to the Veneration, which his People ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his Credit to Pawn, unleſs it be in ſuch Caſes wherein his People may, if not apologize for, yet connive at the indiſcretion and weakneſs of their Ruler, ſhould he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obſtructed the affairs of Princes more, and prevented their Peoples believing them when they ſpake their moſt inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their Credit in matters wherein their Subjects relyed upon the Honour and Truth of their Word. For they who do not mean as they ſpeak when People are prepared to hear them, muſt not expect that their words ſhould be much relyed upon, when their Tongues are the true Interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your *Lordship* that this laſt Declaration hath cauſed multitudes of his Majeſties beſt Subjects to reflect upon and take a view of many of his former Declarations,

that

that from them they may be furniſhed with reaſons for juſtifying themſelves in the ſuſpenſion of their aſſent to this. And I wiſh there had not been that cauſe adminiſtred by foregoing ones, which may with too many leſſen the value of the Royal Word in that bearing date the ſecond of *June*.

The firſt of this kind he ever publiſhed after he came in view of being reſtored to the Sovereignty over theſe Kingdoms, was that dated at *Breda*, the *4th.* of *April*, 1660. wherein he promiſed *Liberty to all tender Conſciences* and engaged the ſacred word of a King, *That no man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences in matter of Religion, provided they did not diſturbe the Peace of the Kingdom.* Now though I will not diſpute about the ſence wherein this Declaration was meant, nor concerning the End for which it was calculated and fram'd; yet this I may be allowed to ſay, that there are a great many of his Majeſties Liege People who have taſted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may juſtly complain of ſome faileur in the accompliſhment of it.

'Tis true his Majeſty is not originally to be blamed that it had not the hoped for effects; but withal that *Prince* that can be over-ruld to recede from a Promiſe which contributed ſo much to his happy and peaceable Reſtoration, may be ſuppoſed capable of ſuch Impreſſions from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his Royal Word in other caſes beyond the meaſures of Juſtice. But ſeeing it were a buſineſs of too much *Fatigue* to call over all the Declarations ſince his *Majeſty* actually occupied the *Britiſh* Throne, I ſhall therefore remind your *Lordſhip* only of two more. Whereof the firſt is that of *January* the ſecond, 1671, wherein the *King* upon ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, Declares on the Word of a Prince, *That the reſtraints put upon payments out of the Treaſury, ſhould continue no longer than till the laſt of Decemb.* 1672. And yet the fulfilling of this is ſtill Prorogued, though it be now above *Nine Years* ſince the *Royal Word* was pledg'd for making it good.

The other that I ſhall refreſh your memory with, is that of the the *Twentieth* of *April* 1679. Wherein his Majeſty having ſhrived himſelf and craved abſolution for all paſt matters, ſolemnly declareth that he would for time to come, *Lay aſide the uſe of any ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advices, or Forreign Committees, for the general direction of his Affaires; and that he would afterwards Govern his Kingdoms by the Advice of that Counſel which he had then choſen, together with the frequent uſe of his great Council of Parliament, as being the true and antient Conſtitution of this State and Government.* Far be it from me to blame his *Majeſty* for the diſappointment of thoſe hopes which the People had ſo univerſally conceived upon that Declaration which was ſo full of ingenuity and candor, and ſo adapted to the Honour, Safety, and Intereſt both of *King* and Kingdom; but this may be ſaid without the leaſt umbrage of irreverence, that the ſame peſtilent men who were able to cauſe his Majeſty to violate ſuch a Declaration wherein he ſpake the moſt like a wiſe and good Prince that ever he did, may be alſo able by the ſame aſcendant influence to wreſt an unadviſed and bad one from him. The ſame Councils which prevailed upon him to go againſt both his Royal Word, and all the Maxims of Pollicy with which he is ſo richly endowed; may they not likewiſe be conceived to have over-rull'd him in this to ſpeak againſt his knowledge and thoſe moral Principles of Truth and Juſtice, with which when left to himſelf he appears to be imbued. Nor do I doubt but that among other things they had in proſpect to compaſs by this Declaration, they hoped to ſhut his Majeſty out of the love of his beſt Proteſtant Subjects, ſo that when brought to fall by their Traiterous Conſpiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themſelves, for if there be any thing falſe or unjuſt in it, we aſcribe it all to their rage againſt our Laws and our Religion, and do only complain of the Kings facility in ſuffering himſelf to be ſo openly abuſed.

Seventhly,

Seventhly, But whereas there is one thing in the Declaration by which men of honeſt and eaſie minds, being unacquainted with the Practiſes of the world, are apt to be ſomewhat ſtartled; namely, The *Kings calling Almighty God to witneſs, and affirming upon the Faith of a Chriſtian, that there was never any Marriage, or contract of Marriage, had or made between him and Mrs. Walters*; I think my ſelf obliged to lay before you the ſence and apprehenſions which wiſeſt heads have of that Proteſtation and ſolemn Appeal.

If, ſay they, neither the Eye nor Dread of God, nor the Faith of a Chriſtian, are effectual to reſtrain a perſon from Adulteries and promiſcuous Scatterings, Can we have any ſecurity that they will prevent ſuch a one from the guilt of other Crimes? He who neither trembleth, nor bluſheth to Proclaim his Uncleanneſſes to all the World, will he forbear ſins of any kind or hue out of Principle, though he may poſſibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with Intereſt?

It was a Maxime of an antient Ruler, that as Children are to be couſſened with Nuts, ſo Men are to be deluded with Aſſeverations and Oathes. And upon this occaſion they call to mind the Character faſtened upon *Charles* the *ninth* of *France*, namely, that the ſureſt Symptomes by which it was known when he ſpake falſly, was the endeavouring to confirm what he ſaid by the moſt dreadful Imprecations, and execrable Oathes. And what our own Hiſtorians leave upon the memory of his Royal Majeſties own *Grandfather* in this point, I had rather you ſhould learn from *Wilſons Hiſtory* of *King James*, than be told by me. Beſides, ſay others, who knoweth but that the King through the like Impreſſion of fear, under which he lifted up his Hand to the moſt high God at *Scone* when Crown'd in *Scotland*, may have been influenced and overaw'd to make this late Appeal and Proteſtation.

He who hath done one ſuch thing, and eſpecially with that ſolemnity and profeſſion of ſincerity wherewith he took the

Covenant; can it be otherwiſe apprehended but that he may do the like again, if there be ſufficient Cauſe for the ſame paſſion which byaſſed him againſt Knowledge and Conſcience then. Nay the utmoſt inducement that ſwayed and determined him contrary to his Judgment and Light, to Swear by the great God, in terms ſo Auguſt and awful in *Scotland*, was meerly an apprehenſion of being otherwiſe Secluded from his Right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no leſs than a dread of looſing his Life, as well as three kingdoms, hath neceſſitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but conſidering the ſeaſons when the ſeveral Declarations pronounced firſt in Councel and at laſt publiſhed to the World, were made; and you will be ſoon convinced that they were extorted from him partly by the neceſſity of his Affaires, and partly by the frightful aſcendancy which his Brother hath obtained over him. For the firſt which we are here in the Print told of, was that made the ſixth of *January*, 1678. when the condition and poſture wherein things then ſtood, made it indiſpenſably needful that the king ſhould oblige his Brother to withdraw, and which the *D.* of Y. (though he knew that his ſtay here at that time, would have in all likelyhood involved his Majeſty under inextricable difficulties) refuſed to comply with, till he had wreſted that Declaration from him.

And for the ſecond, which was made alſo in Councel, *March* 3. 1678. it is obvious to every conſidering man, and demonſtrable to all the World, that it was the effect of that neceſſity which his Majeſtis Affairs had reduced him unto. For the Parliament being to meet the ſixth of that month, and it appearing by the ſeveral returns of the perſons Elected to ſit, that we were like to have a Houſe of true Engliſh Gentlemen, who would not only inſpect the late Popiſh Plot, but enquire into the miſcarriages of publick Miniſters. Hereupon as the Duke threatned to return, unleſs the king would make ſome freſh Declaration, whereby, being pronounced and repreſented as next Heir, he might

might be skriend from the angry but juſt recentments of the Nation. So divers perſons at home who knew themſelves unpardonably criminal, applyed their thoughts to find out a method, by which a miſunderſtanding might in a ſhort time ariſe between the king and his Parliament. And apprehending that the *D.* of *Y.* could not poſſibly eſcape the animadverſion of the Houſe, all the Treaſons and Crimes whereof others were only guilty in their reſpective parts and proportions, meeting in him as ſo many Lines in their Center; they accordingly by threatning to make their own compoſitions, and to lay open all thoſe matters which they conceived his Majeſty to be moſt ſolicitous to have concealed, brought the king to make that Declaration. Whereby having in effect ſignified the *D.* of *Y.* to be the next in right to ſucceed, they reckoned they had wrought him to ſuch an eſpouſal of his Brother, as muſt needs break all meaſures of fair correſpondency with his Parliament. And as this was the principal thing they aimd at, ſo by denouncing ſtill to provide for their own ſecurity, in detecting whatſoever they knew, they kept him to an adheſion to the Declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embaraſſed all his Affairs, but ſo embroiled him with the Houſe of Commons, as that in a few weeks they compaſſed the Diſſolution of the Parliament.

Having thus briefly repreſented unto your *Lordship* under what influence of neceſſity and fear, theſe Declarations were at firſt made in Councel, I need not tell you through what impreſſions by the unceſſant Importunity, and daily Hectoring of his majeſty by the Duke, now at *Windſor*, they come at laſt to be Printed and Proclaimed to the World. The king pore Gentleman, is willing to buy his Peace at any rates, and hath here ſtak't his Honour, not to ſay his Conſcience, for it? But as you know that neither Conceſſions, Declarations nor Alienations made by a Perſon in dureſs, or under threatnings, or ſwayed by apprehenſions of the hazzard of his Life, can oblige others, tho they be ſuch as are wrapt up in or concluded by him in all Caſes wherein he is ſuppoſed free; ſo in plain Engli[ſh], the generality

Of

of the People and thoſe of the beſt ſenſe, hold themſelves no wiſe affected or preſcribed unto by theſe Declarations. For we who knew the tenour of them when they lay concealed in the Councel Books, and yet thought our ſelves at liberty to believe as our Judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our mindes altered by the bare Printing of them. But how far the Conſcience of the king is concern'd or defiled, I leave to thoſe of the *Theologick Faculty* to reſolve, only I judge that the ſame *Caſuiſtical* Divinity whereby they ſalved the Conſcience and vindicated the honor of the king in caſe the of the Covenant,and with all diſcharged him from the Obligation which it was ſuppoſed to have put upon him, may whenſoever he thinks meet, ſtand him in good ſtead, and affoord him the ſame relief in the caſe of the late Declarations.

Eightly, There is one thing further, that muſt not be omitted, becauſe it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleaſant diverſion; namely the motive they have brought his Majeſty to alledge for his making and publiſhing this Declaration. I confeſs I could not read it without ſurpriſe and wonderful emotion.And I dare ſay, when you think ſeriouſly of it, you will find pitty ſtir in your heart to your abuſed Prince, and your bood ſwell in your Veins through indignation at ſome about him. For after the care they have ſuffered him to take for preſerving our Religion,Lives and Liberties from the deſigns of the Papiſts, by diſſolving two Parliaments, and ſo often Proroguing a third; they bring him now to publiſh this Declaration to relieve the *minds of his loving Subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill conſequences which a belief of his having been Married to the* D. of M's. *Mother, may have in future times upon the Peace of theſe kingdoms.* A moſt proper way to extinguiſh our fears, by doing all that he can, to ſubject us hereafter to one who is the profeſſed Enemy of our eſtabliſhed Religion and Legal Government. But that your *Lordship* may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his majeſty for his love and tenderneſs to his People in all that they judge dear and valluable, by deſigning ſo hopeful a Succeſ-

ſor over them; I ſhall recount ſome of thoſe many particulars from which we eſteem our ſelves capable of judging what a gracious and deſirable Prince this dear and beloved Brother is like to prove.

1. He is a Gentleman that hath renounced the Religion wherein he was not only educated and which theſe Nations profeſs, but which he had conſigned unto him ſealed with the Blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole *Line* by no leſs then his Grandfathers Curſe, in caſe any of old *Jame's* offſpring ſhould depart from it.

2. He hath made it his buſineſs to ſeduce his Majeſties Subjects to the papal Faith, and to enſlave them to a ſorraign Juriſdiction. And by his addreſſes, ſolicitations, and preferments wherewith he is able to reward ſuch mercinary ſoules as are ready to make ſale of their Religion, he hath made more converts to the Church of *Rome* than all the Engliſh *Miſſionaries* have been able to do.

3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the King, he hath procured the chiefeſt places of ſtrength in the Nation, and ſome of the greateſt Truſts as well Civil and Religious as Military, to be conferred upon known Papiſts and ſworn enemies to the Proteſtant Cauſe, and Engliſh Liberties.

4. He hath been the principal promoter of Arbitrary Government, and of making the Kings intereſt both diſtinct from and oppoſite to that of his People. And this he hath done in purſuance of Papal advice and in ſubſerviency to the Romiſh intereſt. For where the Monarch is abſolute, and the Lives and Fortunes of whole Nations are enſlaved to the will and pleaſure of one perſon; the meer wheedling of a luſtfull, weak, or inconſiderate Prince, will go a great length in the gaining vaſt multitudes to adore the Triple Crown. And for ſuch as ſhall prove ſtubborn and refractory, it is but meritoriouſly to kill them, and then convert their Lands to the uſe of the holy *See*.

5. It was this darling and beloved One, that Authoriſed the burning of *London*, and not only made his own *palace* a Sanctu-

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ry to the Villan's who were ſuſpected as inſtruments of that dreadful conflagration, but reſcu'd and diſcharged diverſe who were apprehended in the very Fact. And this he did partly in revenge, for as much as *London* had been both the Magazine of Strenth and Treaſure during the War with the late King; and partly to gratify his Popiſh friends by deſtroying the bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief Receptacle of the Hereticks.

6. It was this preſumptive Heir that all along obliged his Majeſty to neglect the concerning himſelfe in favour of the Proteſtants abroad, and did ſo order it through his power over the *King*, that nevera ny forrain Alliance was made but what was abuſed to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a ſtory and perhaps a more Tragical one and accompainied with baſer Treachery, then any Hiſtory is able to acquaint you with. One *Monſeiur Rohux* a French Gentleman coming into England to treat with the *King* concerning an Alliance between his Majeſty and Forrain Proteſtants meerly for the preſervation of their Religion, and having acquainted the *Duke* of *York* with his errand, after he had in a private conference or two tranſacted with the King about it. This Royal Prince out of his wonted kindneſs to the Proteſtants and the reformed religion, cauſed *Rouveny* (Lieger Ambaſſador from France at this Court) to ſtand behind the hangings at *St. James* while he made this innocent Gentleman diſcourſe over the whole buſineſs. Upon which *Monſ. Rouveny* being obliged to acquant his maſter with it, *Monſ. Rohux* (who upon ſome intimation that the Duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there ſeized by a party of French Horſe and brought to the *Baſtile*, whence after ſome times impriſonement he was carried to the place of Excution and broken upon the Wheel.

7. It was through the *Duke* of *Yorks* means that both the firſt and ſecond Wars were commenced againſt the *Dutch*; and that in order not only to weaken the Proteſtants by their mutual deſtroying of each other, but in hope to have turned the victorious

Arms

Arms of the King upon the Hereticks at home and the patrons of Englisſh liberty.

8. It was this zealous Prince for the honour and ſafety of Brittain that adviced the breaking the *Tripple-League*, which was the wiſeſt conjunction and moſt for the glory of the Kings Reign and the preſervation of his Dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did not only to gratify France whoſe Penſioner as well as whoſe confederate he hath been, but to leave the Proteſtants here naked to the attempts of the papiſts. For he knew that while that League continued firm, the king of *Sweden* and the *States* of *Holland* would have conſtrued all deſignes upon the Proteſtants in England, as done againſt thoſe of the ſame religion with themſelves and in favor of whoſe profeſſion they had entred into that Alliance.

6. He hath not only mantained correſpondence with Forrain Princes, to the betraying the Kings councels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing our Legal Government. And beſides many other evidences of this which it is not convenient to mention at preſent. The depoſitions which arrived with the Commitee of Secereſy during the Seſſion of the late Parliament, together with *Colemans* letters and that which he wrote in the Dukes name and indeed by his command, do uncontrolably demonſtrate it.

10. He was conſenting to and hath cooperated in the whole Popiſh Plot, for both his Confeſſor and Secretary did with his knowledg and approbation Seal the Reſolves for the Kings death.

11. It was the Duke, who, when the King had revealed the firſt diſcovery of the Helliſh Romiſh Plot to him immediatly communicated it to Father *Beding-field*, that ſo the conſpirators might know to how ſecure their papers and abſcond themſelves.

12. It was he who through his command over the Poſt Office prevented the intercepting the letters From *St. Omers* and

 others

others Forraign *Seminaries*, whereby that whole damnable conspiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own Dutchess to transport several of the Traitors to Holland, that so they might scape the search that was made for them and the punishment which they had deserved.

14. It was he who suborned, encouraged and rewarded the vilest Miscreants to frame and swear a Plot against the Protestants; and this he did to beget a disbelif of the Popish conspiracy and in order to destroy such of the Nobility and Gentry as were the chief assertors of the Reformed Religion and English liberty.

15. It was he who advised the several prorogations and dissolutions of Parliaments, whensoever they were either considering the bleeding condition of the Protestant interest abroad or supplicating the King to an Alliance with Protestants Princes for its protection and preservation.

16. It was he in whose favour the Dissolution of the last Parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the sitting of this after Eight several times appointed for their meeting. And all to hinder the Trial of the Traitorous *Lords* in the Tower, and to obstruct the further search into the many Hellish Plots wherein himself and the rest of the Papists are engaged, for the subversion of our Religion and Laws, and the destruction of the lives of his Majesty and People. And how much he hath lessened his Majesties interest in the hearts of his Subjects, and weakned their confidence in his Royal word, by obliging him to treat this Parliament as he hath done, seeing in his speech to both Houses *March* 6. 1678. he had so solemnly declared his resolution to meet his people frequently in Parliaments; and into what straits and wants, they have thereby also reduced him, I shall rather leave your *Lordship* silently to consider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he who after he had for so many years promoted the aiding and succoring of *France* with English Forces

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till that aſpiring Prince was aſcended to a power and greatneſs not to be in any probability withſtood or controlled, did at laſt engage his *Majeſtie* in making the general peace which is a thing ſo highly prejudicial to all *Europe*, in the unavoidable conſequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late Traitorous Combination of Prentices and Ruffians, and who together with the Lords in the Tower Iſſued out the Mony both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with Arms to diſtrube the peace of the Citty and Kingdom, and aſſault the Houſes and Lives of his *Majeſties* Liege People.

19. It is he who hath enrolled and ſecretly muſtred men in all Counties of England, and who beſides the Engliſh Papiſts whom at this time he hath called from all parts of the Nation, to London, is alſo provided of a great number of *Iriſh* who formerly waſhed their hands in the blood of Proteſtants or are the genuine off-ſpring of thoſe that did. Now being thus furniſhed and environed he is reſolved (unleſs God in his providence miraculouſly interpoſe) to put all to a venture and play over the ſame game in *England* that was heretofore acted in *Ireland*.

20. It is he who cheriſheth in his boſome and exalteth to the higheſt Truſts ſuch as *Coll. Worden*, who betrayed his Majeſties ſecrets to the uſurping powers, particularly to *Mr. Scot*. Nay himſelf may be charged with many things in thoſe times whereby we may apparently diſcover both his treachery to his Majeſty, and his ambition to have uſurped the Crown from him. For when a Loyal party of the Engliſh Fleet had eſpouſed his Majeſties Right and Title againſt the enemies of his Crown and perſon, the Duke who being then aboard ſhould have encouraged and ventured his Life in conjunction with them, did inſtead thereof by a moſt ſhameful and diſloyal deſerting of them both diſcourage them in their fidelity and ſo far as in him lay obleige them to compound for themſelves with a ſecluſion of his

Majeſties

Majeſties intreſt. Yea beſides this, when the *Scots* were treating the King at *Breda* in order to the eſtabliſhing him in the Throne of that Kingdom, the D. of Y. was at that very time tranſacting with ſuch as remained faithful to the Kings Title here, that they would renounce his elder Brother and chuſe him for their Soveraign. Nor do I believe that his Majeſty can forget the occaſion and deſign upon which the Duke forſooke him at *Bruges* and withdrew to Holland, ſo that the King was neceſſitated not only to command him upon his allagience to return, but was forced to ſend the *Duke* of *Ormond* and ſome other perſons of quality to threaten as well as perſwade him, before he would goe back.

21. It is he who not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his aſcention to the Throne, or to ſecure him from reſiſtance in the attempts he purpoſeth upon our Lives and Liberties, hath been and ſtill is endeavouring to be admitted and let further into the Government, and accordingly hath accoſted the King by my *Lord Duraſs* in that matter. This is the more ſurpriſing foraſmuch as one would think that it is not poſſible he ſhould be further let into the Government having *Berwick, Hull, Langer point, Shereneſs, Portſmouth, and the Magazine of the Tower* (*Legg being now Maſter of the* Ordnance) in the hands of his ſworn vaſſals and creatures; and having alſo the ſuperintendency of all civil affaires in him, unleſs by taking the Scepter actually into his hand, he ſhould confine the King to a Country Houſe and and an *Annual* penſion. And his partiſans about the Town talk of no leſs than the having the Duke Crown'd during the Kings life, as *Henry*, the 2. (tho upon far different reaſons) was Crowned in coniunction with King *Stephen*. And I wiſh that what the Brother of the King of *portugal* hath of late years, effected againſt his Prince, did not awaken our jealouſie to fear that the ſame may be attempted by a diſpenſation from the infallible chair elſewhere. However they have taken care ſhould they accompliſh this deſigne that they

may

may not be obliged to entetain our *Katherine*, as they in *Portugal* did the *French Madam* Married to *Alphonso*, for asmuch as the beſt part of the portion with our Princeſs, namely *Tangeir*, is through the courage and conduct of my Lord *Inchegine* one of the Dukes greateſt confidents as good as diſpoſed of. But ſhould they proceed in this deſign againſt his Majeſty, it becomes all his Majeſties good Subjects to endeavour as one man the reſcuing him from under their power, ſeeing the very deſignment of ſuch a thing is a Treaſon of ſo high a Nature againſt the King that we ſhould be wanting in our Allegiance, ſhould we not apply our ſelves in the uſe of all poſſible wayes and meanes to puniſh and aveng as well as prevent the excution of it. Now my Lord theſe are but few of the many particulars by which we are ſufficently enlightned concerning the *Duke* of *York*, and we may abundantly learn from theſe how much we are indebted to his Majeſty for his Grace, Favour, and care in appointing ſuch a one after him to ſucceed over us? Do not all our fears hereupon immediately vaniſh and die; and Hope, Joy, and Gladneſs revive in our hearts on this proſpect which the King hath given us of ſo good an Heir? But poor Prince, we at once compaſſionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further aſſurance of the inward propenſions of his *Majeſties* heart, and the diſlike his breaſt is filled with for what he hath done, but the endeavoures which he uſed (under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary) to have avoided it, and the ſadneſs which appears in his countenance ſince overawed to publiſh this Declaration. And as for the Duke of Y. let him not deceive himſelf, for as he may percieve by this that we fully underſtand him and know the kindneſs he entertains for us, ſo, we are prepared for him and reſolved to return unto him and his in the kind they intend to bring. For having both Divine and Humane Laws on our ſide, we

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are resolved neither to be Papists nor Slaves, and consequently not to be subjects to him who hath vowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compell us to be both the one and the other.

Lastly; For the Issuing of all this Controversy concerning whose Right it is to succeed next after his Majesty, men here about the town accustomed to discourse, think that there need but two proposals, and those very rational ones to be made. The *first* is that the Parliament being admitted to sit, they may examine this Affair, whereof they alone are competent Judges. Whatsoever Declarations may otherwise signifie, yet it is a principle which can never be oblitterated out of the minds of *English Men*, That they are neither binding Laws nor can alienate or extinguish the Rights of any. Shall the Son of a common Person be allowed the Liberty to justify his Legittimacy, in case his Father prove so forgetful, or so unnatural as to disclaim him; And shall the *Duke* of *Monmouth* meerly by being the Son of a King, forseit this just and universe Priviledge. If his *Majesty* was indeed Married to that discountenanced Gentlemans Mother, he is by our Laws the Son of the *Kingdom*, as well as the Son of *King Charles*. And therefore it is necessary as well as fit, that the People should in all due and Legal ways understand whether they have any Interest or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or resign it. All therefore we desire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard, and that before those who alone have right to be Judges of it, and as no other course but this can satisfy the minds of People; so it cannot be expected that upon the Authority of a Declaration, especially gotten as this was, they should sacrifice the share (which for any thing yet appears) they have in him as their apparent Prince and next Heir to the Throne. And unless this be obtained; the People will undoubtedly think their own Rights invaded, whatsoever the said *Duke* judgeth of his.

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The *ſecond* thing we would humbly beg, as well as propoſe is, That the Parliament being called to ſit, the *Duck* of *York* may be legally tryed for his manifold Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt the King and kingdom. For if he be innocent, and that the Right of Succeſſion be his, all Men will quietly acquieſſe under him but if he ſhould prove guilty (as we no wiſe qveſtion but that he will) ſhall his Treaſons when a Subject qualifie him to be a King, and Pave the way for his riſing to the Throne. According to all Equity as well as Law, he ought firſt to iuſtifie himſelf from all traitrous attempts and Acts againſt the King and People, before he be allowed to have his claim heard concerning any title that in time to come he may have to rule over theſe Nations. I ſhall ſubjoyn no more at preſent, ſave that I am,

My Lord,

London,

Your moſt obedient

June the 10th.

Servant.

1610.

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ter caput in fluctu

THE

INTEREST

Of theſe United Provinces.

BEING

A Defence of the

Zeelanders Choice

Wherein is ſhewne,

I. *That we ought unanimouſly to defend our ſelves.*

II. *That if we cannot, it is better to be under England than Fra in regard of Religion, Liberty, Eſtates, and Trade.*

III. *That we are not yet come to that extremity, but we may remain Republick. And that our Compliance with England is the o meanes for this.*

TOGETHER WITH

Severall Remarkes upon the preſent, and Conjectures on the future State of Affaires in Europe, eſpecially as relating to this Republick.

By a wellwiſher to the Reformed Religion, and the wellfare of theſe Countries.

MIDDELBURG,

Printed by *Thomas Berry*, according to the Dutch Copie
Printed at *Amſterdam*. ANNO 1672.

A Summary of the ensuing Treatise.

THe PREFACE. *Wherein, the occasion and reason of this Worke. The Authors feares ballanced with others hopes. The necessity of unanimity for, and duty of selfe defence.*

SECTION 1.

The rise and State of that great Question, (viz.) whether upon supposal of inability to defend our selves, it is our INTREST *to be under England or France, and the Zeelanders choice of the former.*

2. *Arguments to prove this choice to be agreable to our true Intrest. The first whereof is from our Religious concernements. Wherein is shewne how great a support Religion is to a State, and how greatly it concernes us to secure our Religion.*

3. *The plea of France's granting us the liberty of our Religion, considered.*

4. *Objections from the danger of losing our Religion under England; from the Kings being a Papist, designing to set up Popery; the increase, countenance, and tolleration of Papists, as allso from his joyning with France against us, and Church Governement by Bishops, all answered.*

5. *A 2d Argument taken from Liberty. Wherein the different Kinds and degrees of Liberty, under all sorts of Governement, are declared; and the probability of enjoying greater freedome under England than France, argued.*

6. *The 3 Argument is the preservation of our Estates; in regard of Soldjers violence, Governors impositions, Publique Debts by obligation, and Revenues of the Romish Church.*

7. *The 4th Argument from Trade. This (viz. Merchandise and Navigation) our cheife secular Intrest. And friendship with England to secure the same. England and we Competitors herein, what implyed thereby in point of Intrest, and Inference. The probability of getting more, as allso enjoying the same with greater Peace under France, with other Arguments, largely debated; and the contrary evinced under England.*

8. *Severall other Arguments and enducements to incline us rather for England, briefly mentioned. With an inference from the whole preceding discourse, that the friendship of England is to be preferd before that of France.*

9. *That we are not yet come to that extremity, but we may still remaine a Republick; in regard of our owne strength, and our Neighbors Intrest, Englands especially; that they had better lose Scotland or Ireland, then let the French have these Provinces. This War a Game at Hazard. Being engaged will goe through, and Parliament probably assist therein.*

10. *Compliance with England, the onely meanes of the Commonwealths continuation.*

11. *Conjectures of future affaires. The motions of the ensuing Summer likely to be quick and great. As to this Republick, probably England may get a bridle to curb us, France the sadle to ride us, Colen a supernumerary girth, Munster a bos off the crupper. Our condition deplored and consolated. A necessary caution for England, another for the Orange Family. The Authors feares of what will at last befall us. The Spanish Netherlands a dying. The friendship of England and France sick at heart, and cannot live long. That of Spaine and England sound at heart, and will recover, &c.*

12. *France's Ambition. Growing greatnes. The causes thereof. We and England in the fault. The Common Intrest of Europe to oppose France particularly declared of the Empire, Spaine, England, Denmarke, and this Republick and Hans Townes. Yea of Sweden, Savoy, and Switzerland. The ballance of Europe to be held even, and by whom.*

13. *The Conclusion of the whole Discourse.*

To

To the Impartial Reader.

ALthough in ſo ſmall a Tractate, it may be thought needleſs to give an account of the occaſion thereof; yet I think my ſelf obliged for your further ſatisfaction, to do it briefly. The Author having been lately in *Holland*, found what the *Zeelanders* had done in the late Revolutions, miſunderſtood by ſome, and variouſly cenſured by others; and therefore thought it worth his pains, fairly and modeſtly to vindicate the ſame. And the rather, becauſe he foreſees various pretexts will be deduced thence, and divers interpretations be made thereof, which the Author hopes by his declaring the true intent and meaning, to free it from. That ſo all thoſe, whoſe Curioſity or Intereſt leads them to inquire, might be acquainted with the true Grounds and Reaſons thereof; and that neither the propenſity of ſome to the *French*, nor the prejudice and paſſion of others againſt the *Engliſh*, might make us run blindfold upon our ruine; but that we may diſcern our true *Intereſt*, and purſue it as occaſion ſhall require. For as all affection to that which is not our real Intereſt, ſo all averſation from that which is, is madneſs and folly; which clouds Reaſon, precipitates Counſels, runs us upon extreams, and drives us into inevitable deſtruction, many times before we are aware.

I know ſome will be apt to ſay, What need of this now? The Storm is over, and the ſuppoſition of inability to defend our ſelves out of doors. If I thought ſo, I aſſure you I ſhould neither trouble my ſelf, nor others any further. But whether it be my love to the Countrey, and deſire of the welfare thereof; or my jealouſie over the Factions of the Rulers, and tumultuouſneſs of the people therein; or my comparing and eſtimating our own ſtrength, fidelity, and courage with our Enemies; or my obſerving, that our former Military Diſcipline (which made us renowned, and our Countrey accounted the School of War) is in a great meaſure, if not utterly decayed and loſt; or my hearing how old Officers, and Forein Forces have been ſlighted; and ſuch preferred, as are unexperienced for conduct, and untried for courage; or the difference I have obſerved in the valour of a poor and rich people; Poverty always ſtirring up and whetting Valour, out of hopes to better their condition; whereas riches makes men fearful of loſing what they have, and ſo falling into a worſe. As may be obſerved not onely in different people, as between the Northern and Southern Nations, but alſo in the ſame, yea in our ſelves. For when poor in our Wars with *Spain*, we made good the old Character which *Tacitus* gives us, *Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi, &c.* Of all

De M Germ. §. 29

all the *German* Nations, or People, the *Batavians*, were cheif for valour; but now that we are grown rich, we are affraid to adventure either our Persons or Estates, and readier to open our Gates, then shut them against our Enemies. Or, whether it be my Melancholly temper only; or my fears and cowardise, if you please to call it so; or my fancy from my observation, that the third War (as this is with *England*) hath ever proved fatal to the one side, as is apparent by many examples; or what ever other cause it is, I must profess freely, that I am of another sentiment, this War having so black a visage to mine appearance, that I fear we are rather in the midst of a Tempestuous Sea of Troubles, then discovering of Land, much less a safe Harbour of rest.

I am not ignorant upon how many pins men hang their hopes. Some upon the advancement of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, hope all will be redrest and well at home; and that his relation to the Crown of *England*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, will capacitate him to remedy all abroad. Others upon conjectures of his marrying with the Duke of *Yorks* Daughter, or some nearly related to the Crown of *England* or *France*; which hath been an usual way I confess, especially among absolute Princes, of accomodating differences. Some upon our sufficient numbers of Men and Moneys to defend our selves. Othersome upon the Assistance of the *Emperor*, and the *German* Princes, *Brandenburgh* especially. And others upon their opinion, that now the Pensionary *de Wit* and his party are broken, so that *England* can confide more in our friendship, that the King will break with *France*, and afford his Nephew and these *Netherlands* assistance; especially because they judge, that it is the Interest of *England* and *Germany*, as well as *Spain*, not to see us fall into the *French* hands, for fear they have only *Polyphemus* his courtesie, to be last devoured. But yet all these grounds, and divers others, which are variously discoursed of, prevail not so far with me, as that my hopes can ballance my fears.

For although I grant the strength of the remaining Provinces to be considerable both by Sea and Land; and the greatest foundation to build our hopes upon, next under God Almighties Protection; yet if we duly consider the state and condition we are in, there is not that just ground of confidence, which may free us from fears; as many are apt to imagine. He is very short sighted that observes not, 1. That there are two different parties amongst us, and that a Commonwealth, muchless then a Kingdom divided, cannot stand. 2. That we might do much more then we do, or (for any thing I yet see) will or shall do for our own defence. 3. That we are destitute of succours from abroad for the present, except from *Spain*; which we may happily pay dear enough for; if we should be drawn into a League Offensive and Defensive with them in a long and tedious War. And 4. that we are full of tumults and distractions at home, which is to me a greater presage of approaching ruine, then all our Enemies weapons of War; and makes me fear that as tumults was the occasion

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of our riſing, ſo they will be of our ruine. And that *Priols* obſervation of *Hiſt.* two only Nations that have ſtood firm by defection; the *Helvetians* at the *l.* 2 riſe, and the *Hollanders* at the fall of the *Rhine*; thoſe founding and defending their Liberty by the Mountains, their Poverty, and Equality; theſe by the Waters, their Riches, and the States with a Captain General; may ſhortly be contradicted in the latter, if we be not more unanimous, and perhaps ere long in the former alſo.

I grant likewiſe, That it is very conſiderable to have ſo wiſe a Conductor as the Prince of *Orange* is for his years, and one of ſuch near Relation to two ſuch great Potentates as his Uncles of *England* and *Brandenburgh*. But yet if we rightly conſider, we cannot but conclude. 1. That it muſt be Power, as well as Policy, that can relieve us; and that in the Affairs of the World, Intereſt is preferred above all Relations; the whole World turning upon the Hinge of Self-intereſt; and all Princes, States, Families, and Perſons eagerly purſuing that which they apprehend their Intereſt, although often miſtaking it, and oftner the means to obtain it; no wonder if they miſs thereof. 2. And that his Civil Dignities come rather to him by Popular Tumults, than Regular Proceedings: Which is found an eaſie way to riſe by, but a hard way to ſtand by, yea, Morally impoſſible, if not backed by power. For as it is with ſick Perſons, ſo with ſick States, if all things be not quickly redreſſed that is grievous to them, they preſently cry, *Turn me again*; and think they have power to undo, that which they themſelves have formerly done. It being a true Character which *Livy* gives the Common People, *Lib.* *Plebs aut humiliter ſervit, aut ſuperbè dominatur.* 3. And that though the *de Wits* be dead, their party lives; and if things ſucceed not well under his Highneſs, will have no ſmall advantage, not only from the horrid murder of thoſe two Pillars of their party; but from the declining of Affairs, to cry him down with the people, and make him an *Inſignificant Cypher of State.* 4. And laſtly, There are ſo many Papiſts, and other Sects of Religion and Malecontents, who watch for opportunities to Flieblow the Common People, and ſet them upon Sedition; that I much queſtion, whether that freſh gale of Affection to the Prince, which hath blown ſo briskly through all theſe remaining Provinces, will laſt long. For if they ſee that his Highneſs cannot make Peace, as they expected; and they feel more miſerable effects of a ſtubborn and cruel War, and be forced to greater Taxes (the Common People being always covetous, what ever the cauſe or neceſſity be) and find their Trade ſtill obſtructed, and Land drowned, to the impoveriſhing both of Cities and Countrey: I fear we ſhall find the People ſo reſtleſs and unquiet, that they will neither know what to do themſelves, nor be willing to be guided by their Governors that do; but when Extremities preſs upon us, bring all into Confuſion, and conſequently Ruine.

For beſides the Jealouſies which many have of his Highneſs, which *Bentivoglio* long ſince foreſaw and foretold, That theſe Jealouſies betwixt the State, and their Stadtholder, would become the cauſe of our Ruine; the needy

multitude, (which are alwaies enemies to good order and Government) when diſtreſſed; will ſeek occaſion to prey upon the richer, whom they conſtantly envie. And the midle ſort, which are the true Baſis of a State, whoſe principal aime is Liberty and Plenty, when they ſee theſe indangered; grow jealous of their Governours (upon whom all misfortunes are conſtantly laid) and ſeeke to pull them downe and ſet up themſeves one after another, to the ruine of all. For the pompe of Government ſo daſles the eyes of thoſe that know not the Weight of it, that when there is any ſeeming acceſs thereto, all are apt to contend for it, and every one to thinke himſelf as capable as his neighbor, and vy with one another without end: till they that were formerly good paſſengers, now turning Pilots in a Storm; through their continuall contentions and unskilfulneſs, ſhipwrack the Common-wealth, whilſt they ſincerely deſire and endeavour to ſave it. I ſhall therefore conclude, that although we have a good *Head*, yet except the members be at unity, and unanimouſly reſolved to give aſſiſtance to their Head and Governours; it is in vaine to thinke, we can be ſecured from ſuch potent enemies, (except any be ſo mad as to expect miracles) or that the Princes name or waying of his Flag upon our Towers can defend us.

For his marrying his Highneſs the *Duke of Yorks* Daughter, we may ſpeak of it here, and thoſe in *England* of the King of *Sweden*, and both be miſtaken. I can ſee little certainty thereof, and therefore can ſay leſs therein; but this I can ſay, that if a Relation would effect our deſires, there is that which is very near already; yea which many perhaps will thinke too neer, if it conduce no more to the procuring our Peace.

For our aſſiſtance from the *Emperor* and *Germain Princes*, which is ſo much talkt of, the *Brandenburgs* eſpecially; if I were aſſured they deſigned to ſerve us, and not themſelves of us; I ſhould have more hopes then I have. I know the *Germains* are a great and warlike Nation, and that none almoſt have warred with them, that have not repented it. And when we ſee them warr with *France*, though they directly aſſiſt us not further, ſuch a diverſion to our enemie will be a conſiderable advantage to us. But at preſent, we ſee no more of their intentions, than to defend themſelves. The *Emperor* is not onely continually kept waking by the *Turk*; but at preſent diverted alſo by the diſtractions of *Hungary*. And the fears of *Poland*, will neceſſitate *Brandenburg* to have an eye to *Pruſſia*. The Princes of the Empire are many, and divided, (ſeveral of them declaring for *France*, others wavering and waiting opportunity to cloſe with the prevailing ſide) which makes their Counſels ſlow, and more ſubject to be diſcovered, the raiſing men and bringing them together more difficult, the commanding of them more lyable to diſcord (which hath often proved fatal in their Armies) and the providing for them very uncertaine. And I might ad hereunto (for it is well knowne) that ſome of the *Germain* Princes have ſo run ont their revenues; that though they have men far more then their proportion, yet have not money to pay the half of their rate. So that it is well, if

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what was ſaid of old of the *Britains*, prove not true of the *Germans*, *Dum ſinguli pugnant, omnes vincuntur.* Tac. vita gric.

As for the Intereſt of *England*, which we think ſhould incline them to hinder rather than further *Frances* growing greatneſs, and conſequently to Peace with us: I ſhall only ſay this, That as we allow all men liberty to judge of their own Intereſts, ſo muſt we much more to Kings and Rulers. And it is but reaſonable to think, that they underſtand their own Intereſt better then we, that are ſtrangers to their deſigns; except we think of our ſelves as the *Perſians*, who ſay that they have two eyes, and others but one. I may think, that the ſame Reaſon of State ſhould prevail now, that did formerly with the *Engliſh*, in the firſt War, *To humble us, but not ruine us*; and ſhall make it apparent, that they cannot rationally have a thought of our ruine, without thinking to follow after; yet circumſtances are ſo different, and the paſſions of men ſo various, that I am not certain to what extent and degree of Humiliation they meaſure their Intereſt, or how far *England* is ingaged with *France* for effecting of this. We may think, and the *Engliſh* Nation may be jealous (as I know they are) that *France* will couzen them at laſt, and ſerve them now as *Comines* tells us they have formerly, *When uſually they beat the French in their Wars; but then what they had got by their Swords, they loſt by their Treaties,* (even as *Bodin* tells us the *French* were ſerv'd by the *Spaniards*;) but if they will adventure that, who can hinder them? l. 3. & c. 9. Bod. Rep. c. 1.

Should I ſpeak my private apprehenſion, 'tis briefly this. *England* hath been long jealous of the growing greatneſs of this State by Sea, and find it an error of Policy in former Governors, to ſuffer us to arrive at this height of conteſting with them. From whence they have met with ſeveral inconveniences in regard of Trade, and alſo been put to vaſt expences to maintain conſtantly a Fleet to cope with us. Theſe things they would willingly eaſe themſelves of, which they know cannot be done, but by the Sword. The firſt War which was occaſionally begun, was no time to effect their deſigns, in regard the Kingdom was harraſt and exhauſted by a long Civil War, and *Oliver* the Protectors cheif deſign was to ſettle himſelf, and therefore made Peace. The ſecond War advantaged them nothing; for the *French* countenancing us (though ſecretly in League with them before the War was ended) they were not able to effect what they deſigned, having loſt their opportunity which they had after the firſt battel in their hands: That being often verified of the *Engliſh*, which was ſaid of *Hannibal*, (by whom matters not, for the Learned Hiſtorians *Livie* and *Plutarch* differ therein,) *Vincere ſcis Hannibal*; *victoria uti neſcis*. A Peace is concluded at *Breda*, but the War had a ſting in the tale of it, the work at *Chattam*, *Manet alta mente repoſtum*, and makes them more eagerly wait for an opportunity, both to revenge themſelves, and purſue their former deſigns. And now *France* taking occaſion to quarrel with us, they take the opportunity to oppreſs us, and bring us under; that they may free themſelves from thoſe preſent inconveniences in Trade and Expences, and will ſee how they can make it with *France*

for the future. They know well, that if we be broken, there is no Nation elſe is able to match them at Sea, and being in an Iland, fear not invaſion by Land Forces. I might parallel this with the *Peloponneſian* War, the cauſe whereof was the *Athenians* growing greatneſs, and particularly in Power at Sea; upon whom therefore, the *Lacedemonians* made War, as *Thucydides* tells us, who hath accurately writ the Hiſtory thereof. And yet though Intereſt
b.3. be the moving cauſe of moſt Wars, what ever the pretext be, (for *Polybius* hath long ſince taught us to diſtinguiſh theſe two by ſundry Examples) yet I am far from aſſerting it alone a juſtifieable cauſe of any War. If any deſire ſatisfaction what is, I refer them to *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pac. lib.2. cap.* 1. *&* 22. *& ſeqq.* for my deſign permits me not ſuch a digreſſion. Theſe thoughts of the preſent Intereſt of *England*, leads me to conclude.

1. That in their League with *France* they have made proviſion for theſe; ſo that if the *French* prevail, they ſhall have ſuch Maritime places, as may be a real ſecurity to them in theſe particulars. 2. That they will never ſuffer *France* (if they can poſſibly hinder it) to have all theſe Maritime Provinces entirely. For if our might alone be ſuch an eye-ſore to them, how much more if it ſhould be joyned with that of *France*. 3. That they will not deſiſt, till they have tried their utmoſt, to obtain theſe ends which they account their Intereſt; having now the advantage of Alliance with *France*, their joynt Power and Prevalency, and our preſent Weakneſs and Diſtractions. So that I cannot flatter my ſelf ſo much as to hope, That either the Princes Relation to His Majeſty can procure, or Money purchaſe our Peace with them, ſo long as they ſee any probability of effecting their deſigns.

But if any hath more certain grounds of hope, which are not yet diſcovered to the World, he needs not loſe his time in peruſing this Treatiſe. It is but my loſing a few ſpare hours in compoſing, and the Printer a ſmall ſum in publiſhing this amongſt thoſe many Pamphlets, which daily flie abroad, through all corners of the Countrey. For I profeſs this once for all, That I pretend not to know (or if I did, ſhould I diſcover) any Intrigues or Myſteries of State; nor deſire to pry into the *Arcana Imperii*, but let them ſilently reſt in the boſome of thoſe who ſit at the Helm of Government; or to make any unworthy reflections upon any, Friends or Enemies, *French* or *Engliſh*. But only as one ſtanding upon lower ground, to take the height of the Tower of Intereſt, which is gazed upon by all, but through paſſion and prejudice rightly meaſured by few. Whether I have miſtaken it with the multitude, time will diſcover; and let others judge by the following Diſcourſe; which I foreſee will meet with as many Cenſures, as I have Hairs on my Head, though I value them all leſs than the leaſt of them; my Conſcience bearing me witneſs, that I have publiſhed the ſame, with a ſincere affection to the Reformed Religion, and welfare of theſe Countreys.

Nov. 30. 1672. *J. H.*

Sect. 1. *The riſe and ſtate of the Queſtion*, viz. *Whether upon ſuppoſal of inability to defend our ſelves, it is our Intereſt to be under* England *or* France, *and the* Zeelanders *choice of the former.*

HE is a Stranger to us and our Affairs, who knows not; that the late Revolutions among us, and particularly at *Utrechts* betaking themſelves to the *French* for protection, were attended both with great conſternation, and various deliberations, as is uſual in ſuch diſaſters. When therefore miſery and deſtruction was approaching as a violent torrent, that bears down all before it; Self-preſervation being the Fundamental Law of Nature; every Province, City, and almoſt Village, began to conſider, what they ſhould do to preſerve themſelves, from being drowned in the overflowing deluge.

Some were of opinion, that the remaining Provinces were of ſufficient ſtrength to defend themſelves, and therefore lookt no further. Others were of a contrary judgment; and therefore thought it better, upon reaſonable terms, to put our ſelves under a Forein Power, as *Utrecht* had done, then to be conquered by the Sword. And herein alſo mens judgments were divided, ſome thinking it better to be under the *French*, others to be under the *Engliſh*. Thoſe of *Holland* (as was commonly reported) were more inclinable to the former, in regard of their near approach to them in *Utrecht*; and eſpecially out of an opinion, which many have entertained, That the Intereſt of *Holland*, being principally that of Trade by Sea, was more competible with that of *France* then *England*, Inſomuch, that many believe, if the advice of Monſieur *Pompone* of the Kings ſending *Charte Blanche* had been followed; the Cities of *Holland* had at that time ſeveral of them imitated the example of *Utrecht*; thoſe of *Zealand* were generally inclined to the *Engliſh*. But as opinions are uſually both bred and brought up by Paſſions; ſo here it was manifeſt, That the exceſſive hopes of the former, made them for abſolute defence; and the exceſſive fears of the latter, for abſolute reſignation. In ſuch caſes there are two ways have always been found ſafeſt and beſt for accommodation, *viz.* A due examination of the Grounds of thoſe Paſſions, and a juſt temperament or comprehenſion of the diverſity of Opinions: Which here ſo happily fell out, that it was reſolved upon and declared by many in *Zeeland*, firſt, *That they would uſe their beſt endeavors to defend themſelves*; and ſecondly, *if they found themſelves unable, they would then reſign to the Engliſh*. Hereby ſhewing, that they neither did through vain fears, wholly deſpond of their own ſtrength; nor through flattering hopes were wholly fearleſs of their Enemies. They would try and uſe the beſt means they could, to ſtand of themſelves according to their hopes; and yet alſo provide againſt the worſt of their fears, which was their fall by abſolute conqueſt.

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For the manner of doing this, I ſhall neither accuſe, nor defend it; though the Magiſtrate led not the Van of Conſent, according to his place de and dignity, yet he followed cloſe in the Rear. And though it was done haſtily, yet why may not a haſty Pen, ſometimes be as happy as *Apelles* his Pencil, which in Paſſion being thrown on the Picture, better portrayed the Horſes foaming, then all his premeditated Counſel and Art.

It is enough to me, and to my purpoſe, that what was done is agreeable to the true Intereſt of the Countrey; which I hope to make apparent in the following Diſcourſe. But before I do that, give me leave to premiſe a few things, which tend to the clearing of the Matters in queſtion.

1. That we only ſuppoſe this inability for the preſent, to ſatisfie the curioſity of the World, which never think their *teliſcope* long enough, to ſee to the utmoſt end of Intereſt. For we ſhall afterwards make it apparent, that we neither are as yet come to that extremity (through Gods mercy) nor need to fear we ſhall be reduced to it, if we be not awanting to our ſelves.

2 It is above all to be underſtood, that this reſolution is abſolute for Self-defence, and conditional only for Reſignation. It is an approved maxim which every wiſe man lives by, *Alterius ne ſis, ſi tuus eſſe poſſis*, which holds good in Societies, whether leſſer of Families, or greater of Cities, and Provinces, as well as private perſons. If any can be free, it is folly to think, they will be ſubject to another.

3. This reſolution being conditional, upon the ſuppoſal of evident inability to defend our ſelves, it is not to be imagined, that it ſhould take place upon every Danger or Alarm of War, eſpecially ſo long as *Holland* and *Freeſland* are able to defend themſelves: States as well as Perſons, may be dangerouſly ſick, and yet recover. Differences may be accommodated with our Enemies, or aſſiſtance may be afforded us from our Friends; the Scene of War may change, the Water and Weather may be our Walls of Defence, Difficulties, Diſſentions, and Diſtractions, may befal our Enemies: One thing or other may fall out ſo far to our advantage, that we may retrench our ſelves in ſafety, though we ſhould not recover our former Greatneſs.

4. Nor can it reaſonably be thought, that any will give themſelves over to another, ſo as to part with their Religious and Civil Intereſts, and be in no better a capacity then a conquered people; who though they are not made abſolute ſlaves, yet are uſually ſore oppreſt by the Conqueror. But onely to part with their *Supremacy*, and the Appendixes thereunto, under which they may live as free Proteſtant Subjects.

If any object this is not practicable, in regard of the Treaty betwixt the two Crowns of *England* and *France*.

I anſwer. 1. Who knows that, except a few of their Cabinet Counſel? 2. This ſuppoſes that they have divided the Lions Skin before he be ſlain, which to me is very doubtful. For although two ſuch mighty Potentates, might upon rational grounds, think themſelves able to maſter this Commonwealth, before they began the War; yet ſo many are the un-

unexpected accidents, and the events of War ſo doubtfull, that few have bene knowne to divide the ſpoile, before they had won the battell, or the Country before they had triumphed in the War: leſt they being fruſtrated of their hoped ſucces, ſhould becom a ſcorne and contempt to the world. We have ſufficient reaſon to thinke, that neither *England* will permit *France*, nor *France England*, to have theſe Countries entirely; and can we then thinke that they ſhould agree upon this before hand? if others will ghues, I have the ſame liberty; whereby I thinke that when time (which is the revealer of ſecrets) brings the Treaty to light; it will appeare that the *French* ſhould hold us in by Land, and the *Engliſh* by Sea, till they had brought us to their owne termes; of *France* keeping ſuch places above as may be thought moſt conducible, to the inlarging his Conqueſts and keeping us under, and *England* by Sea, as may ſecure his deſired Trade, and Navall expences; and that neither of them ſhould have theſe Maritime Provinces entirely (for that was for the one to make the other his Maſter, and abſolute Soveraigne at Sea, by ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength) nor yet divided; for that would be a continuall bone of contention betwixt them.

3. Thoſe that ſuppoſe this repertition, generally ſay, that *Zeeland* is to be *Engliſh*; and if ſo, the objection is anſwered. For if each muſt conquer their part by their owne Armes, as many imagine; who can thinke that any will be at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, beſides the hazard of ſucces, for that which they can have upon honourable termes?

Or if they proceed joyntly with their Armes, to obtaine their deſignes; we cannot thinke the one will obſtruct the other, in that which is agreed upon by them both. And this way I ſuppoſe they take; becauſe in a joynt War the ſucces is common to both, and the advantage redounds to each according to their former accord; and was it otherwiſe here, *England* attacquing us onely by Sea, might get nothing by Land, and *France* all. Which I cannot imagine to be ſo agreed upon, whatſoever the iſſue may be. For I cannot thinke the *Engliſh* ſuch fooles to fight onely for blowes, and to ſet up the *French* to their owne deſtruction.

But let their agreement be what it will for the places they conquer, yet it cannot bind or determine us how to diſpoſe of our ſelves before we are conquered. All free States, and Cities, may upon what conditions they pleaſe, yeeld the Soverainty over them, and their owne ſubjection to whom they pleaſe. And allthough ſuch proffers have ſometimes been refuſed, in regard of Wars and other evill conſequences which might attend them; yet here the acceptance is not to be doubted of, ſeeing this is the *Helena* for which they fight.

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If any ſhall ask how this is to be effected.

I anſwer, *Non eſt deliberandum de modo, priuſquam conſtat de re.* If any grant that it is to be done, it is as much as I undertake. If God in his all-wiſe and righteous Providence, ſuffer us to be brought ſo low, that we cannot longer withſtand our enemies: let thoſe in ſupreme authority take

care for the manner of performance, as to the time in which, treating whereby, and conditions whereupon they will yield their *Supremacy* and *Government*. It being my work only to shew, that it is our Interest in such a case, to make choice of *England* rather then *France*, or any other Potentate whatsoever.

Sect. 2. *Arguments to prove the Hypothesis, the first whereof is from our Religious Concernments; wherein is shewn how great a support Religion is to a State, and how greatly it concern us to secure our Religion.*

HAving now truly related Matter of Fact, and clearly stated the Question, I shall proceed to prove the same, *viz. That in case of inability to defend our selves, it is our Interest to be under the English rather than the French.*

First in regard of Religion. Which as it is of cheifest concernment, so deserves to have the precedence of all other considerations. The very Heathens accounted this their cheif Interest, and therefore above all to be secured and defended. The *Romans* saying was *Pro aris & focis*, therein giving Religion, the preference of all their civil concernments. And if we Christians do not, the more is our sin, and the greater our shame. It is so well known how the Heathens of old, and Turks of later times have valued their several false Religions; how their first Founders, Legislators, and Magistrates have made Religion, both the Basis upon which they founded their Kingdoms and Commonwealths, and the cheif Pillars to support them; and how zealous the common people have been for their Superstitions: That I cannot but wonder that *Christians* should be such *Gallioes* for the true Religion and Gospel of Christ, and fear that *Turks* and *Heathens* will rise up in judgment against us, and condemn us for our indifferency herein. But if examples would either sway us, or shame us, I need not go so far for them, our own Ancestors are abundantly sufficient. I am sure (if the History of former times deceive me not) Religion was the cheif inducement to them, to begin that hazardous War with *Spain*. And had such an impression upon them, that they freely ventured their lives and estates for this especially; although I know there were many other grievances insisted on, to justifie that War. Had they thought that their Posterity should have made so light of Religion and Liberty, which cost them so dear (as many we see in those places over, who have so lightly parted with both in a great measure,) I perswade my self they would never have commenced such a War; but the sincerer part of them would have fled with their Families abroad, rather then have endured those miseries at home. Could they now stand up out of their Graves, how would they condemn this unfaithful generation! And how will our Children have occasion to curse us, for betraying the trust reposed in us by our Ancestors, and

and selling the pretious Truths of Religion at so cheape a rate, which they bought so deare.

If the true Religion which we profes, be not the Polar Star, by which those that sit at the Helme steere the Ship of the Common-wealth; what can we expect except we be Atheists, and shut out God and his safeguard, but to suffer ship-wrack? Nay if this be not the Pearle of price to us all, which we prefer above all worldly pebles, it will be no wonder, if our enimies spoile us both of this and them. If any be of another judgement, and prefer the *Reason of State* above Religion (although in this case they are conjoyned, as I shal shew hereafter) I wish such would oberve from *Lewis* the 11, who first opened the pack of fraudulent polices to the Princes of *Europe*; what dismall ends have befallen him, and the Atheistical Politicians since, those of *Italy* especially; and what disappoyntments their designs have met withall, and see if they have any reason to treade in their steps. I am jealous (I confesse) that the atheisme and irreligion of the present age is great, which makes me larger herein then otherwise I should be: yet I hope not so great amongst us, that we should prefer Popish superstition before the true reformed Religion, *Belial* before *Christ*: If so, we are fitter to be our enemies asses, to be laden with their trumperies, and lasht at their pleasure, than to be dealt withall by arguments to convince our Consciences.

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If we duly consider that true Religion is 1. The Fountaine of all true Piety and Vertue here, and of eternall Felicity hereafter. 2. That which rightly teaches every one their duty, not onely in reference to their particular practise, but publique concerns, Magistrates how to governe, and people how to obey. 3. That which furnisheth us with the strongest Arguments, for mutuall affection and assistance to one another, courage in dangers, hope in extremities, patience in adversitie, and perseverance in our duty. And 4. That which onely can assure a people of Gods favour and being propitious to them; and the contempt thereof on the contrary, of his displeasure and malediction; We must needs conclude, that the Magistrate in the first place as Gods Vice-gerent in Governement, and all others in their severall Stations, ought to endeavour above all things by all lawfull means to preserve, defend, and secure the same; as they tender the honour of God, the welfare of his Church, the prosperity of the Commonwealth, and their own and Posterities temporall and eternall happines. I shall not need to enlarge these things, in regard they are so well knowne, and approvedly verified by so many examples, out of Sacred and profane Historios: and none that I know have ever had the impudence to deny them in *Thesi*, though they dispute in *Hypothesi* which is the true Religion. Even *Machiavel*, as wicked as his writings are in many things, yet asserts (as a Politician) that true Religion must above all things be regarded by those that desire to preserve themselves, and that there is no *certius indicium de reipu. ruina* than the contempt of Religion.

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And for fuller conviction let me ad, that tis not onely an acknowledged truth, but that which all ages of the Word have experienced, *that Religion is the greateſt bond and tye of humane ſociety*, and therefore muſt needs be the maine pillar of ſupport to a State, and the beſt walls of defence to a people. Hoping therefore what is ſaid in the generall to be ſufficient, I ſhall now deſcend to particulars briefly.

And herein it is well known, that the *Engliſh* and we (I ſpeak of the generality of both Nations, Rulers and people) ſymboliſe; being both of the Reformed Religion. Whereas the *French* are for the greateſt part Papiſts, to be ſure all in power whether civill or military: it being the practiſe now of *France*, to imploy none but ſuch in the management of affaires; ſo that if we be either Governed or Garriſoned by the *French*, we cannot exſpect to be ſo by any, but Papiſts and profeſſed enemies of our Religion.

But ſomething here will be pleaded for the *French*, and ſomething allſo objected againſt the *Engliſh*.

Sect. 3. *The plea of France's granting us the liberty of our Religion conſidered.*

FIrſt for the *French* it may be argued, that the King will grant us the liberty of our Religion.

To which I reply by way of conceſſion, that I verily believe he will; but deſire it may be further conſidered.

1. If he grants this liberty according to the cuſtome of *France*, it will be onely to thoſe of the reformed Religion. Now beſides theſe, there are many others amongſt us, Iews, Lutherans, Anabaptiſts, &c. The common-wealth conſiſting both of ſeveral ſorts of people, and ſeverall ſorts of Religions: and what ſhall become of thoſe, which the common-wealth tollerates, though not of the profeſſed Religion of the Land?

2. But let it be further ſuppoſed, that proviſion be made for the liberty of thoſe allſo that diſſent from the reformed Religion, or for all, and that by Articles, Edicts, or whatſoever way you pleaſe: yet we know how ſlightly theſe are uſually obſerved, by thoſe that have the execution of them, and how litle Governors and Soldjers regard theſe. For they well know, that moſt cannot, many dare not, others will not complaine of them; and if any doe, it will be a weariſome worke, and the remedy many times worſe than the diſeaſe. So that a patient ſuffering is the onely ſolace to the ſufferer and oppreſſed.

3. I might add, that it is a maxim with many Papiſts (allthough not all I confes*) *that no faith is to be kept with hereticks.* Now all Papiſts accounting us ſuch, if thoſe that Governe be of that perſwaſion; how litle account will they make of what conditions ſoever are made with us; but as

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occaſion ſerves, if they dare not openly breake, yet will they ſecretly evade, all ſuch as ſerve for our ſupport, and thinke they doe God good ſervice. As allſo their tenet of the Popes power of diſpenſation with all oaths, Articles, Promiſes and obligations though never ſo ſolemn and ſacred: or if you pleaſe (for it is all one) a power to abrogate Gods laws, nul all the faith and bonds of man-kind, ſubvert all humaine Society, and in ſhort *ex injuſtitia facere Juſtitiam* as the *Canoniſts* tell us. Now ſuppoſe we have Governors that meaſures conſciences by ells rather than inches; who matters no more engagements diſpenſed with by his *Holines*, than we doe our Almanacks out of date. I ſhould be glad to be informed what we could doe in the caſe, more then cry and complaine to God Allmighty. For I doubt they will ſeldome doe that, which *Maximilian* the firſt did frequently, *Deus æterne, niſi vigilares, quàm malè eſſe mundo, quem regimus nos ego miſer venator, & ebrioſus ille ac ſceleratus Julius*! Nay if Governors thinke themſelves obliged in conſcience and honour to keepe conditions; yet it is well known how generally they are influenced by their Clergy: ſo that in all dubious caſes, and the application of generall rules to particular practiſes; it cannot be exſpected but judgement ſhould be given on the Papiſts ſide, and that the Grandees of the Church ſhould beare them out in it, and *Jeſuits* and others Zelots applaude their practiſes.

4. The Papiſts muſt have publique places for their Worſhip, not only in all Cities but Villages, as we may ſee in the Articles propounded by the *French*. Now there being by far too few *Churches* or places for publique Worſhip, in moſt of our populous and enlarged Cities allready; it will not be poſſible for a great part of our Religion, to enjoy the publique Ordinances of God; but many will run into profane courſes, moſt grow ignorant and careles what Religion they are of, and their poſterity abſolute *Papiſts*. By which meanes the number of the Reformed decreaſing, and Papiſts increaſing; where at firſt there was but onely one *Church* for popery; they ſhall then take more, and ſo continue to inlarge themſelves and ſtraten us. Nor let any judge theſe, as onely jealouſies and feares. For if they begin allready to incroach (as it is credibly reported from ſeverall places they command) and breake Articles heerein, when not onely the commands of ſuperiors, but common policy requires a moſt religious obſervance thereof; what ſhall we thinke they will doe hereafter? If they will not now out of hopes to win thoſe to them, which yet ſtand out: much les will they, when there is no more hope of gaining thereby.

5. When popery is the Religion of our Governors, who have the diſpoſall of preferments and profits, to allure men to their Religion: We ſhall find by wofull experience, what by education, converſe, marriages, dignities and other worthy advantages; many of the ignoranter and looſer ſort of Proteſtants, will change their profeſſion (I ſay not Religion for that ſuch never had) and turne Papiſts. Who is ſuch a ſtranger in the world as knowes not, that by ſuch artifices they have more weakened the Pro-

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teſtants in *France*, than by all their wars and conteſts with them. In ſo much that of late yeares, ſome wiſe men of the Reformed Religion there, have bene ſo fearfull of its being utterly ſupplanted; that they have required their children by their laſt will and Teſtament, to leave that Kingdome, and ſetle themſelves in theſe Countries.

6. Let the beſt be ſuppoſed that any rationall man can imagine, yet will it be bad enough. For if the Papiſts have the Civill power to back them, allthough the wiſer and better ſort, it is not to be doubted will be civill; yet the the ruder ſort will be intollerably inſolent. And this begins to appear in ſome places allready, where the Popiſh Inhabitants are more inſufferably inſulting, ſpightfull, and injurious than the *French* themſelves. And if they doe this ſo early while things are doubtfull, and the iſſue of the War dubious; what may we expect when they are in their high Meridian of ſucces and glory?

7. And laſtly, if any one thinkes that theſe are onely needles feares and groundles ſurmiſes, I ſhall deſire them to peruſe the *French* Embaſſadors Speech to the Emperors Council, where he will find this Argument of Religion inſiſted on to divert the Emperor from our aſſiſtance (which is well retorted by the ingenious Anſwerer thereof.) And inform themſelves how faſt the Jeſuits and other Zealots for the Romiſh Religion, fall off from the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Spaine*, to *France*; in regard of their inability to carry on their deſigns of the Univerſall Popiſh Monarchy, and the hopes they have of *France*'s potency to effect it. And then let them judge, if there be not ſufficient ground, for all that I have ſaid, and much more that might be ſaid upon this Subject.

Sect. 4. *Objections from the danger of loſing our Religion under England; from the Kings being a Papiſt, deſigning to ſet up Popery; the increaſe, countenance, and tolleration of Papiſts; as alſo from his joyning with France againſt us, and Church Government by Biſhops, all anſwered.*

BUt now on the other hand it is by ſome objected againſt the *Engliſh*.

1. That the King is a Papiſt in heart, and deſignes to ſet up the Popiſh Religion.

Firſt what the King is in his heart, and what he deſignes, is onely knowne to God Almighty, who is the ſearcher of hearts. That he is a profeſt proteſtant, is well knowne. And allthough I will not ſweare for him nor any man alive, that he will not change his Religion; yet to me it ſeems very improbable, upon the following grounds.

1. He that would not in his minority, when under his Mothers education in *France*, but followed his Fathers inſtructions, of *being obedient to her in all things, excepting the matter of her Religion*; I cannot thinke will now in his maturity

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2. Notwithstanding so many temptations wherewith he was environed so long a time together, during those many years of his exile; wherein neither the friendship of Papists, nor unkindness and hard measure he met withal from Protestants could move him; makes me think him much more immovable, now he is free from those. Who that knows those times, knows not what designs the Papists had upon him? What Perswasions and Arguments they used both by word and writing? What Promises they made him of assistance to recover his Kingdoms? What Arguments of Interest they prest him with, which are usually more prevalent with Princes, than the intrinsick Arguments of Religion? And if he stood unshaken in all those boysterous blasts, shall we thinke he will fall in a calme?

3. His rescuing his youngest Brother the *Duke of Gloceſter* out of his Mothers hands, when her designes appeared for perverting him in his Religion; is an evident proofe of the realty of his Profession. If any one say it was his Interest for regaining his Kingdoms. I say.

4. And is it not his Interest also for keeping them? Did he gaine them so quickly, or are his three Kingdoms so little worth, that he should easily hazird them? Kings are wiser then to venture their Crownes upon every idle Priests pratles. If there were any stronger Arguments now then formerly, either for the Popish Religion, or from his Interest; we had some reason to be jealous that he might change.

But 5. It is apparently against his Interest, not onely in regard of the danger he might incur of losing his Crownes, but the great loss which would inevitably accrew to him by this change.

The danger we cannot imagine to be small, if we rightly consider those Kingdoms. I have had an accompt (having been a little curious in those enquiries) of 1100000 of his Subjects, that by Interest and Inclination were carried counter to the Court. Under these five Heads. 1. The Purchasers of *Crowne* and *Church Lands* that are now restored, and they outed. 2. Soldiers and Seamen, that had fought against him by Sea and Land. 3. Magistrates and Ministers, that were removed and turned out of their places. 4. Commonwealths Men that were Anti-monarchicall in their judgments. 5. Fanaticks properly so called, as Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, Quakers, &c. And though I could perhaps give as good a guess as another, at the rest of the Substantiall Protestants that are of the Episcopall perswasion, yet that needs not now. These you must thinke, however divided in their Interests, Judgments, and Affections; and many of them, no doubt very Loyal to his Majesty; yet without all doubt would joyne against Popery, and never willingly submit themselves to that yoke of bondage. Nay, some perhaps would be glad of such an Argument, and Plea to the people, and the Demagogues gaine thereby no small number of Proselytes to their Party, if his Majesty was once a declared Papist.

And as his danger, you see is great, so his loss I am sure could not be small.

ſmall. 1. Of his *Honour*, not onely in changing that Religion he hath now ſo long profeſt, and blurring the faire copy which his Father hath ſet him; but in admitting the Popes Supremacy: which hath beene ſo Injurious to the dignities of Emperors, Kings, and Princes; that their complaints how they have beene plagued by the Popes are infinite. 2. Of his profit and revenues, in regard that the *Peter-pence* or Tenths of Livings, and other Contributions paid formerly to the Pope, are by Law annexed to the Crowne, and paid accordingly, to the King. 3. Of his Subjects affections, wherein his ſafety eſpecially conſiſts. For a Prince that hath the hearts of his people, hath their purſes and perſons at his ſervice; and raignes more happily by their love, then all his owne power though never ſo great. If we therefore conſider his education in, and his long profeſſion of the proteſtant Religion, his honour and intreſt ingaging him to perſevere therein: I ſhould thinke no man need feare his changing it for the Popiſh, the fopperies whereof he hath ſo fully both ſeen and knowne.

I might ad to theſe, that which further ſatisfies me, that having been at *Bruxels*, *Colen*, and moſt of thoſe places, where his Majeſty during his exile did reſide; I can ſay *bona fide* that in all the variety of companies and converſe I was ever in, I never heard any probable grounds, from any one intelligent perſon, that toucht, much les ſtain'd his Majeſties reputation in this particular. But I will not impoſe this upon others, though it moves me to ſay the more, becauſe I am not willing to annex my name to what I have written. Not that I am aſhamed to owne what I conceive to be the reall truth, which I have publiſhed in this treatiſe to the world, and can make good much more largely: but becauſe I know who I am, and that my name can ad no eſtimation to this politicall diſcourſe; but rather perhaps prejudice ſome who knowes me not, and are uſed to judge of writings by their authors; whereas thoſe that will impartially ſearch after truth, muſt have regard to *things*, not *perſons*, and to what is written, and not the writers thereof.

As for his ſetting up popery, I neither thinke that he will, for the foregoing reaſons; nor if he would, that he can, for theſe following eſpecially.

1. The Proteſtant Religion is ſetled in all his Kingdomes by their fundamentall lawes, which the King cannot repeale. It is true he hath the executive power of the lawes, and ſo can ſuſpend the execution of penalties; but cannot reſcind any one law, much leſſe make new ones, without the conſent of Parliament in his reſpective Kingdomes. And abſolute Soveraingty is not there in uſe. For power paramount to all lawes, carries too great a top-ſaile for an *Engliſh* bottom; wherein the Subjects liberties are ſhipt, as well as *Cæſar and his fortunes*.

2. The lands and revenues formerly ſupporting the Romiſh Religion, which are many and great, are in the poſſeſſion of the nobility and gentry for the moſt part; and have beene bought by them of the Crowne at the

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diſſolution of Abbies, Monaſteries, &c. And the purchaſes confirmed by law. And can we thinke that they will be ever induced to part with them againe? or enact any ſuch lawes as ſhall tend to their owne ruine, and the utter undoing of their families? If there was ſo much danger and difficulty to wreſt them out of the hands of the poore Votaries, (as the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell us) What will there be to recover them from the powerfull Nobility and Gentry? who legally poſſeſſing them will doubtleſs defend them, ſo that none ſhall deprive them thereof, that have not better courage and ſharper Swords then they.

3. The great diſparity in the number of Proteſtants and Papiſts. There being not one family of a hundred in *England* and *Scotland* Popiſh, and in many and great Pariſhes not a Papiſt. Now what greater madneſs can we imagine, than that his Majeſty ſhould adventure to rely upon the Papiſts alone, againſt all the Proteſtants of the three Nations. Though their numbers are greater then formerly, yet are they comparatively ſmall (as we have ſaid) to thoſe that profes the Reformed Religion. So that it can never enter into my braine, that ſuch folly ſhould enter into any Princes breſt, much les one who hath ſuffered ſo much, by the former diviſions of his Kingdoms.

4. The vaſt difference between a people enlightned by the Goſpel, and well grounded in their Religion, and an ignorant and unprincipled people. For the generality of the common people brought up in ignorance, (as they uſually are under Popery) are more ſubject to receive impreſſions from their Teachers, and ſo by degrees change their Profeſſion. Whereas thoſe who are aſſured from the Word of God, that they are in the right; will by no means be induced to the ſame. And uſually the more force is uſed, the more obſtinate they are. For a ſetled Conſcience deſpiſes dainger, and defies all the terrors and torments, that their cruelleſt adverſaries can invent. If in leſſer differences of Church-government, the King hath found it ſo difficult, that after all the coercive Lawes, and other meanes he hath uſed, he tells the world, *'tis evident by the ſad experience of twelve yeares, that there is very little fruit of all thoſe forceable courſes*; what ſhall we think he is likely to gain in the greater and eſſential differences of Religion ſhould he attempt any change therein? Surely not much from the Pious and ſober party of Proteſtants; for I neither matter nor mention the ruder ſort, and ignorant rable. Nay univerſall experience hath taught the World, that where any kind of Religion is powerfull, all force againſt it is weake and contemptible: and much more againſt the true Reformed Religion; as that wiſe and excellent Hiſtorian *Thuanus* ſhewes in the Preface to his Hiſtory; which is one of thoſe three admirable Dedications, to the Crown of *France*, that are worthy to be read by all the Kings and Princes of Europe.

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I might add to theſe, the genious of the *Engliſh* Nation, which I know to be zealous in what way of Religion ſoever they take, as hath been obſerved by ſeverall Authors. In times of Popery ſo addicted thereto, that they had

given moſt of their means to the Church, if the Statute of *Mortmaine* had not prohibited them. In the times of Libertiniſme when a Republick, the 3. Fanaticks were ſo intoxicated, that it was not enough for them to puſh down the Pope, but they would break off all Government, for being his hornes, and make every thing Antichriſtian that was not to their humor. When the King return'd and Epiſcopacy with him, that Party would not abate the three controverted Ceremonies (as a wiſe and moderate Biſhop both foretold and lamented) for the univerſal Peace of the three Kingdoms. Nay the very common rable would overflow both in drinke and devotion; kneel at a pillar, and reele at a Poſt. Though I know there are as pious, ſober, and ſerious Chriſtians of ſeverall perſwaſions (Epiſcopall Presbyterial and Independants) as any are in the Chriſtian World: but I ſay this to ſhew, that what way ſoever they take, they are not eaſily diverted.

But as groundleſs jealouſie, is both uncharitableneſs and folly; ſo where there is juſt ground; not to be jealous is ſtupidity. It may therefore not be amiſs for our further ſatisfaction, to enquire into theſe Objectors grounds. And they are theſe, 1. The increaſe of Papiſts, at Court eſpecially. 2. The Kings countenancing and intruſting them with power. 3. His tollerating their Religion. 4. Joyning with *France* againſt us.

For the 1 and 2[d] I can ſay little of my own knowledge, it being many yeares ſince I ſaw either *England* or *France*. But I ſhall take reports upon the publique faith of *England* and *Holland* for this once, though it be none of the beſt ſecurity. 1. Therefore that Papiſts increaſe, through the Queens Court, the extraordinary correſpondence with *France*, the diſſentions of the Proteſtants, the Atheiſme and irreligion of the Age, and other wayes and meanes which might be mentioned, is not to be wondred at; but rather that there are no more. Allthough I am well aſſured, that their number is comparatively ſmall, and their Intreſt in *England* and *Scotland* inconſiderable to effect any change. And were they more, this will not infer the King is one.

2. And much les his countenancing and intruſting them. For who ever concluded that the *French* Kings for their kindnes to Proteſtants, (who have ſerved them moſt faithfully heretofore in their wars) were Proteſtants? Or the States Papiſts, for employing the *French* and others in their Armies? A Papiſt may be a loyall ſubject, a wiſe Stateſman, a fit Embaſſador, a good Soldjer, and merit his Princes favor, though of a different Religion.

3. Nor will the Kings indulgence of liberty to thoſe of that Religion conclude more againſt our aſſertion, then for the States of *Hollands* being of all the Religions they tollerate, or for *Amſterdam*'s being Jewes. There may be reaſons of State, ſometimes to connive, and ſometimes to tollerate that, which we neither approve, nor would willingly allow: even as *Moſes* did divorce to the Jewes. Or there may be Articles, promiſes and other engagements upon us, whereby we are forced to do that, which we would not if free: as *Joſhua* to the *Gibeonites*; and our Anceſtors

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to Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, &c. who aſſiſted them in the defence of the Countrey againſt *Spaine*.

There are two things doe wonders in the world, and are the ordinary pretexts and beſt apologies for the greateſt exorbitances, viz: *danger and neceſſity*. And yet where theſe are reall and not feigned, they are conſidered both by God and good men. Nature dictates, that we ſhould hazard the hand rather then the head, and loſe a part, rather then venture the whole. I have for above 20 years obſerved, both where I have lived, and where I have travelled; that *Moderation* is rather a ſpeculative notion, than matter of practiſe: like a vertuous and beautifull poor Lady, that all will commend, but none will marry. Parties that are under, call for it eagerly; but when they are upmoſt, neglect it ſhamefully. Seeing then the paſſions of men, and iniquities of the age are ſo great, that I exſpect nothing in Religion, but either an *inquiſition* or *tolleration*; I am more for the latter, and would rather reſide at *Amſterdam* or *Conſtantinople*, then at *Rome* or *Madrid*.

v. G. Fur & I. c. §. 7. c. 2.

But to come cloſer to the particular caſe. If his Majeſty therefore had no obligation upon him to do this, or were it a liberty to Papiſts only, or a liberty for their worſhip in publick; I ſhould grant the objection was very weighty; but it is the quite contrary. For he tells the world he was obliged in point of gratitude to the Papiſts, for their ſervice to his Father; and to the Presbyterians (who had been ſo inſtrumentall in his reſtoration) in point of promiſe allſo, ſeverall wayes made to them both before and after his returne to his Crowne; ſeverall times declaring that he would grant indulgence to them and others of tender conſciences. And we know that if his Majeſty had followed his own inclinations, they had been better performed. And now that he gives a conceſſion of liberty, it is neither ſoly nor principally to thoſe of the Romiſh Religion, but to all others as well as they, and that with this manifeſt difference, that it is to the *Proteſtants publiquely, and to Papiſts in their private houſes onely*, and this revocable at pleaſure. All though ſome wiſe men are of opinion, that the King and Rulers will not onely find ſuch eaſe and ſafety therein; but ſuch eminent advantages many wayes, and the people generally ſuch content, that it will ſcarce be revoked.

Decl. Marc. 1672

4. His joyning with *France* againſt us, is matter of *Intreſt*, and not *Religion*. And if we judge impartially, will no more conclude him a Papiſt, then the *Emperor* and King of *Spaine* Proteſtants becauſe they joyne with us. Herein let us eye and owne the Providence of God, who changes times and ſeaſons, and makes friends become enimies, and enimies Friends. Would not this have been thought incredible to our Anceſtors, that *France* and *England* who raiſed us, ſhould endeavour our ruine? And that *Spaine* and *Auſtria* who ſought our deſtruction, ſhould ever ſeek our preſervation? And all this out of Intreſt, (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter) thoſe formerly to ballance *Spaine*'s, and theſe now *France*'s greatnes; and neither Religion or affection. For whoſoever thinkes that *Spaine* and *Auſtria* have any kindneſs

for us more than themſelves, hath a faith far larger than my fancy.

There is another Objection againſt our cloſing with *England* for Religions-ſake, from their *Epiſcopall Church-Government*; which if it were not mentioned by ſome to the prejudice of my aſſertion, I ſhould have paſſed over as inconſiderable. For.

1. This is onely an accidentall difference in the ſame Religion, and not a different kinde of Religion, as Popery is. And a difference in the externall forme of Government onely; not in the ſubſtantialls and vitalls of Religion. For we both agree in the ſame Confeſſion of Faith, and in all the eſſentialls of the Reformed Religion.

2. A very great part of the King of *England*'s Subjects are Presbyterians; as is well knowne.

3. Although Epiſcopacy be the Church Government, ſetled by Law in the three Kingdoms, yet his Majeſty indulges publique liberty to Presbyterians, and other Non-conformiſts. So that we need not doubt but he will much more to us, that Church Government which is ſetled amongſt us.

4. *New-England*, and ſeveral other Plantations belonging to his Majeſty of great *Brittaine*, have allwayes enjoyed, and ſtill do their own Church-Governement freely; and therefore we need not feare that ours ſhould be denied us.

5. Allthough the Church Governement of theſe Provinces be Presbyterian, yet as to its vitall power and adminiſtration in ſeverall places, it hath for ſundry yeares laſt paſt rather been *Eraſtian*. The Magiſtrates frequently aſſuming that power here, which the Biſhops do there. In ſo much that I queſtion whether the Presbyterians may not have more hopes, that their diſcipline ſhould be raiſed; then feares that it ſhould be ruined under *England*. What crying up the Magiſtrates power *circa ſacra*, and what decrying the Miniſters, both by word and writing. *Antiſtius* tells us in the frontiſpece of his booke, that whatever right divine or humane is attributed to the Miniſters or they aſſume to themſelves, is either falſely and impiouſly aſcribed to them, or is onely from the Rulers of the Republique or city where they are ſetled. What applauding of *Hobs's Leviathan*, now tranſlated into *Latin* and *Dutch*. What frequent interpoſing in Eccleſiaſticall affaires, and how miſerably the honeſt Miniſter in the *Hague* was handled, may be ſeen in *Aitzma*. Many were afraid of a ſtorme falling upon the Miniſters, if our enemies had not faln upon us. What croſſing the Churches in the Election of their Paſtors, and exerciſe of their Governement hath been at *Rotterdam*, and other places, is too well knowne, and being reformed, I wiſh whats paſt might be buried in oblivion. And thus I have vindicated my firſt Argument from *Religion*, and ſhall endeavour to compenſate my prolixity heerein, with more brevity in the reſt. Concluding, that if we cannot defend the true reformed Religion we profeſs, nor will not ſecure it the beſt we can, we may call our Country *Ichabod*, for the glory is departed from theſe *Netherlands*.

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Sect. 5. *The ſecond Argument taken from Liberty. Wherein the diſferent kinds, and degrees of Liberty under all ſorts of Governement, are declared; and the probability of our enjoying greater freedome under England than France, argued.*

IT will further appeare our intereſt, to be under *England* rather than *France*, in regard of our *Liberty*. Which next to true Religion and life, is the greateſt bleſſing beſtowed on man-kind. Now for our clearer proceeding herein, we muſt 1. Shew what kind of Liberty is here meant. 2. Wherein it conſiſts, and the meaſures thereof. 3. Accommodate theſe to the matter in hand.

For the firſt. We meane not here *Perſonall Liberty*: either morally conſidered in oppoſition to *coaction*; or *civilly*; either in oppoſition to *confinement*, as we uſually take it; or to ſlavery, as the *Civilians*. 2. Nor *Civil Liberty*, as oppoſed to *Monarchie*; as the Greeke and Latin Hiſtorians frequently: with which *Tacitus* begins his Annals, *Urbem Romam à Principio Reges habuere, libertatem & conſulatum L. Brutus inſtituit.* For I well know, that to whomſoever we ſubmit, this liberty is loſt. Much leſs 3. For *Licentiouſneſs*. For ſubjection to Lawes and Government, is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with liberty; that it is the onely means of its preſervation. For without this; what are Kingdoms and States, but great *butcheries of men, and publick robberies of propriety*, where the ſtrongeſt arme and longeſt ſword ſweeps away all? So boundleſs is mans villany, and his luſts ſo ragingly reſtleſs: that we have no other choyce left us, but either be ſubject to Law, or ſlaves to licentiouſneſs. As *Tully* ſayes well, *Legum idcirco omnes ſervi ſumus, ut liberi eſſe poſſimus.* But 4. That *publick liberty* which a people have under their Government, (of what kind ſoever it is) as it is taken in oppoſition to *publick oppreſſion*. Which is of divers ſorts, and different degrees, in regard of our perſons, priviledges, and proprieties. When a people are neither oppreſſed by uſurpation, without colour of Law; nor by extortion, under pretext thereof. Which is an invaluable mercy to thoſe that injoy it: though rightly valued by few, except thoſe that want it. And hath been ſo highly praiſed by all ſorts of writers: that it is better to be ſilent, then briefe in its commendations.

Inſti. l. 1.

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Now Secondly wherein this conſiſts, and how to meaſure the ſame, is harder to diſcover and determine; in regard we can meet with no guides, that have gone this way. For the Civil Law, which is copious concerning all other Dominions, is ſilent in this of *Soveraignty*; and being calculated for the Meridian of *Monarchs*, leaves them free to make their Subjects ſo, more or leſs at their pleaſure. Hiſtorians onely relate what freedom ſuch and ſuch people had under ſuch and ſuch Rulers: and the Writers of Policy, and particular Republicks, compare the peoples liberty under the ſeveral forms of Government, and commend this or that State for the ſame. And theſe are all the helps we have: which are in the next degree to nothing.

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We will therefore paſs them all by, and freely follow our own judgment; in ſhewing joyntly both the nature of liberty, and the meaſures thereof. But we muſt neceſſarily here premiſe.

1. That though all ought to pay the homage of ſubjection, to that lawful government under which they live; yet none ought ſo to be wedded to any forme, as to think the ſubjects of all others not free. Which *Ariſtotle* long ſince obſerved, to be the vulgar error in Democracy. For though it well becomes a vertuous Wife, to eſteem her own Husband, the beſt head ſhe can have; and accordingly to be guided by him: yet if ſhe will cenſure all other Wives, for meer ſlaves; all her neighbours round about her, will ring her a peale of indignation.

2. That the beſt way to judge of peoples liberty is by conſidering it in reference to Soveraignty. For all ſubjection and government being relatives; and Subjects liberty conſiſting, in ſuch a manner of ſubjection to the Supreme Powers, as is free and not ſlaviſh; the one is eaſily knowne by the other. So that if we duly conſider Supremacy, we may diſcerne, whether the Subjects be free or no by the manner, and the degrees of their freedom, by the meaſure of their ſubjection.

3. That we muſt diſtinguiſh between *actual liberty*, or freedom from oppreſſion; and *legal liberty* by conſtitution. For freedom may be conſidered either in regard of morall power, or government which is the exerciſe thereof; and that both ſeverally, and joyntly. For a people free by Law, may be oppreſſed by their Rulers; and a people not legally free, may be actually ſo by their Governors grace. So that actuall liberty alone, is onely under abſolute Powers, legal under limited and mixed, and both under Governments which proceed regularly, in the Sphere of Power wherein they are placed, and are not planetary in their motions. Having premiſed theſe things; we ſhall now proceed to lay down certain rules, whereby every vulgar capacity may judge, of the nature of liberty and the degrees thereof, under any kind of Soveraignty whatſoever. Whether it reſide in a ſingle perſon, or in a plurality; either abſolute, or limited in regard of its meaſure; or for the manner ſimple or mixed; either of two or three eſtates, equally or unequally, and from whatever priority or predominant part denominated, Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, or Democracy, according to the conſtitution of every Nation.

And the general rule is this. *The greater power in the Soveraignty, the leſſer liberty in the Subjects; and the leſs power in the Soveraignty, the more liberty in the Subjects.* It is not my preſent work to determine, whether of theſe is better for the whole. The Polititians pens have ſufficiently ventilated that queſtion; uſually aſcribing more ſtrength and ſtability to the former, and more common proſperity to the latter; though often concluding, either through favour or fear and flattery, that that Government under which they live, deſerves above all to weare the garland. I ſhall therefore onely ſay this, that ſeeing extreames are alwayes dangerous; a golden meane is

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that; which makes a golden age; both to Soveraigns and Subjects.

Now although I judge this rule alone, ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe; yet in regard ſome perhaps, may be pleaſed with ſo large a proſpect, as the liberty of all Nations in all ages of the world; we ſhall take a fuller view thereof; and the rather, becauſe it will be of uſe to us hereafter, not onely in this but the following Sections. And for this end will begin at the bottom, that ſo aſcending by degrees, we may behold both it and them the better.

1. A people under *abſolute power*, are not truly and legally free, but onely permiſſively and precariouſly. Becauſe their liberty is not from Law, but onely founded in their Governors favor. So that they are liable to all oppreſſion, although they are ſometimes as actually free, and little oppreſſed, as thoſe that live under other Governments.

And this liberty, as to the certainty thereof, is more or les according to the degrees of abſolute power. Where the Rulers will, is the peoples Law; freedom is an *Embryo*, rather than formed: when they make Laws, whereby Subjects are at more certainty; it then becomes a *fœtus*: and when they oblige themſelves, to rule by thoſe Laws; the *child* is borne, and may cry out of violence and oppreſſion. This *liberty*, how ſmall ſoever, and uncertaine of life, hath yet many witneſſes to avouch its name; which we find alſo regiſtred in Antiquity. So that whoſoever denies the ſame; muſt call all thoſe *ſlaves*, who lived under the Eaſtern and Roman Empires of old, and the Turks and Perſians at this day.

2. Under *limited power*, the people have a legall liberty, which is greater or les, according to the Laws, conſtitutions, or contracts, whereby the power is limited. Whether originally and antecedently; or by after condeſcent, betwixt thoſe in Supremacy and them in ſubjection; is not much materiall. This liberty being ſupported by Law, not voluntarily made by the Governors themſelves, and alterable at their pleaſure (as in abſolute power) but neceſſarily condeſcended to by them that will governe, makes the ſubjection of a people tolerable. And if the Fathers in power pleaſe to foſter them, they want not for neceſſaries, though they abound not in ſuperfluities. But I confes, if this freedom meet with a churliſh ſtepfather, and hath neither guardian nor friends to maintain its right; then its forced to keep private at home, and dare ſcarce appear in publike; which makes their preſent condition miſerable. For liberty once lamed by power, is not unlike to a labouring man, that hath his leg broken; who till it be found, Is thereby confined to his own cottage, or cralls but abroad to beg with his crutches.

3. Thoſe that live under a *mixed power*, have more or les liberty according to the temperament thereof.

If mixt of Monarchie and Acriſtocracy onely, the common peoples liberty is according to their Laws. And is more ſecured by this compoſition, than in a ſimple governement, though limited; becauſe one is a check to the exorbi-

exorbitancy of the other. For though every mixt power be limited, yet every limited power is not mixt. In this Government, though the Nobility, ſhould as Cedars ſhelter the underſhrubs, from the ſtorms of the ſuperior order; yet both Hiſtorie and experience ſhews us, that often times (I ſay not allwayes) the Peeres care not to be their Princes Vaſſalls, that ſo the reſt of the people may be theirs.

If mixed ſo that the common people have a ſhare in the Supreme Power, they are *abſolutely free*; and their liberty is more or les, according as their ſhare is. Whether it be mixed of all the three kinds of Government, *viz.* Monarchie, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy; or onely of the two latter; for I never read or heard of a State compounded of the two extreames.

Now the Supreme Power conſiſts eſpecially (I ſay not onely) 1. In enacting, interpreting, and repealing of Laws. 2. In electing and appointing ſubordinate Magiſtrates and Miniſters of State for Government. 3. In judging and determining all crimes and controverſies amongſt their Subjects, ultimately without appeale. 4. In leavying of taxes to defray publick expences. 5. In the power of Armes for defence of the whole. 6. In making War and Peace with others. So then as a people partake in theſe, their freedom is accordingly to be accounted of. And here liberty is come to maturity; and if ſhe be modeſt, and keep within her bounds, and fall not into wanton licentiouſneſs; raviſhes the eyes of all ſpectators, filling their mouthes with her praiſes, and their mindes with admiration.

But it is high time that we haſten unto the third particular propoſed, which is the accommodation of theſe, to the ſubject matter we have in hand.

Firſt then, it is well known, that there is a very vaſt difference in the liberty of the Subjects of theſe two Crowns. The common people under the King of England have 1. A part in the legiſlative power, which is the chief authority in all Governements. For the Commons make a third State in all the three Kingdoms; and have their repreſentatives freely choſen by themſelves in all Parliaments; which are the true Conſervatories of publique liberty and particular propriety. Whereas the common people in France either never had this priviledge; or if they had, have long ſince loſt it. That they had it formerly, *Hottoman* endeavours to prove, which *Arniſæus* denies, (and anſwers his reaſons,) nor that only, but all mixture in the French Monarchy either with Princes of the Blood, Peers, or any other State whatſoever. But whatever was the Governement, under the two firſt lines of the Kings of France; it is generally agreed, that in the beginning of the third under *Hugh Capet*, (who cantond out France about the yeare 990) the peoples liberty was devoured by the Dukes and Earles of the Provinces, and the Monarchie allmoſt turned into a Toparchie, by reaſon of their hereditary right. Which the after Kings ſoone perceiving, to be too great a ballance to the Crowne, broke down by degrees; and ſo became the only *Atlas's* that have ever ſince ſuſtan'd that Government. For the Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, which were the only bulwark of the

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publick liberty, that was left undemoliſhed by deſpotical powers; if they ever had any ſhare in the legiſlative, loſt it long before *Capets* time, (for from *Charles* the great the Kings Edicts have paſt for Laws.) and being diſcontinued in their Wars with *England*,and their remaining power (whatever it was) broke down by the policy of *Lewis* the eleventh; they were finally laid aſide by *Lewis* the laſt. And although *Philip* the fourth fixed that Court of Judicature at *Paris*,that was formerly ambulatory and uſually accompanied the Kings Court, which became a pattern to the reſt of their Provincial Parliaments; yet both that and theſe have only the name and ſhadow; not the nature and power of the Parliaments under the Crown of *England*. The Members being neither choſen by the people, nor repreſenting them; but Lawjers, that uſually either purchaſe theſe places of the Crown, or pay an annual penſion for the ſame; having no legiſlative power, nor indeed any other but derivative from the King, and alterable at his pleaſure. They tell the Academy of *Paris*; *ſe à Rege juſſos promulgare leges,quas ipſi viſum fuerit ferre. Apud illum authoritatem eſſe, &c.* But theſe things are ſo well known, that I will not ſtand to alledge Authorities to prove them; although, if it were neceſſary, I could bring as many as would fill the page even to oſtentation. But let us briefly run over the reſt. Thoſe 2. under the Crown of *England* have the election of Magiſtrates generally in Corporations,and ſome under Officers in the Country, which cannot be removed without due proceſs of Law. 3. Have a ſhare in the Judicature, by the Juries (in *England*) for matter of fact, together with the Kings Judges for matter of Law, and their laſt appeal to Parliaments. 4. The original power of raiſing Taxes. For the propoſal and grant muſt come from the Commons, and the other two States only conſent. 5. The liberty of bearing Arms. Whereas in *France*, all Promotions, Governments, Judicatures and Taxes, are in the Kings power; who permits not the vulgar uſe of Arms, or a ſtanding *Militia* in his Kingdom; but only ſuch as are in his pay, and thereby entirely at his devotion. So that there is no Communalty that lives more happily than that of *England*,nor none more miſerably than the *poor paiſantry* of *France*.

Guag. in Lud. 12.

2. Hence we may infer a fair probability, of enjoying more liberty under the Crown of *England* than *France*. I know our freedom will not neceſſarily follow from the premiſes; for that which is *legal*, will depend upon ſuch conditions, as ſhall be either previouſly agreed upon, or after conſented unto: yet I leave every one to judge, which is likelieſt to grant us the beſt; not only for our Religion, but liberty in our Perſons, Privileges and Eſtates; as alſo whoſe Government is moſt likely to defend the ſame, and make us thereby alſo *actually free*.

If it be alledged, that the *French King* may give us more liberty than his other Subjects, and the *King of England* leſs. The reply is eaſie; that we reaſon not [illegible] the power of either, or what they can and may do; but what in all appearance they will do. Although thoſe that hold it for a

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fundamental in the *French* Government, that whatever is conquered by them or acquired, muſt be incorporated with the Kingdom of *France*; and that this is as indiſpenſable for the body politick, as the *Salick Law* is for the head; ſcruple much, whether the King *de jure*, can make us freer than the reſt of his Subjects. But we neither deſire to diſpute the Prerogative of Princes, much leſs of ſuch a mighty Monarch; nor indeed are we of their opinion herein; and therefore take it for granted, that he as well as the *King of England*, may grant us as full and ample liberty, as He ſhall think fit in His Royal pleaſure. We only profeſs our fears what he will do, and ſuch as are rational and becoming men; not groundleſs fancies, or frivolous reports, which are the uſual *Bugbears*, that affright only fearful women and children.

1. We cannot flatter our ſelves into hopes, that our condition ſhould be better than either of thoſe two Kings (which ſoever we ſubmit unto) natural Subjects. If it be equal, it is well; and all that we can rationally expect. And therefore we judge, that *England* will eaſier be induced to this, which is ordinary unto that Government; than *France*, to indulge us of extraordinary favour, unleſs we had merited ſuch a priviledge, as to be made an exception from the general rule. And that Governors under them will willingly and readily maintain, that which they are accuſtomed unto; but very hardly ſuch immunities, as tranſcend the bounds which are ſet to others.

2. The many examples we have before us, of ſuch Countries as *France* hath gained, keeps our fears continually waking. For by whatever Title they have been acquired, we find them all generally in the ſame condition. Whether by right of donation, as *Daulphiny* and *Provence*, or purchaſe as *Berry*, *Montpelier*, *&c.* or marriage, as *Bourbon*, *Champagne*, *Languedock*, *Bretaigny*, *&c.* or by conqueſt and powerful ſeizure, as *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, *Poictou*, *Anjou*, and whatſoever held on *England* by *Charles* the ſeventh, and *Burgundy* with thoſe that depended thereon, by his ſon *Lewis* the eleventh; all theſe being incorporated with *France*, (what ever their former immunities were, and whatever leſſer they ſtill injoy) are all equally ſubject to all Laws, Governments, and Impoſitions from the Crown, without diſpute and contradiction. And can we then be ſuch fools, as to think, that though we come under *France*, yet we ſhall be free? But now on the contrary we know, that whatſoever acceſſion hath been made to the Crown of *England*, either by marriage as *Scotland*, or conqueſt as *Ireland*, that they have all their Laws, Priviledges, Governments, and Immunities remaining entirely, as inviolable from the Crown, and unalterable without their own conſent. Nor do they only injoy theſe, but make Laws for ſupporting them, according to their particular intereſts; yea croſs and oppoſite to the other, which yet are ratified by his Majeſty, or at leaſt by his Royal authority and pleaſure.

3. If any have neither liſt nor leiſure, to look into the Hiſtories of former times; the preſent age will furniſh them ſufficiently, with examples

both foreign and domeſtick. Let them enquire of *Lorraign* and *Flanders*, how they fare with their new Maſters. Or let them but paſs into the adjacent Provinces, and inform themſelves of the *French* Government; and then they may ſee as in a Glaſs, the face of their own future condition. And if any be reſolvedly blind, that they will not ſee, except they be deaf alſo, or ſtop their ears; they may hear enough, (if the tenth part of reports be but true) to warn them ſufficiently to look to themſelves. But if they remain ſo incredulous, that all the Beacons that are fired about them, makes them not fear; and that they will believe nothing; which they themſelves do not feel: I wiſh that experience (which wiſe men call *the Miſtreſs of Fools*) convince them not of their folly, when it is too late; and their condition become ſo miſerable, that its fitter to be drawn covered with a ſorrowful veil, by ſome *Timanthes*'s Pencil, than to be lively ſet forth in its ſad colours, or deſcribed by the Pen of an impartial Hiſtorian. For my part I profeſs that none honours the worth and gallantry of the *French* Nation more than my ſelf, yet I would loth come under its power: for the reaſon which the Fox gives the Lion in the Fable,

—*quia me veſtigia terrent, Omnia te adverſum ſpectantia, nulla retrorſum.* *Horat. Epiſt. l. Ep. 1.*

4. We think we have reaſon to be afraid not only for our perſons, and purſes; but even for our lives, and all thoſe things which may make us miſerable; not only in regard of the *French*, but our *ſelves*. For we know that a people accuſtomed to liberty, who have had enough given them and taken much more, when once they come to be reſtrained, and ſtrictly held in by the rains of Government; are very apt to break out into mutinies and miſchiefs; and like wild Colts in their firſt managing, ruſh deſperately into ruin, that they may throw their Riders. Yea when *Conquerors* think they have ſo harnaſſed the multitude, that they dare not but draw their triumphant Chariots; and doubt not but they themſelves ſit ſo faſt, that they may drive them out of breath, and ſo tame them at their pleaſure: they uſually *Phaëton* like, ſet all on fire; and if they eſcape the popular fury by running away in the ſmoak, meet with his fate, to be ſtruck with the Thunderbolt of their Soveraigns juſtice. Innumerable are the examples for the confirmation of this; but we will confine our ſelves to our own Country; and content our ſelves with two only. When *Philip* the fourth had beat the *Flemmings*, united *Flanders* to *France*, and ſet Governours over them; who erected Citadels in their ſeveral Towns, Garriſoned their Cities to keep them in awe, and arbitrarily charged them with great contributions; the people that were uſed to Freedom, would not be brought into this yoke of bondage; but deſperately revolt, maſſacre the *French*, and involve all in confuſion and miſery. Nor is this all; for, (though the baſer ſort begin, yet great men uſually end ſuch quarrels) a War followed, which coſt both *France* and *Flanders* dear, in the vaſt expence both of blood and treaſure. And when *Duke d'Alva* attempted the like upon

Serres in Phil. 4.

our Anceſtors in theſe *Provinces*, who were a free people and not uſed to

ſuch ſeverity; how did the ſparks of mutiny in the beginning break out into great flames at laſt, which ſet the whole Country on fire? No pen is able to expreſs the miſeries of thoſe Times; nor Tragedy repreſent the things that were perpetrated. How were moſt mens hearts filled with *fear*, many with *horror*, and ſome with *deſpair*; to ſee their Country become an *Aceldama*; and ſo many thouſands forced through *a Red Sea of blood*, to find their paſſage to the Land of *Canaan*! I conclude therefore, that if they who enjoyed leſs liberty than we, could ſo little endure Servitude; we ſhall be much leſs able to endure it, who have enjoyed far more freedom then they. So that we may eaſily foreſee, without any Prophetick Spirit, what a *flood of calamities* is likely to break in upon us; when ever any ſhall break down the *banks of our liberty*.

Sect. 6. *The third Argument which preponderates for* England, *is the preſervation of our Eſtates: in regard of Souldiers violence, Governors Impoſitions, Publick Debts by Obligation, and Revenues of the Romiſh Church.*

WE proceed now to ſhew, that its better to be under *England* in regard of our *Eſtates*. Both in reſpect of *getting* them, (as I ſhall ſhew in the following Section) and the *keeping* thoſe we have gotten already, or by the bleſſing of *God* may get hereafter. And to this I give the precedency, becauſe the enjoyment of Riches is the end for which, and Trade only the means by which, we labour to obtain them. Now if it can be made apparent, that we can neither get, nor keep ſuch *Eſtates* under *France*, as we can under *England*: there are none ſo regardleſs herein (whatever they are of *Religion* and *Liberty*) but will eaſily grant the truth of our *Concluſion*.

1. Then let us conſider that except we can keep that which is our own we are never the better for it, but a great deal the worſe. Had we a grant of *Midas*'s wiſh, that all we touched ſhould be turned into gold; or were we inſured that all our adventures, ſhould bring us returns as rich as the *Eaſt-India* Companies; what ſhould it profit us, if we could not keep them? Nay, were we not a great deal worſe than without them? What toil and anxiety is there in getting! What fears and troubles are there in keeping! and what ſorrow and vexation in the parting with riches! Not that I think any civil Authority, will ever take away our Eſtates, except we forfeit them through miſdemeanors; but when the *Sword* brings ſuch a *Commiſſion*, I would gladly know who dare deny it? And whether the poor man then, that hath all his money in his purſe-pocket; be not both ſafer in his perſon, and more ſecure of his Eſtate; than the rich Merchant, whoſe *bags* and *warehouſes* are filled with his wealth? *Cræſus* was rich even to a Proverb, yet ſhewing to *Solon* all his Treaſures, *Solon* told him, *that if any came with better iron than he more, they would be maſter of all that Gold*

Now in regard of plundring, depedrations, and all manner of violence by Souldiers both to our perſons and eſtates; I think we are far more ſecure from the *Engliſh*, than *French*. And for this, I ſhall appeal to the *Common experience* of all ages and places where their Armies have come; which bear witneſs, to the great exorbitances of the latter, more than the other; in the violation both of womens chaſtity and mens eſtates, and frequent deſolations by fire and ſword. Yea I will make their own Hiſtorian *Comines* judge of the controverſie, who having ſhown, how unjuſtly great ones govern, and the innocent people are oppreſt, both by them and the Souldiers, whoſe flagitious lives, petulant carriage, and violent rapines are intollerable; profeſſes that he mentions theſe things for *France's* ſake, which of all the Principalities he had known, was moſt afflicted with them. Whereas on the contrary, he ſays *England* excel'd them all, in theſe three particulars; *reſpect to the common good, the peoples freedom from injury, and the little ſpoil their Souldiers and Armies made in their Wars*; the laſt whereof he repeats, and enlarges a little after in the ſame Chapter. *Lib. 6. 18*

2. But we will ſuppoſe the beſt in all *uncertainties*, and therefore hope we ſhall eſcape all plundering, and violence from the Souldiers in a time of confuſion; and make no doubt thereof, in a ſetled condition. But yet we know we ſhall not eſcape paying ſuch Taxes, as indeed juſtly deter us, both in regard of their *greatneſs*, and alſo the *arbitrarines* of their Impoſition. In both which we know no people in *Europe* more miſerable than *France*, nor none happier in the contrary, than the Subjects of the Crown of *England*. Which partly occaſioned that known ſaying of the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt, that he was *Rex regum*, the King of *Spain Rex hominum*, the King of *France Rex aſinorum*, and the King of *England Rex diabolorum*. For he could have nothing but what the *Germain Princeſs* conſented to; *Spain* only what the Laws allowed him; *France* all that he pleaſed; and *England* nothing that pleaſed not the people.

As touching their *greatneſs*. 1. I willingly grant that Subjects muſt afford their Soveraigns aſſiſtance; and in times of extremity, and utmoſt dangers, it is hard to determine, how far their power may not lawfully be extended. Secondly, I know that the *grandeur* of the *French* Court is great, which is lately ſhown us in our own Language. That their *Armies* are often numerous; and ſome always neceſſary, both for defence of the Government from their domeſtick enemies, and of the Frontiers from foreign, in the adjacent Countries. And that theſe require vaſt ſums to ſupport them. Yet notwithſtanding, thirdly, *Moderation* ought to be uſed, ſo that the common people may enjoy the fruit of their labours. But to ſhew how far the Government of *France* hath been from this, would be an endleſs work. We ſhould but tire our ſelves to read, what their own Hiſtorians have related; and be weary with the rehearſal, of the many tumults and rebellions that have ariſen from their *gabels*. It would fill any one with *ſorrow* to hear of the great *complaints* and *out-cries*, that the people have made in former *Poli Wee al. c. 3.*

Ages; and fright us to hear thoſe of the preſent: which yet their Governors are ſo uſed to, that they count them but the old *fa fa* of *France*, and oppreſſion the ſin of the old World. What remorſe of Conſcience ſeveral of their Kings have had for their extortion, is well known to thoſe that have read their Hiſtories. Some in their life time as *Charles* the eighth; ſome at their death as *Philip* the fourth, who remitted the Taxes he had unjuſtly required, and commanded his Sons to eaſe the people. But above all *Lewis* the eleventh, who reſolved to reform, but it was too late; and therefore charged the *Dauphin* againſt that oppreſſion he had practiſed. And indeed it was highly neceſſary; for he had reduced the common people to ſuch poverty, that many of the Farmers were forced, with halters about their necks to draw their own Plows; except they would ſteal, and once for all, ſtretch both themſelves and ropes on the Gallows. But I ſhould not once mention any of theſe things, if I thought it not better for us, both to know and believe them before hand, than experience them afterwards to our coſt. For I fear if we come once under the *French*, there will be no end of paying contributions; until we be brought into the condition of the *Andrians* of old, who when *Themiſtocles* demanded money telling them he had brought two *Goddeſſes* to require it, *perſwaſion* & *power*; anſwered that they had two great *Goddeſſes* alſo who taught them to deny it, which were *poverty* and *impoſſibility*. And then the *Hollanders* may do that living, which *Saladinus* the Emperor of *Aſia* did dying; ſhew their winding ſheets and ſay, *Theſe are all the rich Hollanders have left*.

But ſhould we part with ſome of our Eſtates, though it were a good ſhare; ſo we were ſure to enjoy the reſt, it was leſs matter: but when we are always obnoxious to an arbitrary power, ſtill to be ſqueaſed like Spunges at the pleaſure of others; we can ſcarce call any thing our own, and are rather *procuratores* than *Domini divitiarum*. I know well, that ſome of the *French* Kings, have like good Shepherds, fleeced not flead their flocks, (according to *Tiberius* his ſaying, *Boni paſtoris eſt pecus tondere, non deglubere*) eſpecially *Lewis* the twelfth: who therefore (as the *Jeſuite* well obſerves) had no rebellion in all his raign, which is a rare bleſſing (as he ſays) and extraordinary in that *Realm*. And the great wiſdom and generoſity of his preſent *Majeſty*, puts me out of all doubt of his *clemency*; but a good, a great, a wiſe *Solomon*, may have a *Rehoboam* to his ſon and ſucceſſor, whoſe *little finger may be heavier than his Fathers loyns*. By which example in Sacred Hiſtory, we are ſhown, that what ever Prince will force his Subjects to open their purſes to his pleaſure, ſhall quickly find their hearts ſhut; and though for the preſent they may ſupplicate, and outwardly ſeem to adore him (as the *Indians* their dieties *ne noceant*) yet they hate him worſe than the *Devil* himſelf; and upon the firſt occaſion tumultuouſly cry, *every man to your Tents*; whence open diviſions, lawleſs rapines, bloody wars, and all the miſerable effects that follow them, break in upon a Nation beyond controll. But let us be frank in conceding (as it becomes us when we ſpeak

of Kings) that there ſhall never ariſe a *Rehoboam* out of *Lewis*'s race; yea that this is as impoſſible, as for a Vulture to riſe out of the Phœnix aſhes: yet we know the beſt of Kings may have bad Governors under them; and that they muſt often, both ſee with other eys, and hear with other ears than their own. Yea let us ſuppoſe, that we ſhall never pay more Tribute to the fair *Lillies* of *France*, than we have done to the *Belgick Lion*; except that of reſpect, which we acknowledge his due: yet there ſtill remains a vaſt difference, betwixt a *legal* and a *permiſſive exemption*, and of the ſame payments made by *publick conſent*, and thoſe that are commanded by abſolute *power*; though not in regard of the money, yet in regard both of the authority that requires it, which if abſolute and arbitrary is alterable, although it ſhould not be altered; and the different impreſſions which they make, and effects that follow in the minds and affections of men. For when a people know the neceſſities of State, and freely vote their own Contributions, they account themſelves free and uninjured though the Taxations be never ſo great, (according to the rule, that *volenti non fit injuria:*) and look upon them as a gift rather than a debt, and therefore pay them willingly, and generouſly bear their parting with their ſhare, Whereas on the contrary, when they are ignorant of the grounds of ſuch impoſitions, they are always jealous, that they are not ſo great as is pretended; and when they have no ſuffrage therein, look upon themſelves as wronged and oppreſſed; and though they pay them, yet it is with reluctancy; and becauſe they muſt and cannot withſtand it, their minds are dejected, and their ſpirit and courage ſtrangely depreſt, as I could ſhew by many examples. The difference of theſe two authorities, and their various and different effects, is well obſerved by two Noble Lords, *Bacon of Verulam*, and *Comines of Argenton*; both of them famous for their wiſdom, one in the Theory and the other in the Practice thereof; ſo that if the former had had the latters *Prudence*, and the latter the formers *Learning*, no Age could have paralel'd them. That of publick conſent the Learned *Bacon* obſerves, doth not ſo diſpirit a people and diminiſh their *Martial courage*, and inſtances in theſe very *Provinces*, ſhewing how cheerfully they have born the great burthen of *Exciſe*, becauſe it came from themſelves and their own authority. And that of arbitrary power, is ſhewn of *France*, by that great States-man *Comines* Counſellor to *Lewis* the eleventh; whoſe Hiſtory is ſo much eſteemed by the *French*, (as *Buſſieres* the *Jeſuite* tells us) that they neither envy the *Greeks* their *Thucydides*, nor the *Romans* their *Livy* or *Tacitus*. Wherein he ſo frequently inveys againſt theſe impoſitions, and complains of the peoples miſeries thereby; ſo freely expoſtulates with the *Kings* and *Governors*, and is ſo honeſt an *Advocate* for their Subjects; that I wiſh all *Princes*, would make this excellent Hiſtorian, as familiar to them, as did *Charles* the fifth, that great and wiſe *Emperour*. In the 18. Chapter l. 5. He ſaith, that neither the King of *France*, nor any other, hath power to exact of their Subjects without their own conſent;

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except they will tyrannically uſe their power contrary to all right both divine and humane. And chapter the ſeventh l. 6. that *Charles* the ſeventh, who in the *Engliſh* wars had introduced, this imperious way of taxing the people, without the conſent of the *States*; had burdened both his own Conſcience, and the ſucceſſive *Kings* with great guilt, and moſt cruelly wounded the *Kingdom*, of which it was like a long time to bleed. Nor doth he only thus declame againſt the unlawfulneſs thereof, but alſo ſhews how ungrateful it is to the people, as well as injurious. And on the contrary how readily and unanimouſly without tumult or contradiction even in the Kingdoms greateſt poverty, the *States* conſented and people paid to *Charles* the eighth. But if Princes will forget, the good adviſe this *Hiſtorian* there gives them; yet I wiſh they would remember at leaſt old *Pythagoras*'s Symbol, *Sudorem ferro abſtergere, tetrum facinus*. Which *Plutarch* (as a learned man tells us) expounds, *That none ſhould take away that with the ſword, which others have earned with the ſweat of their brows.* If they will only uſe their own abſolute power, yet let it be ſo attempered with equity and moderation; that the cries of the poor, and the curſes of the people, may never bring Gods vengeance upon them. But if we ſhould ſpeak the ſenſe of our Souls, we muſt needs (alas!) ſay, that moderation is ſo rare a jewel in the Crown of abſolute Monarchs; and the Governors under them ſo uſed to hunt, and hawk at all game to enrich themſelves: that though we may all hope to eſcape, yet we have more reaſon to fear: that if the fate of the other Provinces befal us, we ſhall all (as the beaſts ſaid in the fable) *meet at laſt at the Furriers ſhop.* If any can flatter themſelves with fancies, that our *Common-wealth* ſhall under *France*, become like *Plato*'s *Republick*, wherein violence and *oppreſſion* ſhall not be known; and that their Governors will be like thoſe in *Utopia*, Fathers to our fortunes as much as their own: I muſt confeſs that I am not ſo *Mercurially* made; and do no more expect to ſee the world ſo happy, than to ſee the great *Platonick year*. But on the contrary, that great Impoſitions will be added, to the great Exciſe that is upon us already; whereby the number of the *Poor* will certainly increaſe, and the *proviſions* for them daily decreaſe. Yea it is well, if the maintaining of the *land* againſt the *water*, be not neglected; and ſo our *Eden* be laid waſte: and that our rich and pompous Cities, return not in time to their old condition, of poor and deſpicable Fiſhers Villages. However, ſeeing the bleſſing of *Judah* and *Iſſachar*, can never befal the ſame people, as *Bacon* obſerves in the forementioned place, if we and our Eſtates ſhall come under arbitrary power; then let us deface the *Lion Rampant*, that was the Arms of *generous Judah*, which our Anceſtors and we have hitherto born: and ſet up *ſluggiſh Iſſachar*'s of an *Aſs couchant* between two *burdens*, that is to ſay the *Popes trumperies*, & *France*'s *tribute*.

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3. There is another conſideration, which is of great importance to the Inhabitants of theſe Countries and that is concerning their *Debts*. For mentioning Eſtates, we mean not only that in our own, but alſo that in

other mens hands. As for *Private debts*, we know they muſt needs be very many and great in places of ſuch Merchandiſe; ſeeing the greateſt part of trade is all over, and here eſpecially, driven upon credit. Now how theſe will be gotten, if bad times come on, ſo that many remove, and more be impoveriſhed; I leave thoſe to conſider, whoſe concernment it is. Concerning *Publick debts*, (which are yet more deſperate, whatever change happens) they are ſuch as are contracted, either for *Service* to the Common-wealth, and *Commodities* delivered for publick uſes; or for *Monies* upon obligation; all which ways many thouſands are greatly concerned, eſpecially the laſt. There being very many, who have lent, ſome a good part, and others the greateſt part of their Eſtates, upon the *publick faith* of the *Land*, *Cities* and *Lombards* of theſe Provinces. So that if this *publick faith* prove *faithleſs* like the *Punick* of old, a great number of Families, and (which is moſt deplorable) Widows and Orphans, (who being uncapable to imploy their Eſtates thus intruſted them) will be wholly ruined and undone. Herein I think all that have any ſenſe of juſtice and equity, will conclude with me.

1. That it is very unreaſonable and unjuſt, that if the preſent Government cannot diſcharge theſe debts, or a change happen; that thoſe who have credited the Republick, ſhould ſit down with all the loſs, and others not bear their proportion. 2. That ſeeing they were lent to the Publick, and Obligation accordingly given; and that for publick uſes, and ſo imployed, (or if other-ways converted, yet without the Creditors fault:) it is all the reaſon in the world, that the Publick ſhould faithfully pay the ſame. 3. That if the Republick ſtand, care ought to be taken to ſatisfie theſe Creditors: and that if a change of Government happen, the people remaining the ſame, are both in Law and equity liable to pay theſe debts. For though it is a great queſtion how far Subjects are obliged to pay their Soveraigns; yet it was never queſtioned by any, but that ſuch as are made for the Publick by the peoples tacit, and much more expreſs conſent; muſt be paid by the people, what ever change be made in the Government. Whether from a Monarchy to a Republick, as the Communality of *Athens* paid the 100 Talents which their 30 Tyrants had borrowed of the *Lacedemonians*; and theſe very Provinces, that which the King of *Spain* was indebted to the people: Or from a Republick to a Monarchy; *Non deſinit debere pecuniam populus rege ſibi impoſito, quam liber debebat; eſt enim idem populus, & dominium retinet eorum quæ populi fuerant; imò & imperium in ſe retinet, quanquam jam non exercendum à corpore ſed à capite*, &c. *Grotius de jure belli & pacis*, *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *Sect.* 8. See alſo *Arniſæus de rep. lib.* 1. *c.* 5. *Sect.* 4. *Quatenus acta Reip. obligent civitatem*, and the Civilians *de rebus creditis*, *Digeſt. lib.* 11. *tit.* 1. *l.* 27.

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All the *difficulty* therefore will be if a *change come*, how the *payment* of theſe juſt debts may be procured. And here we need no other *Counſellors* advice, than our own reaſon, which will inform us, that the freer any people are

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and the more they participate of power; the more probable it is, and alſo the more facile for them to obtain their rights. Now that we are likely to have more freedom under *England* than *France*, I have ſhewn ſufficiently in the former Section. Yea common experience as well as reaſon hath learnt the world this leſſon; that when inferiors can only pray and petition, they may daily get fair promiſes, and perhaps be ſprinkled with ſome *Court-holy-water*; but performances and payments are ſtill the work of to morrow, and continually kept as *reſerves* in the *rear*. Nor can they bring more arguments for their expedition, than Superiors have excuſes for their delaying: and if at laſt their patience be worn as thread-bare, as their clothes with attendance; ſo that they become importune in requeſting; then *Grandees* grow deaf in hearing, and reſolvedly peremptory in denying: whence both ſides frequently fall to irregular proceedings; the one for recovering, and the other for defrauding them of their rights. Whereas thoſe that can, not only requeſt, but alſo legally require, that juſtice be done; have ground to hope, that when the touchines of times is over, and the boiſterous paſſions of great ones are laid; ſome happy conjuncture of affairs may prove a proſperous gale to bring them at laſt, their hazardous adventures home in ſafety.

4. and laſtly, (that I may draw this arrow to the head) I ſhall deſire that we may conſider a little of the Lands and Revenues, formerly belonging to the *Romiſh Church*. Which to defend our ſelves in our Wars with *Spain*, were ſold to ſeveral, and are ſince parcelled out into many more hands. Now the very mentioning of this I ſhould think ſufficient; the difference between *France* and *England* herein, being ſo well known. Do we hear what the former hath already done, in all thoſe places ſubject to him, and how they have ſet up all the Romiſh rable; and can we think that they will not in time recover (what ever promiſes they paſs for the preſent) that which not only they themſelves, but all of their Religion account their right? Can we imagine that their *Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, and other Superior Orders, will live like *Parochials* or *Mendicant-Friers*? Who is ſo ignorant as knows not, that where ever the *old Gentleman of Rome* comes to rule, he brings with him many attendants to bear up his train; and that their pomp muſt be ſupported, though many *Gentlemen* thereby be ruined? Whereas on the contrary, *England* is by them, in the ſame condemnation with our ſelves; neither permitting his headſhip and dominion over them, nor his members and followers any demains among them. So that we may ſafely conclude, that all thoſe that poſſes ſuch Eſtates, as the Church of *Rome* doth challenge; can neither rationally hope to keep them under *France*, nor fear to loſe them under *England*.

Sect. 7. *The fourth Argument from Trade. This* (viz. *Merchandiſe and Navigation*) *our chief ſecular intereſt: and friendſhip with* England *to ſecure the ſame.* England *and we Corrivals herein, the probability of getting more, as alſo enjoying the ſame with greater Peace under* France, *with other Arguments: largely debated, and the contrary evinced under* England.

WE are now come to the *Acropolis* of the cauſe; *Trade* being the great *Tower of ſtrength*, to which the Adverſaries of our opinion, having deſerted the former out-works, uſually fly unto our refuge. We ſhall therefore perſue them; but orderly, firſt making our *approaches* by degrees; and then raiſing ſuch batteries, and planting ſuch *reaſons*, as are forcible, either to beat this down, or at leaſt make ſuch breaches therein, as ſhall render it untenable for their defence; and ſo compel the moſt pertinacious of our enemies, either to ſubmit, or to fall before us.

But before we begin this work, we muſt acquaint you, that when we mention *Trade*, we mean not every particular kind of negotiation, wherein the ſeveral ſorts of Artificers and Shop-keepers are imployed: to ſpeak of which would be both an endleſs, an a bootleſs work. Herein perhaps ſome might fare better with the *French*, the *Mercers* and *Tailers* eſpecially; for the *à la mode Monſieurs* when they have money, affect to change their faſhion as often as the *Moon* doth her face; and to wear as many ribbands on their breeches, as ordinary Pedlers bear on their backs; as if all the fortunes of *France* hung at their ends, and all their own happineſs followed their heels. And happily *Butchers* and *Cooks* would fare better with the *Engliſh*, for a *piece of good Beef* or a *Shoulder of Mutton*. And we might inſtance in many others with merriment; but we have no mind to be pleaſant upon ſo ſerious a Subject. In ſhort therefore, we mean *Maritime Trade* (as our Adverſaries do) this being the great *Diana* of the *Netherlands*, which brings them in their Silver Shrines.

1. Then we ſhall lay down this as a fundamental and undoubted *Maxim*, (which all I think will take for granted) that *trade by Sea is the great ſecular intereſt of theſe Provinces, the Maritime eſpecially, by which they moſt flouriſh, and without which they cannot ſubſiſt.* Let *Amſterdam* and the other *Cities* be as rich, or richer then they are imagined; yet will they in a few years, if their Trade be obſtructed, become as poor as their Neighbours at *Gant*, or *Antwerp*. For who will build at ſuch exceſſive charges (where the foundation ſometimes is half to the ſuperſtructure) or pay ſuch rents for their habitation, and live in ſuch expenſive places, if there be not freedom of Trade? But thoſe that can, will remove; ſome hither and ſome thither, as their intereſt and affection ſhall incline them; rather then ſpend their *Capitalls* here. If ever Merchants were, or are in any place of the world, the *vena porta* (as *Bacon* ſtiles them) of any publick body; it is certainly the

Eſſay Serm. delis f. 2.

Belgick. If they fraight not their Ships, whereby the Marriners may be imployed; if they furniſh not the Tradeſmen ſhops, whereby they may follow their Vocations; if they lade not the poor mens backs, whereby their Families may fill their bellies; finally, if they diſtribute not their Merchandiſe through the various Seas and Rivers of the *Univerſe*: we may linger a while, but it is as impoſſible we ſhould live long, as for a body deprived of food, whoſe parts languiſh for want of nouriſhment, which ſhould be brought them in the veins, by the bloods regular *circulation*.

2. Merchandiſe being our chief concernment, it will neceſſarily follow that that Nation that can moſt obſtruct the ſame, can do us moſt injury. Now that *England* can do this more than *France*, or any other whatſoever, I think none will deny; if any do, there is enough ſaid hereafter, that will make it ſufficiently apparent.

3. Of all our neighbouring Nations, *England* being moſt potent by Sea, and *France* by Land, it will clearly follow, that a Peace with theſe two above all others, is our great concernment, With the former for getting, and with the latter for keeping and enjoying our Eſtates. But if we cannot have this from them both, which of them is to be preferred comes next in conſideration.

4. This Common-wealth conſiſting of *Maritime* and *Inland Provinces*, the former being by far the moſt conſiderable, the friendſhip of *England* is more to be valued than that of *France*. And this the wiſeſt men that this *Republick* ever had, formerly never doubted of. Prince *William* the Firſt founder of this Common-wealth, laid down theſe three principal maximes of State, which were approved by all, as ſound and rational beyond contradiction. 1. *To do juſtice to Strangers*. For great Nations may be upheld by Power, but ſmall Territories muſt be maintained by Juſtice. 2. *To hold a fair correſpondence with France*. For *Spain* being then the grand *Monarchy* of *Europe*, and our dreadful enemy; the aſſiſtance of *France* was greatly neceſſary for our ſupportation. 3. *To preſerve an inviolable Peace with England*, In regard that this is abſolutely requiſite for our freedom of Commerce by Sea; and the *Engliſh* were our friends in affection as well as Intereſt, whereas the *French* only upon the latter account. For the greateſt obſtacle that ſtood in the way of *France*'s greatneſs, was the *Spaniſh* power in theſe *Netherlands*; which being once broke down, they well knew they could dilate their Empire at their pleaſure, as we ſee it now to our ſorrow. It is true of later times, the *Loveſteiners* to free themſelves, from the Headſhip of the *Orange* family; which ſought (as they imagined) either an abſoluteneſs, or at leaſt to infringe the liberty of the Common-wealth, have been rather inclined to *France* and *England*: but they were not ſo blinded with paſſion, but that having a Peace with *Spain*, and being ſenſible of *France*'s prevalency, and raiſing their Fortunes upon the *Spaniſh* ruines, it was their Intereſt to comply with *England* rather than *France*. Which plainly appears, in that no ſooner was thoſe unhappy differences between us and *England*

compoſed

compoſed at *Breda*, but immediately the *Tripple Alliance* was deſigned and concluded upon by that great States-man *de Witt* the Head of their party, and *Sr. William Temple*, on purpoſe to put boundaries to the boundleſs ambition of the *French* Nation.

5. To the reaſon of State already mentioned, together with the judgment of our greateſt *Politicians* both in former and later times, let me add; that Terreſtrial war hath always been accounted more eligible than a Naval; yea by ſome our abſolute intereſt, as the *Duke* of *Rhoan* obſerves. In ſo much that *Zeeland* never to this day conſented unto, but abſolutely proteſted againſt, theſe *Provinces* making Peace with *Spain*. And here it is obſervable, how our Adverſaries prevaricate; in granting this Aſſertion, and yet preferring *France*. I foreſee their evaſion, of conceding a Land-war with a leſſer Potentate, & denying it with *France*. But this is both eaſily obviated and outed; for as I am well aſſured, that if *England* had not aſſaulted us by Sea, *France* had never done it by Land; ſo I have reaſon to believe, that if he had, we ſhould have found him ſufficient work. If we had the Sea free for our inferior *Provinces*, the charges of a Land-war for the ſuperior were eaſily borne. And we ſhould not want men enow for our money, to fight for them with *France*, or any other whatſoever, ſo long as we ſhould think them worth the fighting for. Nor let any wonder that I inſert ſuch a conditional; for I ſhall afterwards make it appear, how the Common-wealth may be well ſecured, though theſe Provinces ſhould be let go or loſt. And as for the inferior, they are ſo ſituated in the water, and thereby ſo inacceſſible; that we need not fear, what all the force of *France* can do, if we be reſolved to defend them. It being therefore apparent that Traffick is our principal concernment, and *England* of all others moſt able to obſtruct it; we may conclude in point of intereſt, as Prince *Maurice* (I have heard) uſed to ſay, that *were the Engliſh Devils, we muſt have peace with them.*

l'Intr des P & Eſ cour.

Theſe being the *Approaches*, (which I think) no ſallies of our Adverſaries can prevent; we ſhall now, being got nearer them, take a better view of their ſtrength. Were we free and had our choice, whether we ſhould war with *France* or *England*, you ſee our intereſt ſhould carry us againſt *France*. But the caſe (alas!) is far otherwiſe with us, for they both make war upon us: by what error of policy one of them, which could beſt, was not taken off and diverted, if it had been poſſible; or whether it was impoſſible, and ſo no error or omiſſion in us, is not now our enquiry. But ſeeing they both threaten us with deſtruction, upon ſuppoſition that we are unable any longer to reſiſt them both, whether of them we ſhould chooſe to be under in regard of our *Trade*.

This then being the Queſtion; our Adverſaries give their ſuffrage for *France*; and think themſelves impregnable in this point of intereſt. Let us therefore impartially repreſent the ſtrength of their reaſons, and weigh them duly in the true ballance of intereſt, and then we ſhall find them you ſhall ſee, not only many grains but ounces too light. F3

1. It is better for us, ſay they, to be under *France*, becauſe *England* and and we are Competitors for Trade.

It is very true, *England* and theſe Countries by their ſituation, genious, and intereſt are ſet for Trade: and this naturally begets an enmity between us, and a vying with one another for the ſame. But this was always, and will be ſo whilſt men are men: and what will follow hence? Surely one of theſe things; either that we muſt willingly yield to them, or they to us, which is madneſs to imagine; or that we muſt fight with them for the whole, which if they mean of our ſelves, is the next degree to dotage, ſeeing we are about matches, and Peace in their trade is always the intereſt of a trading people; if they mean jointly with *France*, we ſhall ſpeak to that in the following Argument, and ſhew what a hazard even that will be, and much more ſingly: or that we muſt compound with them for our ſhare, that ſo each Nation may have, what Gods bleſſing may give, and their own induſtry may procure them. And this in my opinion will have the vote, not only of all the Cowards, but all the wiſe men of both Nations. But becauſe this Argument is much inſiſted on, both in former times and this juncture of affairs; we will more particularly conſider the ſame, in reference to this Common-wealth as to *England* abſolutely without reſpect to *France*. And thereby we ſhall ſee what corrivals in Trade implies in point of Intereſt, whether the power be about equal, (as we ſhall here ſuppoſe *England* and this Common-wealths) or unequal, and in point of inference. Now in regard of Intereſt, we ſhall find in my judgment, that 'tis clearly this for us as equal in power.

1. That we muſt vigorouſly defend our Trade, as that on which our temporal welfare depends.

2. That we muſt for this purpoſe, maintain a naval power, equal at leaſt to theirs. That ſo we may hold them up, to the juſt and due terms, and bounds, of Commerce and Navigation.

3. That for this end the league of the Maritime Provinces be kept inviolable. If the band of the bunch of arrows be either cut or broken, ſo that they fall out of the Lions paw; he will ſoon have his skin pull'd over his ears. So that to make ſeveral Common-wealths of them, is but to make them ſo many morſels to be the eaſilier devoured by their enemies. And therefore I wonder at the Author of the *Intereſt of Holland* herein, who, *c.* 41. 42. *&c.* aſſerts the power of that Province ſufficient by Sea, and jointly with *Utrecht* by Land, to wage War with all other Potentates. Seeing theſe Maritime Provinces entirely conſidered, are but the match at Sea for *England*. And the reaſons that he gives, *c.* 37. are now reſuted by experience. I acknowledge it alſo an error in policy, for *Zeeland* to break this bond of Amity, if poſſibly they can help it. But if their Enemies ſword cuts this aſunder, what ſhall they do? And this is the caſe only that I defend.

4. That we ſhould rather yield to them in *Punctillioes* of honour; that

being a *Crown*, this only a Common-wealth. Such I mean as the *Flag*; although I reckon not that any diſhonour to us; ſeeing they have not only always challenged it, but our Anceſtors alſo given it: and other Nations as well as we, pay the ſame acknowledgment to that *Crown*. The firſt time that we have ever refuſed it, was in the time of King *James*; the circumſtances whereof Sr. *Anthony Welden* in his *Court* relates, and the effects both their and our Hiſtorians. It is not my deſign to ſpeak of this particular, which would ſwell to a diſcourſe larger then this whole Treatiſe; but only inſtance therein, as a known example; concluding that if they will War for it, it is our wiſdom to yield it, and except we were far ſtronger than they, folly to fight for it.

5. Rather to diſſemble leſſer injuries than ſeek to revenge them. Which holds in all equalities of power whatſoever.

6. But if they will unjuſtly incroach upon us to ruine our Commerce, then to War with them. For 1. Our traffick being our ſubſiſtence, whoever would ſpoil us thereof, neceſſitates us to defend it, and gives us a juſt cauſe of conteſt, 2. We being a match for them in power, may in point of wiſdom as well as juſtice, try it out with them, and leave the iſſue to Gods Providence; Wars being the laſt appeal to Heaven, when juſtice cannot be had on earth. 3. If ſucceſs attends our Armies, we ſecure our ſelves at leaſt, if we better not our condition; and if the contrary, we do but drown and die a little the ſooner. A deſtructive peace and unſucceſsful War are both fatal in the iſſue; the former being a *Chronical*, the later an *acute* diſeaſe of State. It is not ſo material, whether by a lingring Conſumption of Peace, or by the Hectick Fevor of War, the gray hairs of Government, be brought with ſorrow to the grave.

7. Yet if we can enjoy the freedom of Commerce, and fruit of our labours, upon reaſonable terms; it is better to ſit down contented with our ſhare, then to War for the whole. For 1. What wiſe man ever doubted, but that Peace is the intereſt of a rich and trading People; if it can be had upon tollerable conditions. 2. Is not a competent certainty preferable to a greater good that is wholly hazardous and uncertain? for how often doth that happen to men, which did to the greedy and covetous dog in the Fable; who let go that he had, to catch at the ſhadow thereof in the water, and ſo loſt all!

I know ſome that have more of *Mars* than *Mercurie*'s temper, are all for fighting; and therefore I ſhall deſire them calmly to conſider, theſe few particulars following.

1. What either we or *England* have gotten by our former Wars, when matcht in power. I partly know what it hath coſt us both, in treaſure and blood: and can demonſtrate that if either hath gotten, 'tis *England*, though not to countervail the coſt. Let's but reckon (as we muſt if we go rightly to work) the *lucrum ceſſens*, and *damnum emergens*, or the profit that ceaſes, and loſs that accrues, and vvhat vve have got, vve may put in our eye, and

But if any one ſay who can reckon that, or how?

I ſhall freely acknowledge that to pounds and perſons we cannot, nor no man alive; yet in the general we may, ſo far as to make a judgment. I have done it for my own ſatisfaction, and ſhall tell you how; that ſo thoſe that are curious may ſatisfy themſelves therein, and not take it upon my credit. By the publick Cuſtoms; the Number of ſhips, the Capital where-with Trade is driven; and by the riches of the Merchants. Of theſe, the two former are more eaſie and certain, wherein *England* hath increaſed: the two latter more conjectural, wherein this Republick hath the ſuperiority. But hath not gotten it by the wars, but ariſes from ſeveral other cauſes, (which I could mention) and eſpecially from theſe two following, which I think will ſatisfy any intelligent man. As to the Capital, ours comes to be greater, in regard that as the Merchants grow rich in *England*, they buy land, and breed up their ſons to be Country gentlemen; whereas we, eſpecially in *Holland*, continue the ſtock and our children in the Trade. Land being here at 35 and 40 years purchaſe, and in *England* at 15 or 20 ordinarily. And that the Merchants here ſhould be richer than there, is no wonder to me; who know ſo well the frugality of the one, and the prodigality of the other.

2. Let it be conſidered how difficult and hazardous it is for equal powers, to deſtroy one another; and therefore how litle likelihood there is, of any thing to be gotten by conteſting. Nay there are ſeveral circumſtances in our ſituations, imployments, and people, that render abſolute conqueſt almoſt impoſſible. We may like Cocks fight, and breath, and fight again, and crow over one another for ſome victories, but far from a conqueſt. And this we might both have ſeen long ſince in the glas of policy: which clearly ſhows, that ſuch equal powers fighting for profit, is but like *Nero's* fiſhing with a golden hook, wherein more is adventured, than ever is likely to be gotten. We have had a Comick-tragedy, and a tragick comedy of two wars, and *England* the contrary; wherein our enemies indeed have been pleaſant ſpectators, and ſatisfied their envious eyes, but what have either of us got, but blowes? Paſſion and prejudice are ſo prevalent in the World, and ſo blind the eyes of men, that often they will not ſee the truth; till dear-bought experience makes them even to feel it. And this we now both ſee, and therefore *England* takes this opportunity of breaking down the equality of power, and bringing us lower, that ſo we may truckle under them, and they be at reſt in the bed of ſecurity.

3. Thoſe that are ſo much for *Mars*, might do well to conſider, the advantages and diſadvantages of both Nations, for carrying on, and ſubſiſting under long wars. In ſome things we may happily have the advantage, as in bearing the charges, number of ſhipping, Caping by Letters of Marque &c. And in others *England*, for they have a great and rich Inland Country, an Iland that cannot be eaſily diverted by a Land-war, ſo that as the *Duke of Rhoan* ſaith right, *l' Angleterre eſt un grand animal, qui ne peut*

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jamais mourir, s'il ne se tuë luimesme. We subsist wholly on Trade, and fetch all things from abroad; they have sufficiency of necessaries from their own growth at home. When Trade stands still, they have cloths for the back, and meat for the belly, better cheap for the poorer people: here not only such accommodations are far dearer than there, which can well be born when Trade flourisheth; but when that is stopt, and it can worst be endured, then are they deareſt of all. Our Seamen which come most from the Northern quarters about the *Baltick* Sea, to serve us in Navigation; when they see no hopes of gain, but only venturing their lives for the pay of the Wars, will remove and serve other Nations: whereas the King of *England* hath three Kingdoms to press out for his assistance, according to the custom of the Crown there, which is not practised nor indeed practicable in this Free State. And although at the first such as are prest be averse to the Wars; yet we find and feel by experience, that what through the Officers and Gentlemens caressing and encouraging them, what through company and conversing with others before-hand, this restiness is worn off by degrees; and through the principles of self defence, and some sparks of the honour of their Country, they fight well enough, whatever the cause or the quarrel be.

4. I wish both Nations would well consider, whether whilst we two are so eagerly contesting for Trade, others may not carry it away. I have reasonably considered what Nation can bid the fareſt for this, in regard of their *Situation*, *Havens*, *Genious*, *&c.* the advantages of the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick* Seas, and let my thoughts stretch themselves as far as both the *Indies*: have observed the *French* Fleet, the darling of the King and Kingdom, their hopes with the grounds of them, and the probable success thereof, as also the communication of *Spain* with *America*; and find no one Nation alone capacitated to carry away our Commerce; but several to have greater shares than they have at present. Yea, to speak my mind freely, I have had far further contemplations, and of a far different kind from these upon this Subject, in respect to future times. And indeed such as have often made me both very sorrowful to see the Christian world so mad and quarelsom about their Commerce, and very fearful that God would either blast it to us, by taking it away and giving it to *Turks* and *Heathens*; or not bless us with it, giving us herein our hearts desire in his wrath, and them the Gospel in exchange thereof. As I clearly see he hath done to the *Jews*, the generalleſt and greateſt Merchants of the World: and as I think he threatens us Christians in several places of *holy Scripture*, if they be duly considered. But because I love not dogmatizing, or to be positive in things I am not so fully satisfied in; I shall at present say no more of this, but leave it to every good Christians consideration.

Having thus declared what corivalship implies as to equal powers, we shall now see it in unequal. And here *Intereſt* shews us,

That if we decline and become inferior in strength, if they were so inju- 21

rious to us, that we had a juſt cauſe of War, yet muſt we not adventure it at fighting, but uſe policy to procure a Peace. And in my opinion this Piety and Wiſdom is taught us by our Saviour Chriſt in the Goſpel; for where Soldiers are alike, and no advantage of ground, &c. what is it but
4. tempting of God & mere folly, for *ten thouſand to encounter twenty thouſand?* Yea though the diſparity was not ſo great; Wars being always hazardous to the weaker ſide, though they often be victorious: it being frequently found (as *Pyrrhus* ſaid of his warring with the *Romans*) that their very Victories do undo them. In ſuch caſes, old mens heads are better helps than young mens hands. To ſhew the refuges of weaker powers when threatned with Wars, would be a large diſcourſe. I ſhall therefore only hint ſome few generals, of many which I have obſerved. 1. To gain all time poſſible. 2. Therein to break down the ſtrongers deſigns, and weaken them at home as much as may be. 3. To raiſe them up enemies abroad by making them jealous of their power. 4. By alliance with others to ballance their might. 5. To prepare for a divertive rather than a direct War. 6. By propoſal of Marriages, &c. to make up the breach. 7. By procuring foreign Potentates mediation, and appealing to their Arbitration. 8. To make the beſt Peace they can, when beſt provided with power for War. For otherwiſe nothing is to be expected, but either an unſafe or a ſhort Peace, little better than a Truce or Holy-day of War.

Beſt is that Peace, whoſe Articles are made
Under a Shield, and written with a blade.

Now all theſe have many particulars conteined in them. For example in the firſt to gain time, by ſending Embaſſadors, and ſo ſtill that as one is returning another may be ſent: whereby a fair pretence of ignorance of tranſactions may be pleaded, and time ſpun out in further debates. By conceding one thing after another by degrees, ſtill reſerving the principal point of Intereſt entire, &c. And ſo of the reſt within the bounds of honeſt Policy. The reaſon of the caſe is ſo clear, that were it not for mens paſſions, inferiors in power would not be ſo ready to fight. For let them either be beaten or beat, it will redound at laſt to their own deſtruction. If the former, why ſhould they ſpend their blood and treaſure to make themſelves more miſerable? and if the latter, they do but enrage their enemies the more, who being more powerful will not for two or three Battells end the War, and come to a Peace to their great diſhonour. So that we may lay down this as a general rule for the weaker ſide, *That ſelf defence muſt be firſt for preparation, but laſt for execution.* Of all the Princes of *Europe* in our age, the Duke of *Lorraign* hath been the cunningeſt gameſter, but the fouleſt player with ſtronger powers. But oh, how is he catched in his own craftineſs! Although I confeſs I could not ſee him and his Court (as I have done ſince his diſaſter) without great commiſeration; to think that one of the ancienteſt Families and greatlieſt allyed of all *Europe*, ſhould fall into that condition. Of the former age the *Vernians*, who

being oppreſt by their Neighbours the *Venetians*, that were more powerfull, would notwithſtanding needs War with them; wherein though they were often victorious, yet it proved their ruine at laſt, for which they are ſtigmatized for Fools to all ſucceeding Generations. And many other examples might be produced, but I think them needleſs in ſo plain a caſe.

And thus you ſee what our being competitors for Trade implies as to Intereſt in regard of War and Peace. Which I have been the larger upon, becauſe I know what work fools make wiſe men in both Nations. I have many times been put to it for patience, and ſometimes into a Paroxiſm of paſſion, to hear the ſenſleſs clamors of men. We are Competitors for Trade! It is our Intereſt! Our Intereſt! Down with the *Dutch!* Down with the *Engliſh*! Let us but conſider who theſe are, and we ſhall find them. Men that have a pound of paſſion, for one ounce of reaſon. Men that never ſaw, or at leſt not well obſerved both Nations. Men that never beſtowed one calm hour to ballance their powers. For wiſe men that knew both well, was but grieved to hear, or pleaſantly merry with ſuch madneſs. I publickly decryed ſuch folly in the firſt Wars, and had ſeverely chaſtiſed ſuch fools in the ſecond, if I had not been ſeveral ways hindred. Let me ſay it freely (I think I have ſome reaſon, for I believe there are few men that have better viewed both Nations with their eye, to that end which I have had, nor ballanced their power with greater accuracy) that if either the King of Great *Britain*, or the States, or both require it: I am ready to demonſtrate, that for theſe 20 or 30 years laſt paſt, there was nothing of advantage rationally to be expected on either ſide, that can countervail a War: nor as both might manage their power, likely to be, ſo long as both continued in that condition, for in powers about equal, all the difference is in the management thereof. And becauſe I ſee what work is made in the world, if I live to ſee the ballance come ſo even again, (though I think I never ſhall) I do here engage, for the publick peace of Proteſtants, and good of both Nations, to ſatisfie all rational men herein, I hope even to curioſity. And ſhall, if God ſpares me life and health, defend the ſame, againſt all the State-tinkers of both Nations; although I well know, they have great ſtore of ſmall Tools, with which they make a ratling in their Budgets.

Let us now proceed to ſuch inferences as our Adverſaries make from this competition in Trade.

Some argue thus, the *Engliſh* minding Trade more than the *French*, they may come and live among us and carry away our Commerce.

In my apprehenſion, there's more fear of their Souldiers coming hither than their Merchants. But ſuppoſe more Merchants did come, would that be any worſe for us? I have heard ſeveral of the greateſt Merchants of both Nations ſay, the more in a place and better, though I confeſs it is not ſo for Shopkeepers. But for this they may reſt ſecure, thoſe that knovv the cheapneſs of living in *England*, in compariſon of theſe Countries, will

abundantly ſatisfie them that fear this. Yea I ſhall ſhew hereafter that the *Engliſh* would have more reaſon to fear, that we ſhould come thither, and deprive them of their Trades. Yet to ſay the truth, I ſee not that either need fear, were we under the *Engliſh*, that either Nation ſhould ſuffer hereby; ſeeing all have had freedom that will to remove formerly, and that hath made ſo ſmall an alteration as to the ballance of Trade, that it is inconſiderable. For if I make my calculation right, there is not much difference, of the *Engliſh* here, and the *Dutch* in *England*.

Others argue we are Corrivals for Trade, that is the Miſtreſs we both Court, and therefore one muſt marry it.

But this is but a toyiſh Sophiſm, when men will compare Commerce to a Miſtreſs, that one only can marry. For 1. The world is wide enough, and the Sea large enough for both Nations to exerciſe their skill and induſtry. 2. If we think to betroth all Trade, and ingroſs it to our ſelves alone; other Nations will come in and forbid the banes, as well as *England*, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. 3. If we two could ſo happily agree, and ſo ſettle Commerce as it might perhaps be ſetled; we might bid fair for carrying it, or at leaſt for retaining it betwixt us. And ſo far as my ſhort ſight can reach, this ſeems to me the mark aimed at on both ſides, by thoſe who have the direction of affairs, which I do not deſpair to ſee effected.

Seeing then we are in as much danger, that I ſay not more, to loſe that part of Trade we have, as to gain more by our conteſting; I hope all rational men will grant it our Intereſt, that *England* and we ſo compound for it, that each of us may have what *Gods* bleſſing, and juſtice, and equity gives to eithers induſtry. And this I am ſure was the wiſdom of former times. I have ſhown it already in part on our ſide, and could much more largely both for us and the *Engliſh*. In Queen *Elizabeths* time we were not grown up to our preſent greatneſs. In King *James*'s time, who all the world knows was no Martial man, but in his temper as well as *motto* truly pacifick, the Cautionary Towns that *England* poſſeſt in theſe Countries, were A. 1616. ranſomed, and we grew up to that greatneſs of being an equal match for them in power at Sea. And this the *Engliſh* account the great error of Political Intereſt; although they muſt needs acknowledge it but fair and honeſt dealing. King *Charles* the Firſt, that Prince of bleſſed and immortal memory, ſeeing how he grew up, not only kept a fair correſpondency with us, but having experience how croſs Parliaments were to the Court, ſo that no War could be carried on, did by a fair correſpondence keep friendſhip with us; and not only ſo, but married his eldeſt Daughter to the *Prince of Orange* for this reaſon of State amongſt others. For being jealous of this Common-wealth's favouring that party in his Kingdoms, which was then called by the Court *Puritans*, and ſeeing the growing greatneſs of this State by Sea, did for theſe two reaſons of State, engage the Prince and this Common-wealth by that Marriage. And this was alſo the reaſon of State in *Oliver*'s time when Peace was made, that we muſt

accord for our mutal Trade. How it hath been ſince we all know, and therefore I need not mention it. And this is the firſt weapon our enimies uſe, which you ſee if we meaſure rightly, is too ſhort to touch, much leſs mortally to wound, the truth of that cauſe that we maintain.

Yet we muſt do our Adverſaries right: the wiſer ſort of them upon the ſuppoſal of equal powers, (as we have formerly been, and which is that I have hitherto ſpoke of) are for peace, and judge it the Intereſt of both Nations; but they think our coming under *France* will render *England* ſo unequal and inferior a match for us, that we cannot in all humane appearance miſs of marrying our beloved Lady *Trade*, and clearly carrying her from our Corrival. And I confeſs ingenuouſly if there be any thing of moment to be ſaid for *France*, 'tis this.

2. Therefore our Adverſaries are for *France*, becauſe thereby we ſhould be able to beat *England* out of their Trade, and ſo become maſters of the whole, or the greateſt part at leaſt of the Sea-negotiation.

Now becauſe they ſo much triumph in this, though before the victory; we will examin it thorowly, and ſee what probability there is of obtaining the greateſt part of Trade by this means.

1. We grant that *England* and this *Republick* being about an equal match at Sea; the acceſſion of *France* would clearly make us an overmatch for *England*, if all was true which they ſuppoſe.

2. But therein is their miſtake, that they take theſe two things for granted, which are both falſe. Firſt that theſe Maritime Provinces ſhould entirely become *French*. And ſecondly that all other Nations will ſtand neutral; ſo that we ſhall have no more to do, but *France* and we entirely to deal with *England* alone.

Now how far this is from truth, we ſhall make abundantly apparent, and by ballancing of powers how little probability there is, of theſe their deſignes becoming practicable, and ſuch as will effect their deſires.

1. Hereby they ſuppoſe a War, and ſuch a long and tedious one, as perhaps we may not live to ſee ended. For we cannot rationally imagine the *Engliſh* ſuch tame *animals*, that they will eaſily part with their Trade: but muſt ſuppoſe they will ſet all at ſtake, before that jewel of the Land be loſt. Now let us but calmly conſider, how deſtructive ſuch a War will be to our Trade, and what advantages they have above us of ſubſiſting under a long War, ſome of which we have before mentioned; and I do believe no wiſe man will think this our Intereſt, except there was a greater likelihood of a ſudden ſubduing them, then is rationally to be exſpected, as we ſhall preſently make apparent. Now on the contrary, if we come under *England*, there is no fear of a War with *France* at Sea; that Kingdom being ſo much inferior in maritime power to either of us, and much more to both. And ſhould we have a Land-war with *France*, yet that is more eligible for us than one by Sea, in the opinion of all wiſe men, as we have formerly ſhown, and ſhall have occaſion hereafter more fully.

2. **A War with *England* being ſuppoſed,** as it muſt, (for we muſt either ſay we can and will have the Trade alone or the greateſt part thereof *invitis Anglis*, or we ſay nothing to the purpoſe) the readieſt way to ſee what probability there is for conquering them, and conſequently carrying the Trade; will be firſt by ballancing of powers, and then by ſome other Conſiderations. The former of theſe we ſhall do with reſpect to *Zeeland*, and then with reſpect to other Nations.

For the firſt it muſt be conſidered that *Zeeland* hath expreſly decared ***that they will not come under France, but that if they cannot defend themſelves, they will then ſubmit to England.*** It is true (as I have ſaid) it is the intereſt of theſe maritime Provinces to keep their League; but if their enemies Sword cuts it aſſunder, and they will not venture the loſs of their Religion and Liberty under *France*, who ſhall hinder them? They are free ſurely to diſpoſe of themſelves as well as *Utrecht*, or the other Provinces. For in coordinate Powers, when their confederacy is broken, either by themſelves or their enimies; each are at liberty, and in their former freedom, to diſpoſe of themſelves, as they ſhall think fit. And though *Freeſland* hath not declared, ſo that if they ſhould come to the utmoſt extremity, we know not but they might happily incline to *England* alſo; yet becauſe that is uncertain, we will be liberal in granting our Adverſaries even that which they cannot prove, and take to our ſelves only that we can, and ſo proceed upon infallible grounds.

Nor let any one here ſtop me, and ſay that in taking it for granted that *Zeeland* will be *Engliſh*, I may be miſtaken, for they may beat off their enemies and defend themſelves. I grant it, although by the way let me ſay it, I ſee but little likelihood of that; for of above 100 Companies they pay, there is as yet not one in their principalleſt Ilands (though how it comes ſo, becomes not me to enquire) but the thing is to me matter of admiration. But I will ſhew you how I reaſon; not from the War, that *England* will conquer *Zeeland*, nor from the Agreement betwixt the two Crownes, which yet is generally ſaid brings us under that: but upon ſuppoſal that we are tired out with the War, and come to treat with our enemies (for I hope no man is ſo mad, as to think theſe Provinces will as *Utrecht*, call them in, and after make what tearms we can get, but treat with them with our weapons in our hands) *Zeelands* not only *Declaration*, but *Inclination* carries them for *England*. So that which way ſoever we take conqueſt by our enemies, their diſpoſing of us, or our own diſpoſal of our ſelves, *Zeeland* is ſtill *Engliſh*. So that upon the ſuppoſition of inability to defend our ſelves, we are morally certain, that *Zeeland* will fall to *England*: and our Adverſaries uncertain, that *Holland* and *Frieſland* will chooſe *France*. But we will grant them all they can reaſonably deſire, *viz.* that theſe two Provinces make ſuch a choice, and thereupon proceed to the ballancing of Powers.

Now in Naval ſtrength, *Zeeland* hath the proportion of a ſixt part in

this Republick; there being 5 Admiralities, wherein *Amſterdam* hath a double rate, we will ſuppoſe any number for a Fleet greater or leſs to be ſet out by them. For example, the States equip a Fleet of 72 Sail herein.

The Admirality of	*Rotterdam* and the *Maſe* is	12
	Amſterdam	24
	North Holland	12
	Zeeland	12
	Frieſland	12
		72

Yea in the laſt War I find in the Liſt A. 1666. (which by the way, I wonder any Admiralities ſhould publiſh, and perceive there is none now) that *Zeeland*, was a greater ſhare than *Frieſland* both in Ships and Men.

Zeeland 15 Ships. 676 Canon. 2268 Seamen. 807 Souldiers.
Frieſland 11—— 638 —— 2748 —— 260——

Although I know in the *quota* or Tax to the Publick, *Frieſland* is more: but that is becauſe of their greater ſhare in the Land, which is a certain revenue, and Trade only a contingency. In ſtrength then at Sea we ſee, that *Zeeland*, at leſt ballances *Frieſland* if not more, ſhould that Province prove *French*, and this is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe.

Now let us look abroad, and we ſhall as clearly find, that *Spain* comes into the *Engliſh* ſcale. For which way ſoever *France* takes, *Spain* muſt take the contrary. Nay in this caſe, *Spain* is as much concerned as *England*. For if *France* have theſe Provinces entirely, how ſhall they alone be able to bring home their *American* Treaſure? They know to their ſorrow, what they have loſt formerly by the *Dutch* taking their Plate-fleets; and what an extraordinary charge and hazard they had to defend them. And ſhall we not then think, that they will rather venture to the utmoſt with the *Engliſh*; than let us intercept their Treaſure, and after ſome years be maſter of their Mines? It is true, if I was led as the world is uſually, to judge by news, which hath been for ſome months that *Spain* and *England* are breaking, all this was frivolous; but I make my meaſures from reaſons of State, which tells me, that they will not, becauſe they muſt not, and they muſt not, becauſe it is their mutual Intereſt, and it is their Intereſt, becauſe otherwiſe they cannot ballance *France*, but will both in time be ruined. So then you ſee clearly, that upon ſuppoſition that *Holland* be *French*, it will be *England* and *Spain* againſt *France* and *Holland*, and ſo we are again ballanced.

We are thus far upon ſure grounds, we ſhall now proceed to that which is not much leſs certain, if we rightly conſider. And that is, that *Denmark* in all probability will become alſo our Enemies, if we take *France* ſo far for our Friends, as to make him our Maſter. Let us but well obſerve a few fundamental *Maxims of State*, which every Nation according to their Intereſt frame for their Government, and it will much help us to make a

right judgment in all ſuch caſes. Now this is one of that Kingdoms, *Not to ſuffer any one to be abſolute Soveraign of Trade and Navigation, if they can poſſibly prevent it.* For the revenues of that Crown moſtly conſiſting of toll in the *Sound*; we cannot imagine the *Danes* ſuch dullards, but they know who ever is ſo, will ſoon open that paſſage, and make it as free as the water it ſelf between the *North and Baltick Seas*. And then the King may ſit in's houſe at *Gluckſtadt*, and take toll of Boats that paſs in the *Elve*; inſtead of *Copenhagen*, and his Caſtle of *Croneberg*, where now he takes toll of all ſhips in the *Sound*.

I foreſee it will be ſaid, that *Sweden* will ballance *Denmark*, if that ſhould be ſo. But ſee then what work this *Trade* will make in the world. And this is wholly uncertain: nay, Intereſt will rather incline to the contrary. For though *Sweden* be none of the richeſt in Trade, yet have they their ſhare to loſe as well as the reſt. And the Revenues of that Crown conſiſting much in Copper, (which hath occaſioned their Armies ſpoiling all the Mines of that Metal in *Germany*, and whereſoever they could, on purpoſe to enhance their own) they know very well that pains might have been ſpared, if Commerce ſhould have an abſolute Monarch; and that with all the *Chimiſtry* that they can uſe, they ſhall not be able to extract ſilver and gold out of that Mettal, when one only Chapman comes to the market. Beſides their *Bremiſh* and other Territories on this ſide the *Baltick*, will ſoon lye a bleeding, they know; if *France*'s Sword comes to wound the Roman Eagle, and his race. It may be ſome may ſay the *Dane* dares not for fear of loſing that we are indebted to him. But who knows not that it is better to loſe a part, than the whole. And if blows be a way of paying of debts, we may happily have *Portugal* ſo to pay us.

3. Having thus ballanced the apparent ſtrength of both ſides, we ſhall proceed to ſome other conſiderations, concerning the ſame. For it is not enough to conſider power abſolutely, but alſo the management thereof; for leſs powers well managed, are uſually prevalent above greater. And herein are many things, which in my judgment, were we an over-match for them, which you ſee is not ſo, would render our ruining their Naval power, and conſequently their Traffick impracticable. As 1. Suppoſing we are under *France*, ſhall their whole Fleet conſtantly be here, and leave the *French* Coaſt naked, or ſhall they from thence come to joyn with us for our Sea expeditions? If the former, *France* is ſubject continually to be moleſted and diverted from *England*; and if the latter to be intercepted, by reaſon of their ſituation. 2. Who ſhall have the direction of Naval Affairs, is to me very conſiderable. Whether the *French* alone, or conjoyntly with the *Dutch*; for that the latter only ſhould be intruſted, is not to be imagined. The former way is liable to miſcarry through unskilfulneſs, the latter through jealouſies and diſſentions. 3. Where ſhall Mariners be had for our Fleets? ſhall the *French* preſs here as in their own Kingdom? If ſo, I foreſee, we ſhall ſoon loſe our Sea-men. Or ſhall they only uſe

Volunteers? Then their number will be ſmall, becauſe the *French* pay is not great. I might mention other particulars, as the *French* and *Dutch* Officers diſcord. The manner of payments, and from whence, *&c.* But theſe are enow to ſhew us, that which way ſoever we look there's nothing but difficulty and danger ſtares us in the face.

4. But we have yet that which is more momentous, and that is the ſituation of Great *Britain*. For could we knock their men in the head, as eaſily as our *Borinne*'s their eggs; and ſink their Ships, as if they were ſhells; yet we cannot poſſibly remove the Iſland. Which is, 1. Not only nigh unto us, but over againſt us, ſo that we cannot look out, but we are upon them. 2. So ſituated, that ſhould we bear them and their Aſſociates, (which is not eaſie in equal powers)they can ſtill manage a War deſtructive to us. And what good will it do any but the envious, to ruine others, if they be ruined themſelves? For with a few Ships in the Chanel, wherein they have Harbours all along, to go in and out at pleaſure; they will force us continually to ſail with great Convoys, or we ſhall be forced to fall into their hands. And the like may be ſaid of the Northern paſſage by the *Orcades*, where a few Ships will obſtruct our Trade. Now how great a prejudice this is to Trafficke, I leave all knowing men to judge. For by this means. No ſingle Ships, nor ſmall numbers can ſail. Reſtraint will be laid upon going out but in great Fleets, and with ſufficient Convoys. Many will be neceſſitated to lie idle, and at great expences to wait for their Company, whilſt they could ſometimes have performed their voyage. And Merchants loſe particular deſigns, which are uſually the greateſt profit, to ſuch as are able rightly to manage them. 3. In ſtorms and tempeſts we ſhall be frequently forced into their Harbours, and ſo fall as a prey into their mouths.

5. *Britain* and *Ireland* being *Iſlands*, are not eaſily invaded, and ſo diverted by a Land War, but that they may ſolely attend to a Maritime, when they are once engaged therein. Whereas *France* being on the Continent, is ſubject to invaſion from *Spain* on ſeveral ſides. Which was one reaſon, why our Anceſtors preferred the guardianſhip of *England*, before that of *France*.

6. *Tangier* in the mouth of the *Streights*, will be no ſmall prejudice to our *Mediterranean* Trade. Which if the mould or harbour can be made firm, will prove of great concernment to the *Engliſh* Crown, and a ſtrong curb to all their enemies Traffick. And here I might adde, *Cadiz*, and all the Coaſt of *Spain*; for if we be *French*, no wiſe man (I think) will doubt, but we ſhall have *Spain* our enemies again.

And theſe things I think are abundantly ſufficient to diſmount our Adverſaries confidence, of carrying away the Trade from *England*, if we ſhould come under the power of *France*.

3. Another grand Argument againſt us is, that we are more likely to enjoy Peace under *France* than *England*. H 1

Peace (I confeſs) is an invaluable bleſſing. How many and great miſeries doth it free us from! Bloodſhed, violence to our Perſons and Eſtates, unquietneſs, and almoſt all manner of troubles. How many and great mercies doth Peace bring along with it! It is both the mother that bears, and the nurſe that brings up all our temporal bleſſings. It gives us mercies, the freedom of enjoying them, and ſweetens their enjoyment. It contains liberty, plenty, equity, tranquility, pleaſure, and ſafety. So that he was a mad man that ſhould not chuſe Peace. But I fear our coming under *France*, is neither the way to procure Peace, nor the means to preſerve it. And that we by ſo doing, ſhall but have *Ixions* fate in the Fable, embrace a cloudy and tempeſtuous War, inſtead of the fair and beloved *Juno* of Peace.

1. Let it be conſidered; that if we have Peace by Land, we have War by Sea: which is to leap out of the frying-pan into the fire. It is an old and a good political axiom, *Ex duobus malis minus eſt eligendum*; Theological it was never, for in Divinity, *Nullum malum eſt eligendum*. Now if we rightly meaſure our Intereſt, we ſhall find a Land War much more eligible for us upon many accounts, which I need not here to mention, they being eaſily imagined by all wiſe men. For ſhould it be granted, that for the preſent the two Crowns accord and we have Peace: it will either be ſuch a one as will ruine us, or cannot be laſting to be ſure; but in a very few years will neceſſarily come to the ballance I have mentioned of *Spain* and *England* againſt *France* and *Holland*.

2. Let us therefore examine their grounds; that ſo we may ſee before us, and not run our ſelves blindfold into deſtruction. Which ſo far as I can diſcern are theſe four. *The power and prevalency of his Arms. His treaſure to maintain them. His nearneſs to us. And his Allies.*

Firſt for the *power and prevalency of his Arms.* 1. It is true his numbers are great, both in Arms and in the Kingdom of *France*. The great advantages he hath, by the largeneſs, compactneſs, ſituation, and ſoil of his Dominions; the infinite number of Nobility and Gentry for Cavalry, and the populouſneſs of his Cities and Provinces for Infantry, which capacitate him above all the Princes of *Europe*, to enlarge his Empire; I well know, and willingly grant.

But what relates to the Kingdom of *France* concerns not us *Netherlanders* in this caſe further than as to his Arms and power to defend us. Now in
5. my reaſon the greater power in the *Soveraign*, the leſs liberty in the *Subject*, as we have already ſhown. So that the more numerous his Armies, and ſo much the worſe. Doth not *France* groan under this burden, and ſhall we deſire to do ſo, or help to eaſe them by bearing part thereof on our backs? If we be ſo kind, I dare engage we may have it all, and a thouſand thanks from that Kingdom. Which is ſo wearied with it, that above one half of them (if my intelligence greatly deceive me not) would rejoyce to ſee it leſſened, though it were with ſome loſs to the honour of the Nation. But becauſe I write not to be known, but to better the world, and with

my bucket of water to help to quench the Flames, that threaten deſtruction to the Proteſtant Intereſt; I ſhall deſire all intelligent perſons to enquire of thoſe that underſtand *France*, or have come lately thence; and then let them conſider if their condition be deſirable. If a numerous Army lies quartered upon us, ſhall we not both be kept under by them, and eaten up of them? And although they be paid in the Kings name, yet muſt not we find our ſhare of the money? I never yet read or heard of any wiſe people, that deſired their Prince ſo potent, for fear he ſhould oppreſs them. A due Mediocrity hath always been counted beſt. Let any one read the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians, or any others that are wiſely writ: and he ſhall find, if he duly obſerve, that the *Princes Potency hath always been the peoples jealouſie.*

2. It is alſo true, that he hath been ſucceſsful in his Arms againſt us, beyond moſt mens imaginations, and perhaps even his own hopes and expectations. But if all things be rightly conſidered, it is no ſuch wonder as the world makes it. Our Wars by Sea; our inteſtine Diviſions; the cowardiſe of ſome; the corruption of many; and our multiplicity of Garriſons, whereby our Forces were ſo parcel'd, that fighting ſeverally they were eaſily vanquiſhed; together with ſeveral other cauſes which concurr'd under the hand of *Divine Juſtice*, makes it no wonderment to wiſe and conſiderate men. Nor is it any new thing in the world, but that which hath befallen moſt of the Nations in *Europe*, as all their Hiſtories abundantly witneſs.

3. Nor will this evince our defence. For it hath often been experimented, that thoſe that have won much in a little time, have loſt it again in leſs. How did the ſame *French* Nation under *Charles* the 8. over-run moſt part of *Italy* in a little time, and quickly loſt it, as the many Hiſtorians of both Nations relate! And in our days, how did the *Swede* like lightning paſs through *Poland*; which was quickly extinct and came to nothing! And ſo may this (if it pleaſe God, and we manage our work wiſely) like a thunderclap and ſudden flaſh of lightning, affright and aſtoniſh us, more than hurt us, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

4. If *France* goes on, the world grows ſo jealous of their greatneſs, that they may poſſible have work enough; when their hand is againſt every one, and every one againſt them; and then where ſhall be our peace and defence? It is known by all that know former times, how in the *Roman* Monarchy when they were diſtreſſed at home, they ſtill called their Forces from abroad, and left their conquered Provinces to ſhift for themſelves, as I might inſtance in *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and many others both Eaſtern and Weſtern. And indeed it always is thus; ſo that ſhould *France* be fallen into by *Spain*, or *England*, or the *Empire*, or *Italy*, or other ſeveral of theſe joyntly, or ſhould they fall into Civil Wars, which are more frequent there than any, yea I think I may ſay all the Kingdoms in *Europe*; in what condition ſhould we then be? Truly I will tell you, I think fighting

with the *French*, and more eager to be rid of them, then many are now to receive them. If any one ſay, but would you have us entertain the *Engliſh*? I ſay no, but preſerve our own freedom by complying with them as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

5. If we will eſpouſe all the quarrels of *France* we may poſſibly have more than enow; and ſuch as may prove our ruin, rather than ſafety and ſecurity. Our Marriners have their Wars by Sea, our citizens and Souldiers by Land. Our Merchants Trade to pay their money, and all to raiſe *France* to the univerſal *Monarchy*, to the ruin of the Reformed Religion, and alſo the greateſt part of Chriſtendom. And though now his friends be many, yet if he once comes to receive a check his enemies will be more.

6. I ſee no need we have to fear all his power and prevalency, if we will do our duty, and quit our ſelves as men for our Country. And if we do, upon our friendſhip with the Crown of *England*, we may have Souldiers enow out of thoſe 3 Kingdoms, which are as good Infantry ſurely as *French*, by their own *Hiſtorians* Confeſſion, and it is *Foot* we want (if any) for the defence of our Garriſons. And beſides that they are not ſo likely to be remanded, as thoſe of *France*; thoſe Kingdoms being Ilands, leſs liable to invaſion, and leſs likely to be engaged in foreign, or to be involved in Domeſtick Wars.

Secondly, for his treaſure, it cannot be denied to be very great. But this is rather againſt, than for our Adverſaries. For *the richer the Soveraign the poorer the ſubject*. And I never knew any people yet, that deſired to have their Prince ſo rich, eſpecially when it comes out of their own pockets. I will not meddle with the diſpute of the *Greeks Oſtraciſme*, nor that of Politicians, whether poverty or riches in the Soveraign be better for the ſubject. A due mean wiſe men have allways accounted beſt. When neither the Prince may be jealous of his people for their *Riches*, nor they of him for his *Treaſures*; but that they may mutually depend on each other, for the good of the whole. For as it is difficult to determin, what the Magiſtrate may not demand, in caſe of neceſſity; ſo is it eaſie to conclude, that he ought not to impoveriſh his people when there is none, and make himſelf rich by their ruins. That being tollerable, but this intollerable oppreſſion.

Nor is it imaginable, that he will make *France* poor, to make us rich. Nor is it credible that if they remain poor, we ſhall remain rich. For in all Princes there remain ſome jealouſies of a conquered people, that they may, upon ſome revolution of affaires or other, revolt. And therefore it is their uſual practice, by all ways poſſible to drain them, and draw their riches home; as the *Romans* into *Italy*, and other Conquerors their own Kingdoms; either by bringing it into their own Treaſuries, or Native ſubjects purſes, or rather both, that ſo they may command it upon all occaſions.

Thirdly, for their nearneſs unto us, we know it too well. And if the

ſubdued

ſubdued Provinces remain in their hands, ſhall find what it is to have ſuch neighbors. But otherwiſe *England* is nearer us than *France*, and can eaſilier come to our aſſiſtance. For the *French* have not only a long march, but through part of the Empire, which is their enemie, and ſo liable to obſtruction. As to the Prince of *Liege* (or Archbiſhop of *Colen*) *Duke* of *Newburg* and others that have permitted this paſſage, they may pay dear enough for it hereafter; as their ſubjects, are paying for it at preſent, even to the *French* themſelves. Who are ſo weary of their Company, that I perſwade my ſelf, they will be the firſt that will endeavour, to drive them out, when they ſhall find an opportunity.

But we are not affraid of all our Adverſaries weapons, and therefore will enforce their Argument, by ſuppoſing all they can deſire; That *France* will keep theſe conquered Provinces, and in all probability make new acqueſts, by ſubduing of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. So that if we be not ſubject to him, we ſhall never be at quiet, but they will continually be as Thorns in our ſides.

1. And why may we not as well ſuppoſe, that if we be under him, we ſhall never be at reſt for others? For no Potentate in Chriſtendom hath more jealous eyes upon him, nor likelier to be continually imployed in Wars. Now what will changing help us, if we better not our condition? For we may eaſily foreſee, that if we come under *France*, we ſhall have *England* and *Spain* againſt us by Sea (as we have ſaid) and the *Germans* and *Spaniſh* Provinces by Land, and ſo ſhall be in the ſame condition, though not by the ſame enemies, that we are now; ground like Corn betwixt the Mil-ſtones. Yea it is more than probable, that knowing the tickliſh condition and mutinous temper of the *French* Nation, he will bring his Wars into theſe Countries and their confines, and ſo we ſhall again become, the Cock-pit of War for all *Europe*.

2. I doubt not but he will attacque the *Spaniſh* Provinces and ſeek to connect them with his conqueſts, and then incorporate all with *France*. But it is uncertain what time this may require before they be all under his power. We know not the Articles between the two Crowns, nor are we ſure that *England* and *Auſtria* will ſee this work. Many things may fall out, which no mans eye can foreſee. The King of *France* is mortal and may die, and the *Dauphin* young and ſo uncapable to carry on ſuch mighty deſigns. Or he may meet with a check in his enterpriſes, and be ſtopt in his further progreſs of glory. *France* is harraſt, and weary of Wars, may fall to their former mutinies. The King of *Spain* may grow more potent. *England*, *Sweden* and the *Cantons* of *Switzerland* may think themſelves concerned, as well as the *Empire* and *Spain*, to ſtop the growing greatneſs of *France*. The *Spaniſh* may divert him in *Catalonia* and elſe where. Sickneſs and mortallity may ſeize upon his Armies. Factions in his court, diſcontents in the Country, tumults in his Kingdom, and many other Accidents may happen, to call him off us, or at leaſt neceſſitate him to give us rea-

ſonable conditions, and confine him to his own Kingdom. So that 'tis madneſs to avoid a preſent miſchief, to run our ſelves upon certain ruine.

3. If we had the friendſhip of *England*, we might ſoon be in a capacity to defend our ſelves againſt *France*, and need not fear the power of their Arms. I do not ſay that we alone are able to recover at preſent what we have loſt, without the aſſiſtance of others: But that theſe remaining Provinces are able to defend themſelves, and either let go the other, or in time poſſibly regain them, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

Fourthly, For his *Allies*, they need not fright us. For all friendſhip of the World, and eſpecially publick, proves often times like winter brooks, which run freely when we have leaſt need of them, but fail us in drought when we want their Water. If the fortunes of *France* ſhould once decline, we ſhould ſee thoſe that now adore them, readily renounce this their idolatry, and not only confeſs their former fault, but help to turn the *Wheel* about, and bring them under whom they now exalt.

And thus we ſee what ſmall grounds there are of enjoying ſuch great Peace under *France*, as our Adverſaries flatter themſelves withal, and would perſwade the World of; which will never find credit with wiſe men, who are uſed to judge by Reaſons of State, and not by the vain arguments of fancy.

4. The fourth argument for *France* is, their having the *upper Provinces* already, which are of ſuch concernment to the *Nether*, that they affirm we cannot want them, and therefore we muſt call in *France* that he may have them all, that ſo they may be joyned under one *Head*.

We cannot want them ſay they. 1. For our *Security*, and 2. for our *Commerce*.

Let us therefore examine theſe things, and having ſo done, we ſhall give a releaſe to your patience in this great Argument of our Adverſaries concerning *Trade*.

Firſt that we cannot want them for our *Security*, is apparently falſe. Nay upon a *Politick account* we had better part with them, though not in point of *Honour* and *Religion*.

1. They were a continual charge to thoſe inferior *Provinces*, which yet was willingly born, in regard of their being an out Sconſe to us, which many ſuppoſed ſufficiently ſtrong for our defence. Which yet others have always doubted of, and now we find they had ſufficient reaſon. Seeing then ſome of them willingly deſerted us, and others ſlightly defended themſelves, and us conſequently, and thus laid us open to the invaſion of our enemies: if we let them go, and they ſuffer thereby, they may thank themſelves, and we muſt otherwiſe ſecure our Country.

2. I wonder men ſhould think they can ſecure us, when we ſee the contrary by our experience. Nay indeed this was the great miſtake that had like to have ruined us all. For we relying on them, was unprepared for our own defence, whereby the whole was greatly endangered. Yea ſo

greatly, that if the *French* had fallen into *Holland*, when they came to *Utrecht*; I tremble to think, what work they might have made amongſt us.

3. It was apparent that the boundaries of the Common-wealth, was too great,and our Garriſons too many, to defend againſt ſuch powerful Armies. Which at the ſame time are not only Maſters of the Field, but able to aſſault what Places they pleaſe. This War being far different from our former with *Spain* (or leſs Potentates) wherein we had an Army to ballance theirs, for relief of ſuch Garriſons as were at any time attackt by them. And this the *Author* of the *Intereſt of Holland*, hath long ſince well obſerved, and experience now ſhews us. Wherein I dare be his ſecond, againſt any combatants that dare encounter him.

4. Let any man but recount our Garriſons with their greatneſs,and compute what number of men is requiſite for their defence; and he will ſoon ſee, whether I have not clear reaſon on my ſide. I ſhall not now ſtand to do that, though if any be obſtinate, I can do it ſufficiently to convince him: that though the *States* in times of Peace maintain 60000, and in this War above 100000 men by Land; yet were th eynot half enow to defend all our Garriſons, and keep an Army in the Field to relieve them. And therefore I never expected any better ſucceſs of the War, than now we ſee; though my judgment was entertained by many with merriment, and of others with fears it might prove Prophetical. For we muſt either have diſmantled moſt of the weakeſt, and ſupplied a few of moſt conſequence for a ſtrong reſiſtance; or it was never likely it ſhould be otherwiſe than it is; it being always found true by experience, that *multiplicity of weak powers prove none againſt ſtrong*; for *dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur*. And therefore we ſee our enemies, had the wiſdom to wave *Maeſtricht*, that was provided with men to give them work; and fell upon ſuch places, as they either knew their money had, or their Swords could moſt eaſily conquer.

5. Many of our outmoſt Garriſons lying in a champaign Country, cannot be relieved, without a powerful Army of Cavalry. And theſe Countries are very uncapable many ways both for keeping and marching great numbers of Horſe. In theſe lower Provinces Land being ſo dear, and more profitable for Cows than Horſes; and ſo many great Rivers, which cannot be paſt with Bridges, except we make them of Boats continually, is ſufficient demonſtration that they cannot be here. And in the upper Provinces there is not forrage for ſuch a body of Horſe, as we muſt have if we will relieve our outmoſt Garriſons. And this thoſe that know them knows. Let us from *Bergen op Zoom* paſs along the coaſt of *Brabant* by *Breda* and our other Garriſons even as far as *Maeſtricht*, and from thence back to the *Buſs* which is the greateſt part of the open Country we have (for *Gelderland*, *Utrecht* and *Overiſſel* are full of Rivers) and we ſhall find that which belongs to us, inconſiderable for this purpoſe; the greateſt part of that Country being heath, and barren ground.

I know well that moſt of the Cities lie upon Rivers, but I know alſo and ſo do all of ordinary underſtanding, that a Fort on either ſide commands them, and ſo bars our paſſage by water to them.

But let us inſtance in one for all. I wiſh mine adverſaries would ſhew us any way to relieve *Maeſtrecht* if it ſhould be aſſaulted and diſtreſſed by the *French*. I mean that is practicable, for we are not now diſcourſing of *Mathematical powers*, which demonſtrate motions as ſwift as the Sun's, and the plucking up Oaks with a ſingle hair, and ſuch like curioſities that can never be done; but of *Martial powers*, which are not for ſpeculative notions, but practical performances.

6. Let us but conſider who hath paid thoſe great Armies we have conſtantly kept, and muſt pay many more both Foot, and Horſe (which are much more chargeable) that we muſt keep, if we will defend theſe out-Provinces againſt powerful enemies; and we ſhall ſoon ſee that we muſt pay very dear for their uncertain and weak defence of us. For this purpoſe I ſhall ſatisfie the curious with inſerting the proportion of Taxes which each Province pays to the Publick for the Armies and other expences: whereby it will appear that the *quota* of theſe ſuperior Provinces, *Gelderland*, *Over-Iſſel*, and *Utrecht* (which the *French* now poſſeſs) is very inconſiderable, wherein alſo they have often been behind, and will be much leſs able now to pay it, being ſo much impoveriſhed.

Gelderland	5	12	3
Utrecht	5	16	$7\frac{1}{3}$
Over-Iſſel	3	11	5
Holland	58	6	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Zeeland	9	3	8
Frieſland	11	13	$2\frac{1}{3}$
Groening	5	16	$7\frac{1}{3}$

7. If they be regained, we muſt pay for it, they being now under our enemies. And what an infinite of blood and treaſure that will coſt, if our enemy will not quit them on reaſonable terms in treaty, I leave any man to judge.

8. If we rightly conſider, great Territories are for Kings, ſmall only fit for Common-wealths. This we may obſerve in the Hiſtories of former times, in the *Grecian* Republicks and their neighbour Kingdoms. For the *Roman* was mixt of *Monarchy* and *Ariſtocracy*, by the great power of their *Conſuls* ruling as Monarchs by their turns, and eſpecially in dangers by *Dictators*. Yea our own experience hath ſhown us this in the neighbouring Kingdoms. But what ſhall I ſay, many men are like the Judges Statues at *Thebes*; have their eyes blinded and hands lamed, though not for Juſtice but for judgment, they can neither ſee nor feel before them. In 59 being then in *England*, in ſome Gentlemens Company, where there were ſome zealous Republicans, and I from Hiſtory and obſervation

ſhewing them, that in great Dominions, eſpecially, where there are many Nobility, a Common-wealth could never ſtand long; that if there, it muſt be from the City of *London* managing it as *Rome* had done, and not as they went to work, and ſeveral other things, ſhewing the impracticableneſs of their notions, (which I have reaſon to remember, for I was complained of to *Lambert*, and was in danger of being called before the *Council of State*) In the year 60. ſome of them took me for half a Prophet, and ſo perhaps may ſome hereafter, for what I ſhall now ſay: *That if we affect great Territories by Land we ſhall loſe all.* It is our Sea affairs, that we are ſet for by our Country, made for by our genious, and fit for eſpecially, by our imployment. And we may as well think to turn our Rivers, as change theſe things, nay, indeed, if we could, it would quickly turn to our deſtruction: Traffick by Sea, as I formerly have ſhown, being our chief ſecular intereſt.

But I foreſee what will here be ſaid, that a weak defence is better than none, and how all theſe *Inferior Provinces* be otherwiſe ſecured.

And it is very true indeed, *better a weak wall, than none at all.* And if we could not build a ſtronger, and at leſs charges, and with far leſs coſt for reparation and defence againſt the violent ſtorms of our Enemies, (for none can ſecure us againſt Heaven) we ſhould be aſhamed to have thrown down the old, which (in my judgment) is by the former Conſiderations levelled with the ground. For as it is folly to pull down before we conſider how to build better, ſo we muſt take heed that therein we commit not thoſe errors which many wiſe men (though that was none of their wiſdom) have frequently (as I have often obſerved) fallen into in their building, *To beſtow as much in piecing and patching an old houſe, as would build a new one far ſtronger and better: and when they have built either old or new, to find ſeveral inconveniencies therein, which a provident fore-ſight might have prevented.* As the ingenious Mathematician Dr. *Wren* hath demonſtrated (as I hear) in *England*, that they had better build S. *Paul*'s in *London* anew, than repair the old. So I think I am able to demonſtrate, that we had better make a new defence for theſe inferior Provinces, than that of the ſuperior. But it muſt be well conſidered of, leſt we find inconveniences therein afterwards. And as in *Architecture* I pleaſantly play with dice and cards alone (which others do in company) making my walls of the former, and floors and covering of the latter, to ſee the conveniences and inconveniences therein, better than in plain figures; and eſpecially to demonſtrate the ſame to others that will adviſe with me therein, and are no Mathematicians: ſo here I muſt confeſs I have ſeriouſly pulled down and ſet up ſeveral defences for us, which are too long to relate. But I will briefly touch of ſome things, which are ſufficient (I think) to ſilence mine Adverſaries.

There are 5 or ſix ways of Natural Fortification and defence of a Country.

Seas for Iſlands, which are the beſt. For though they are thereby incapacitated to enlarge their Empire abroad, being by the Sea as it were confined to home, yet have they great advantages thereby, not only of

Maritime Negotiation, but alſo ſecurity from Invaſion. So that they are at ſmall charges for maintaining Armies; which thoſe that live on Continents, muſt conſtantly do for their defence: otherwiſe the door ſtands open for the firſt that comes, to enter in and take poſſeſſion.

Great Mountains that are unpaſſible for Armies, or ſuch paſſes as the famous *Thermopyles*, which are eaſily defended, and theſe are next to Seas the beſt defence.

Vaſt Wilderneſſes where Armies can have no Proviſion to march, but what they carry along with them, as in *Africa*.

Peninſular Countries, which are eaſily retrencht within lines of ſecurity, as the famous Wall in the North of *England*, firſt made by *Agricola*, *Nero*'s General there, repaired by *Hadrian*, and after by *Severus* againſt the *Picts*, the ruines whereof are ſtill apparent. And *Scotland* often alſo againſt *England* hath thus retrencht themſelves, even in our days with great ſafety againſt the *Engliſh* Army; which if they had had the wiſdom to have kept within, they had ſaved themſelves and the Kingdom: but their adventurous folly in forſaking them, was dearly paid for by the loſs of both.

Great Rivers which cannot eaſily be paſt. As *Euphrates* in the *Eaſt*, and the *Rhyne* in the *Weſt*, defended thoſe Nations beyond them, from the great power of the *Romans*.

And laſtly inundations by Water, mariſh and boggy grounds, *&c.*

I might be large in examples of all theſe in ſeveral Kingdoms of the World; and alſo in the wonderful Providence of God, who hereby ſets bounds and limits to the mighty *Nimrod*'s of the World, ſaying unto them by the voice of Nature as to the great Seas and Waters, *hitherto ſhall ye go and no further:* but I will confine my ſelf to our own Country.

Now theſe Provinces if we conſider them aright, are naturally fortified moſt of theſe ways. Not by Mountains, for we live in a level Country; nor by Deſarts and barren Wilderneſſes, for we have a fruitful Land, like *Canaan* flowing with milk and honey. But all the other ways we are defenſible; ſo that if we can but defend our ſelves by Sea, and keep that for our Commerce; we need not fear all our Enemies by Land. We have the Sea to guard us below, mighty Rivers not only within, but on both ſides theſe Provinces to defend us: we are either Iſlands as *Zeeland*; or Peninſular as *Frieſland* and *Groeningen* together, and *Holland* and *Utrecht*, by reaſon of the Sea and great Rivers that almoſt ſurround them. And let it come to the utmoſt extremity, we can by Water drown our Enemies, and ſave our ſelves in our Cities. So that they that talk of conquering us, muſt either be fools, or ignorant of the Country: and thoſe that fear to be conquered, puſillanimous and frighted with vain bravadoes.

But we will be a little more particular, in running over briefly the ſeveral Provinces.

Zeeland conſiſting wholly of Iſlands, is thereby well fortified, and the

Inhabi-

Inhabitants ſo uſed to the Water, that they are not eaſily maſtered therein.

Frieſland and *Groningen* together, are almoſt ſurrounded with the *North* and *South* Seas, together with the River *Emes*, and ſcarce acceſſible by Land in regard of the mariſh or boggy grounds, if *Coeverden* and ſome other ſtrong places on the paſſes be kept.

Holland will prove the greateſt difficulty, and of moſt conſequence; that Province being the Head and Heart of this Republick. For this end I muſt ſuppoſe that we muſt have part of the Province of *Utrecht*, which we muſt either regain by Treaty, or by ſtrength, let it coſt what it will, both for our communication, and future ſafety. And then we have theſe two again almoſt environed with the *North* and *South Seas* and ſeveral branches of the *Rhyne* and *Maes*. Only one neck of ground between the *Leck* and *South Sea* of 5 or 6 miles, where a River might be cut to carry water from the former, as ſomething higher, into the latter: from between *Viana* and *Twael*, from whence downwards the River is deep, and hath the Tyde flowing up, by *Houten*, *Heer*, *Melis waert*, *Melaeten*, and ſo along the low grounds to *Pynenborch* into the River *Eem* to the *South Sea*. Which will make the whole adjacent Country being low, ſtagnate with water, and ſo defend theſe two Provinces from their enemies incurſions. And the reſt are done to our hands, by the ſeveral foldings of the Arms of thoſe two great Rivers, the *Rhyne* and the *Maſe*, whoſe ſeveral denominations I need not mention, nor the places where, theſe being ſufficiently known to thoſe that know theſe Countries.

But oh *Utrecht*! *Utrecht!* I foreſee there will ſo much depend upon that one City, that I fear the greateſt Affairs of *Europe* will hang, and turn upon that ſingle hinge. I know we flatter our ſelves they will part with it, and I wiſh we may not be deceived; but I fear far other things, not ſo much from what I have ſaid, as from other reaſons of State. But if any will ask what thoſe are: I ſay *Ho-la*, I am ſo far from publiſhing them, that if the ſhirt on my back knew the thoughts of my heart herein, it ſhould be my firſt work to burn it.

But our Adverſaries will fight it out to the ſtumps both of their ſtrength and weapons. They ſay the *French* in the Superior Provinces hath the command of our *Rivers*, and ſo will be able to ruine our *Trade*.

Truly I am tired with this long diſcourſe of Trade, and therefore for a divertiſement I will tell you a ſhort and pleaſant ſtory. Upon a time King *James* of Great *Britain*, was angry with the City of *London*, and ſent for ſome of the Aldermen and Common Council, whom he firſt chid, and then threatned that he would take away their *Charters*, ſpoil them of their Priviledges, and ruine the City, that he would. An old Fox that ſtood behind, perceiving the King in a paſſion, and the reſt of the *Ruffs* in a ſilent fright, pretended deafneſs; and induſtriouſly that his Majeſty might obſerve him, enquired firſt of one and then of another; *What ſays his Majeſty? what? Doth he ſay he will turn the River of*

Thames? The King perceiving it, would needs know what he ſaid, and being told, burſt out into laughter, and ſwore in his Scottiſh dialect he was a *fauſe louue*, and packt them away. So let me merrily ask mine Adverſaries one after another, what? will the King of *France* turn the *Rhyne*? will he turn the *Maes*? Will he cut off the arms of thoſe mighty Rivers? Or will he riveletiſe them into more hundred furrows than Hiſtorians tell us *Cyrus* did *Gyndes* when he went to take *Babylon*? Will he chaſtiſe the South Sea, and fetter it, as *Xerxes* did the *Helleſpont*, making *Harderwick* and *Hoorne* as *Seſtus* and *Abydus* of old, now the ſtrong Caſtles the *Turks* have made in the *Dardanels*? Let the old rich Merchants that have more money to loſe than I, fear that, I do not. And except he can, ſo long as we keep the mouth of the Rivers where they exonorate themſelves into the Sea; let the *French* keep them above, and ſee what they can make of them.

But to be ſerious. I had thought our Trading had been in Ships at Sea eſpecially, and not with Boats in Rivers. And that it is theſe inferior Provinces, and our Sea Traffick that *France* aims at; though in regard of our Naval ſtrength, he comes down upon us by Land; thinking that way to carry the Country. For his ſtopping the Boats paſſing up and down the *Rhine* and *Maes*, there is no fear if we rightly conſider, that that will ruine the *French* themſelves more than us. In regard we can ſubſiſt without this, and they cannot. We have Corn in abundance from *Dantſick* and other places, with which we ſupply others in want: but they muſt have theirs from above, by theſe Rivers. How can we think that he ſhould ſtop the Commerce betwixt *Germany* and theſe Countries by the *Rhyne*; and they not ſtop his Proviſions at *Colen* and other places? Or that he intercept the Traffick by the *Maes*; and *Leige*, or at leaſt *Namurs* under the *Spaniſh*, ſhould not prohibit his ſupplies from *France*? There are two ways of dealing with Enemies. If ſmall to beat them, if great to pine them. They dare not but leave a conſiderable Army in thoſe Provinces, for fear of the former; and they muſt be ſupplied from abroad, for fear of the latter. Now if they be not from us beneath, they muſt be by theſe from above; for thoſe Provinces alone are not able to provide for them; and why then ſhould we trouble our ſelves with ſuch fantaſtical fears? Were it not that I thought theſe things ſufficient, and that I have been already ſo prolix in this Argument; I would ſhew at large that thoſe above depend on us for our Money and Commodities, more than we on them for theirs. But to do this ſatisfactorily, would be a large diſcourſe, and therefore I diſmiſs it, at leaſt for the preſent.

Our Adverſaries having thus ſpent their Cannon upon us ineffectually, will needs try a Volly of ſmall ſhot: That we muſt have theſe out-Provinces, for the quartering our Army, that ſo our Cities may be free from their diſturbance in Trade.

But this reaches us not. For we have out-Garriſons enow upon the Confines of theſe inferior Provinces, as *Sluys*, *Bergen op Zoom*, *Breda*, *Buſs*

Buſs,&c. well known, that are of leſs Trade, and capable to quarter 100000 men if need was, as I can eaſily make apparent. Nor do I imagine Souldiers prejudicial to any trading City, if they be not too numerous; but rather helpful, by the Exciſe they pay, the work when off the watch they cheaply perform, the ſpending their money with the poorer ſort, and ſeveral other ways which might be mentioned.

And thus you ſee in point of profit,or worldly Intereſt, that we can want the ſuperior Provinces, (excepting the City of *Utrecht*, and a little of the Circumjacent Country) yea had better quit them upon ſeveral accounts; and though our boundaries be leſs, yet if we be more compact and ſtronger, that will abundantly compenſate our greatneſs: beſides the vaſt expence which is ſpared thereby, not only of blood, but treaſure, in maintaining conſtantly ſo great an Army as we muſt,if we will recover and defend them. The only advantage that I can foreſee by them is, to have bad neighbours further off: but whether that will Countervail the coſt, may be a queſtion to others, but is none to me.

But if we value our honour at ſo high a rate, and will pay ſo dear for it, that if the *French* will not part with them upon fair terms,we will wage war for them; I heartily wiſh we never repent it. For I have obſerved *that Common-wealths are fitter for ſelf defence, and Kingdoms for conqueſts.* Which is ſhaddowed out by the *Venetian* Statue, holding a Shield in the right hand: that ſome unskilful Travellers condemn, as an error in the Statuary. Whoſe yet ambitious ſwerving from this Common-wealths maxim,coſt them very dear: and ſeeing it is the neareſt parallel to our caſe I know, I ſhall briefly relate it, becauſe I think it may be uſeful for us. The *Venetians* having long warred with the *Genoueſe* at Sea, afterwards caſt an ambitious eye on the Continent of *Italy*, and by one means or other (too long to relate) became Maſters of many conſiderable places. This made them envied by their neighbouring Monarchs, who entred at *Cambray* A. 1508. into a league to war againſt them. *Maximilian* the Emperor, firſt of that name, recovered *Padua, Vincentia, Verona,&c.* belonging to the Empire: the *Pope Ravenna, Cernia, Ariminum* and *Faventia: Lewis* the 12. then poſſeſt of *Millain* in right thereof, *Bergamum, Crema, Cremona* and *Brixia: Ferdinand* the King of *Spain* in right of *Naples, Manfredonia, Trano, Barlet* and *Monopoli*; all of them Havens on the *Adriatick*: the Duke of *Ferrara, Rovigo:* and the Duke of *Mantua, Aſula*: in ſo much that the *Venetians* were forced to betake themſelves to the *Iſlands* and Mariſhes of their City. And yet in a ſhort time by compliance with the *Pope*, they broke the confederacy, and by one means or other regained the reſt, except thoſe belonging to the Realm of *Naples.* The queſtion is debated in the Senate, *whether they ſhould war for theſe or no?* And wiſely concluded in the negative, *That although they were commodious Havens for them, yet better to part with them, than war with ſuch a potent Prince as Spain.* And let me ſay it freely of our ſelves. that had we ſerved God, followed our Trade, and kept our ſelves

more off the Stage of *Honour*, as our Anceſtors did: We had leſs occaſioned our neighbours envy, and not been reduced to thoſe Strates we are in.

But if our Senators be of *Naſica*'s judgment, and would have this foil for our *Martial valour*, and this exerciſe to rub of the ruſt, our Arms have contracted by their long reſt. If our Cavalry are ambitious to have the Trumpet of Fame ſound their praiſes, and the Infantry to have their marches beaten, through ſucceeding Ages and Generations. I wiſh that the eccho of Fame may follow them, with a clearer ſound than the hoarſe clamour of the People; and hope that the imbellick Bores that are ready to ſtart at the report of a Gun, and ſtoop at the whiſtling of a Bullet, may, by having dangers familiarized to them, become (as the Fox did with the Lion) undaunted at laſt, and under their brave General and Commanders regain our reputation; and ſhall heartily pray both for our Senators proſperity, and Souldiers ſucceſs.

The only conſideration that ſways with me for conteſting for them, if we cannot have them otherwiſe, is that of *Religion*. If therefore this policy, I have pleaded ſhould prove Apocryphal; and that our League and Alliance with them, obliges us for their recovery; or that the rules of Chriſtian Charity require us, to adventure our own loſs for their ſafety: God forbid that I, or any man elſe ſhould be againſt it; and I hope there are none ſo degenerate, but will contribute their beſt aſſiſtance both in purſe and perſon to ſo good a work. If the *Turks* will redeem the caged birds to ſet them at liberty, let us much more willingly our Chriſtian Brethren, and ſo committing our cauſe to God, paſs thorow the *Temple of Vertue*, that we may happily come to that of *Honour*.

Having thus ſhewn the impregnableneſs of the truth of our cauſe, againſt the aſſaults of its Adverſaries; and fought it out with them, in their repreſenting the *Advantages of being under France, and diſadvantages of being under England*, and our Replying: It comes now to our turn to be *Aſſailants*, wherein we hope to obtain an abſolute conqueſt, by ſhewing them the quite contrary.

Now herein we might be very large, if we would argue from all the *ſuaſory* and *diſſuaſory topicks*; as the *Honeſty* of being under *England* rather than *France* for the common Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion; the *Honorableneſs* thereof for the common good of Chriſtendom, whoſe Intereſt it is to oppoſe the greatneſs of *France*, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter: the *Equity* of this for aſſiſting our *Allies* againſt *France*: the *poſſibility* or practicableneſs of this only, now that his *Highneſs* is both *General* and *Stadt-holder*: and alſo from the contrary of theſe if we ſeek to come under *France*. But we ſhall only inſiſt upon that of *Utility*, becauſe that is moſt perſwaſive; and that with reſpect to our ſelves only, the moſt part of men being ſo ſelfiſh, that they prefer their *particular* before the *publick good*.

The diſadvantages of being under France, *and advantages of being under* England.

1. Our being under *France* brings us infallibly unto a War with *England* and *Spain*, in ſome ſhort time at leaſt, if not preſently, as we have already ſhown. Now how deſtructive ſuch a War is to our maritime Negotiation, I leave all wiſe men to judge, and Merchants eſpecially who have the experience thereof.

Whereas on the contrary our being under *England*, gives us *Peace* and freedom of Trade *by Sea*; at leaſt inconſiderable diſturbance in compariſon; yea very probably by *Land* alſo; in regard we can ſpoil *France*'s Trade, diſturb his coaſts, divert his deſigns, and ballacne his power. For *France* cannot fight with all Europe. If we be under *England*, we have *Spain*, the Empire &c. with us: and if *France* will fight, we need not fear him. But if that which is ſaid be not ſufficient (as I ſuppoſe it is) I am ready to make it apparent, that a Land War is more eligible for this Republick, then one by Sea with ſuch potent enemies, and take the utmoſt interruption *France* can make of our Sea-traffick into the ballance.

2. If we come under *France* we ſhall either do it *entirely*, or *partially*.

If the former we are ruined in a great meaſure in our Commerce, for ſuppoſing that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* fall under *France* alſo, as in all probability they will, and that ſpeedily, as even our Adverſaries themſelves take it for granted; the *Scheld* will be open and free, and ſo *Antwerp*, *Bruxels*, *Mechlin*, *Loven*, *Lier* and the other Cities of *Brabant*, by this means recover part of their former Commerce; which now we deprive them of by *Vliſſing* and *Rammekens* below, and *Lillo* above on that River: and *Ghant*, *Cortrick*, *Riiſſel* and other Cities of *Flanders* a part, by the former River being free, and by opening the other paſſage to them, which is now obſtructed at the *Sas van Ghant*.

Now of how great conſequence this is to us, eſpecially in regard of *Amſterdam*, which bears now a double proportion in the Admiralties, and almoſt the half of the burden of the Taxes of *Holland*, which is almoſt the half of the whole Republick, I leave any one to judge, and eſpecially thoſe that know the principles of Intereſt for that great and flouriſhing City. I could be very large upon this, in ſhewing how the fall of *Antwerp* was the riſe of *Amſterdam*; how this City prevailed that the other ſhould not be taken by the Arms of this Republick; as alſo what ſome ſay it coſt them to prevent it; that this was a great inducement to the States, not to enlarge the Republick on the ſide of *Flanders* and *Brabant*; and what a great motive it was to make peace with *Spain*, that ſo they might prevent ſo Potent a Prince as *France*, from coming ſo nigh them upon that quarter, and doing it by power; and how *Holland* gave ſecurity for maintaining the peace, when *Zeeland* proteſted againſt the ſame: But theſe are ſo well known in *Holland*, and the objections againſt it ſo anſwered, that I need not lanch into this *Ocean*. Now who is ſo purblind but he may

foreſee

foreſee, that if we come under *France*, the *Flemiſh* Merchants, eſpecially Papiſts, will return and carry their Trade to *Antwerp*, and many *French* alſo ſetle themſelves there; the River being much better, the City fit for traffick every way, and having the Popiſh Religion publickly profeſt, ſo that it will ſoon conteſt with *Amſterdam* for Trade, and carry it ere long; and then *Amſterdam* may ſay of *Antwerp*, as the Ice of the Water, *Mater me genuit, mater mox gignitur ex me.* For we muſt think thoſe Cities, and particularly *Antwerp*, are nearer the Confines of *France* than *Holland*; and will be more confided in, being Papiſts; ſo that they will become both the care and Crown of that King and Kingdom, for their Trade in theſe Northern parts of the World. Yea let me ſay it, for I know it to be true, this is that the Trading *Flamens* long for, ſeek for, and ſhould above all things be glad to ſee: ſo that in ſtead of hindring, they ſhall help, all they dare, *Frances* conqueſt for this their Intereſt.

And if ſome of theſe Provinces only come under *France*, and otherſome under *England*; what a miſerable condition ſhall we be in; by having two ſuch potent Princes continually conteſting in the midſt of us, ſo that by ſuch ſtrong fits of Colick in our bowels, and Convulſions in the whole body, our diſeaſe muſt needs become mortal, and our wounds incurable. Let us ſuppoſe that which is likelieſt, both by the beſt intelligence, inclination of the people (as we have ſaid formerly) and intereſt as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Zeeland* become *Engliſh*, and *Holland* ſhould chuſe *France*; and conſider the ſituation of *Zeeland*, neer the Sea, and allmoſt right over the River of *Thames*, and both between *France* and *Holland*, and betwixt *Holland* and the Chanel; the Harbours of *Vliſſing* and *Ter Vere*, into which, the latter eſpecially, all Winter long, notwithſtanding the *Ice*, is ſafe arrival; their genious as well as commodiouſneſs to Cape: and then judge in what a perilous condition the Trade of *Holland* will be under *France*, and what miſerable work will be made amongſt us. Or let it be ſuppoſed that there is frendſhip between *France* and *England* in the enjoying their ſeveral ſhares (for we will grant all poſſibilities, and much more probabilities, our Adverſaries can reaſonably deſire) and how will our mutual traffick be ſpoiled, by the impoſitions of both Crowns upon commodities; if we ſhould pay to the one in *Holland* and the other in *Zeeland*, as undoubtedly we muſt. For it is a certain truth, *that multiplicity of impoſitions, eſpecially when great, ſpoils merchandiſe.* And will it not be in *Englands* power, to open the River, and make it free for *Antwerp*, *&c.* as we have ſaid? and in that caſe, where will the vaſt Commerce of *Holland* then be?

Whereas on the contrary were we either of theſe ways under *England*, we exclude *France* and *Flanders*, and preſerve our Trade to our ſelves.

If we be entirely under *England*; we may ſave the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, whoſe Governors are contented with what Commerce they have, rather than loſe all; we may preſerve our ſelves from the *French* neighbour-

bourhood; and thereby alſo our Trade from them both.

Or if we be but in part ſo; we preſerve the friendſhip of theſe Provinces, the Trade betwixt us, ſecure our intereſt both at home and abroad, and command the Commerce of *Europe* at our pleaſure.

3. If we come under *France*, we have not only *Spain* our Enemy by Sea and Land (as we have ſhewn) but the loſs of our *Spaniſh Trade*, and the hazarding of our whole *Levant Traffick*: And if we rightly calculate, that amounts to no ſmall part of our Commerce. The *Spaniſh Netherlands*, *Spain*, and their Dominions in *Italy*, taking off much of our *Eaſt India* and *Weſtern-wares*. For as *Muſcovy* and the other *Northern Nations* conſume much of our *Pepper*, and ſome hotter Spices, ſo the *Southern*, and *Eaſtern* in the *Mediterranean*, much of our other Commodities. Now with what ſecurity can we either carry them through the Sea, or bring our *Silks*, *Camels-hair*, and other of the richeſt Commodities we have, from *Aleppo*, *Egypt*, and our other *Factories* for the *Turkie Trade*, and maintain our Traffick with *Venice*, *Leghorne*, and other places in *Italy*: Seeing the *Spaniards* beſides the ports of *Spain*, have ſo many *Havens*, and ſome *Iſlands* in the *Adriatick*; *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca* and *Minorca* in the *Midland-Sea*; and *Cadiz* ſo commodiouſly ſituated at the mouth of the *Straits*; ſome of which have been famous in all Ages for the Archeſt *Pirates* in the whole World. Betwixt theſe therefore and the *Turks*, we are certain of nothing, but of bad *Trading*, and they good *Caping*. So that I may conclude with the *Poetical Proverb*, that he that deſires to flie from *England*, and fall under *France* for Traffick, *Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim*.

Whereas on the contrary, if we come under *England*; we certainly ſecure our Commerce with *Spain*, and all the *Territories* belonging to that *Crown*. And not only ſo, but againſt the *Turkiſh Pyrates* which infeſt thoſe Seas, which would be of no ſmall advantage to us. For beſides that *England* is at peace with ſome of thoſe places on the *African Coaſt*, and is in friendſhip with the *Turkiſh Empire*; how eaſie a thing was it for us joyntly, to bring the reſt to our own terms? Yea, ſo to ſubdue them all, and keep them under, that they ſhould never be able to diſturb us, no nor *Chriſtendom* more by their *Caping*? And how generous a deſign this is, and how deſtructive to that great and common Enemy of all *Chriſtians*, I leave all wiſe men, and well-wiſhers to Chriſtianity to conſider and judge.

4. Our *Eaſt India* Trade, the richeſt jewel of this Republick, which hath occaſioned us ſo much envy, and cauſed ſo many quarrels and conteſts; if we come under *France*, will run a great *Risko* to be ruined. Hath not this been their great deſign of late years? Have they not for this end erected a *Company*? And now got footing there, and follow it further, even in this laſt year, as we hear, with their greateſt endeavours? Nay, is not this the principal motive, which induces them to make this War? I know we need not fear them there, nor all *Europe* if we have peace here, and can ſend them ſupplies: We are ſo far advanced in that Negotiation; K l

ſo ſtrong in Forts, Shipping and Souldiers; our men ſo accuſtomed to the heat of thoſe Countries; our Mariners to thoſe Coaſts; and Merchants to the Languages and Trade of thoſe parts. But if we come under *France*, will not *England* and *Spain* ſeek continually to intercept our ſupplies thither, and our Returns from thence? Will not this put us to vaſt Charges of Convoys to defend our Ships going and coming in ſecurity? Will not ſome through ſtorms and other accidents when ſeparated, unavoidably fall into their hands, as we have often experienced? And will they not always be in one hazard or other from them for ſafety? Yea let us ſuppoſe that all ſtands well there, and none of our Ships miſcarry through our Enemies, but ſafely Arrive both there and here; where ſhall we vent thoſe Commodities from thence at the prices they now yield us; when we have ſuch Enemies at home, and ſuch dangers in carrying them abroad, as we have formerly ſhown? Nay, can we rationally think otherwiſe, than that the Kingdom of *France* will have ſhare with us there, and the Crown the greateſt profit here? So that our *Eaſt India Actions*, as high as they are now may in a little time come as low as thoſe of the *Weſt India Company*; which was once thought equal with the other, and are now next to nothing: and then many of us, who have moſt of our eſtates adventured in the *Eaſt-Indies* Trade, may loſe that we have left, as we have formerly loſt by the *Weſt-Indies*; and no remedy but patience, for we muſt ſit down in a ſorrowful ſilence. Herein I have reaſon to ſpeak feelingly of my fears, being ſo concern'd according to the proportion of my ſmall eſtate; how much, matters none but my ſelf, but were it ten times more, I muſt tell you; that though the *Actions* at this preſent are conſiderably above three hundred, I ſhall the firſt day I ſee we come under *France*, ſell mine willingly for two, rather than keep them, and render many thanks to the buyer into the bargain.

Whereas on the other hand if we come under *England*, they have formerly had, and ſtill have a conſiderable ſhare in the *Eaſt India Trade*. Their *Company* and ours accord well, and frequently accommodate each others correſpondence. His Majeſty in the former War, in his Declaration, and
1664 the Papers paſt between the *States General*, and his Envoy Sir *George Down-*
1665. *ing*, inſiſts upon *Poleron* one of the *Banda-Iſlands*, ſatisfaction for injuries paſt, with deduction of what we had ſuffered, and regulation of Trade for the
1667½ future; and his *Majeſty* in his *Declaration* of this preſent War only mentions the laſt, *The Regulation of Trade in the Eaſt-Indies*. Now I perſwade my ſelf, that neither the *States*, nor *Eaſt-India* Company will ſtick upon theſe. For *Polleron*, if they have it, it can now neither be any great profit to them, nor prejudice us: For a juſt accompting with them, what juſt man can be againſt it? Or againſt a due and equal Regulation of Trade? that ſo all occaſions of conteſts between the two Nations may be cut off, and wholly prevented for the future. It is true, that reaches not the ſuppoſal of our being under them, but only ſtanding upon equal terms

with them for Trade: and therefore we will come close up to the supposition in hand.

And herein we shall proceed with such frankness, that we shall grant more than our Adversaries can reasonably be jealous of; and that is, that the *English* should have half of that Trade with us; and yet shew that it is better for us then to take in *France*. For, 1. The *English* have a considerable part already, and *France* but an inconsiderable: so that we must, in all probability, part with much more to the latter, and need part with less to the former. Our first capital of the *East-India Company*, is 64 Tun of Gold, and the *English* 40. It is true we have Traded both longer and more, and so have a greater improvement: suppose 70 Tun of Gold there, which ordinarily is reckoned about three times in the value when returned hither; and suppose as much or more here in goods or money; which vastly exceeds the *English*: yet it must be considered that we are at greater expences there several ways than they; that we have money at interest, though inconsiderable to what formerly, having pay'd off the last year above 50, some say 60 Tun of Gold. I must here ingenuously confess, that I have but the forementioned calculations from the curiosity of discourse, and the credit of others; not upon the authentick authority of the books of both Companies; which I have not leisure now, nor indeed pleasure to enquire into; and yet I think I am near the truth, having had these things from very good hands. I will therefore proceed, and here we are certain, that besides a great sum of money, our Company hath lent the States to carry on this War, which I reckon as an honourable gift, we are like to part with a far greater to purchase our peace. And though our *Actions* be far more worth than theirs, for example, a capital *Action* that gives right to a suffrage, in the election of the Directors of that Trade being originally 100 l. Vlamish, (or 600 gilders) is now in these bad times worth above 300 l. Vlamish, (or 1800 g.) and in times of peace 400 l. Vl. (or 2400 g.) and sometimes 500 l. Vl. (or 3000 g.) and with them not worth two, or twelve: yet this arises not so much from the great emolument, that the Participants here receive more than there; as from the plenty of money here, which several have and know not how otherwise to improve, the small Interest (usually under 4 per Cento to those of good credit) and the dearness of Land; all which are contrary in *England*. So that I leave it to any competent and impartial man to judge, (should it be so, which yet, I think, none need to fear) whether it is better for us to supply the *English* with a less part, or the *French* with a greater of that our Trade. For I dare say, that if *England* hath a fourth of ours, *France* hath not an eighth part thereof.

2. How easie is it for us and *England* to beat *France* out of the *East-India Traffick*? if we have Wars, or if the *French* seek to incroach upon us.

3. Under *England* we keep our own *Chambers of Trade*; whereby thousands of Families subsist in our *Cities*. All manner of Trades for Shipping

and navigation, Carpenters, Smithes, Sail-makers, &c. All manner of Tradeſmen for victuals, Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, &c. by their labours at leaſt. All manner of Shopkeepers for ſelling them Proviſions that are ſent, and buy commodities that return. Beſides the poorer ſort, as Boats-folk, Labourers, &c. which are exceeding many that wholly depend on the Company for their livelihood. Whereas if we come under *France*, and the *Spaniſh Provinces* alſo, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe; a great ſhare will be removed to *Antwerp*, there being ſo large and magnificent an *Eaſt-India* houſe, and that being nearer *France* by far. Whereby our Trade being taken from us, our Cities will be impoveriſhed beyond imagination.

4. The impoſitions of the Crown of *England* is with conſent of the people in Parliament; the rates both inward and outward being ſet by law: and ſo would be here with conſent of the States. Thoſe of *France* arbitrary, and inhanſible at pleaſure. And how great an alteration *Cuſtoms* make in *Commerce*, I leave all knowing Merchants to judge.

I foreſee it will be ſaid, that were we under *France*, we ſhould beat *England* out of the *Eaſt India* Trade, and ſo have it wholly to our ſelves.

If they would make either the Antecedent or Conſequent good, the Argument deſerved conſideration; but I know they cannot; for they are both impracticable.

Firſt, We cannot beat them out there, till we have conquered them here: for how ſhall we in Wars with them, ſpare Ships, Souldiers, *&c.* to do that? Now what probability there is of conquering them, is formerly declared. The *Engliſh* are reaſonably fortified and provided, and will doubtleſs be better, if they ſee danger approaching. And not only ſo, but being in good amity (as I have heard) with thoſe Nations where they reſide, they would never ſuffer our enmity to prevail ſo far againſt them. Nor thoſe Nations with whom we both Trade: for knowing how low one chapman makes the market, they will aſſiſt the weaker, rather than loſe their advantage by them.

Nor if we ſhould conquer them there, will all the ſpoils fall to our ſelves; as ſome may poſſibly think, whoſe hopes are poſtilion to the Sun, and therefore fancy things beyond the Moon; and bring ſuch booties from Eaſt to Weſt upon the wings of their windy imaginations. For inſtead of hoping to have half, we have reaſon to fear, ſhould it be ſo, that *France* will have all the parts of the *Prey*.

5. If we be under *France*, what ſhall become of our *Fiſhery* upon the Coaſt of *England*, and thoſe multitudes of Families that depend thereon? I might be large herein from my own Obſervations, having had the humour or curioſity (call it what you pleaſe) to view all the Rivers, Harbors, and almoſt Creeks on both the oppoſite Coaſts, from *Thames* to *Tinmouth*, and from the *Elve* to *Ooſtend*. And particularly *Yarmouth* and *Flambrough-head*, as the greateſt Promontories of *England*, and whereabouts there is the beſt fiſhing. But I will only ſpeak to thoſe things which concern

the preſent Argument. A diligent perſon calculated in the Year 62 the dependants on the *Fiſhing-trade* (I mean not Fiſhers only, but alſo all employed about their ſhipping, Nets, Cask, Salt, &c. with their Attendants at Sea) and reckoned them above 400000. Yea ſome have made their number far greater, particularly that learned, wiſe, and valiant Knight Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (whom I parallel with Sir *Philip Sidney*) in his information of King *James*, reckons our Veſſels that fiſh on the Coaſts of Great *Britain* 3000 and every 20 Buſſes to maintain 8000, which will amount to 1200000. But this is incredible. He muſt either be miſtaken in the number of Ships, or the proportion he alots them, or both. For upon diligent enquiry I cannot find half that number either of Ships or Men in ſome years laſt paſt. If he mean of the three ſeveral ſeaſons of fiſhing; in Autumn for Herrings, Spring for Cod-fiſh, and Summer for Salmons; we ſhall not conteſt with him; nor concerning the number he ſays attends them, viz. 9000 other Veſſels, and 150000 Men. It is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, that I ſhew, that our Fiſhery is very conſiderable, and the friendſhip of *England* for the ſame, of far more conſequence to us than that of *France*.

Guicciardine, a very diligent Writer, A. D. 1587 reckons the *Herring-Buſſes*, that fiſh on the *Britiſh* Coaſts *at leaſt* 700, *and ſome ſaid many more*: and though he include *Flanders*, yet not the other Fiſheries, as *Rawleigh* doth, and doubtleſs of all the Maritime Provinces of this Republick; which the Author of the *Intereſt of Holland* c. 5. erroniouſly appropriates to that Province alone, through inadvertency, that Foreigners frequently call all theſe United Provinces *Hollanders*, that being the principal, and all the *Spaniſh*, yea formerly all the 17 by the name of *Vlamens*. And not only ſo, but tells us the *Fiſhery* is increaſed ſince a third part, which I cannot credit, not only in regard that the *Engliſh*, but *French* and *Flemiſh* whom we uſed to ſupply for the greateſt part, now fiſh themſelves. Yea I rather think, that ſince our Merchandiſe hath ſo much increaſed, our Fiſhery hath decreaſed.

Deſc gene Bel

And what conſiderable profit redounds to us thereby, appears by the computation which *Guicciardine* makes very particularly, that thoſe 700 Buſſes take annually 49000 Laſt of Herring, which he reckons at 10 l. Vl. or 60. Guldens the Laſt; which amounts yearly together with the other Fiſheries to the following ſums.

	l. Vlam.		Sterl.
Herrings ——	490000	or ——	294000
Cod-fiſh ——	166666⅔	or ——	100000
Salmon ——	66666⅔	or ——	40000

The uſual reckoning of ſalt Fiſh that is yearly taken, and either ſpent or ſold by *Hollanders*, if you will believe the *Intereſt of Holland* c. 5. is 300000 Laſt. So that the families that are maintained, the money that is gotten, and food that is eaten from Fiſhing is almoſt incredible.

Now that it will be in *Englands* power and not in *Frances* to ſpoil us of this *Fiſhery*, or at leaſt the greateſt part thereof, I think no rational man will deny, that conſiders the only fiſhing for *Herring* in theſe parts or perhaps in the whole World, is upon the *Britiſh* Coaſt; and moſt alſo for Cod-fiſh northward of *Scotland* and on the *Dogger-ſands*, and other places where they can eaſily interrupt us. Thoſe therefore that are ſo forward for *France*, might do well to conſider, what they will do with all theſe families, or how they ſhall be maintained when they are deprived of their Trades.

Other Arguments which might here be added I ſhall not now bring into open view, but keep them as a Reſerve, in caſe our Adverſaries ſhould rally and make head againſt us, having ſufficiently rooted them (we think) by theſe five, wherewith we have already fought them.

But yet there remain ſome advantages under *England*, which we cannot expect under *France*, ſome of them more general for the Republick, and otherſome more particular for Provinces and Perſons. In the handling whereof, we ſhall deſire to uſe, now that we are got within our enemy, the ſhort and pungent dagger of *Demoſthenes*, rather than *Cicero*'s long ſworded eloquence.

Advantages under England, not to be expected under France.

1. By being under *England*, we retain and encreaſe our friendſhip with the *Empire*, *German Princes*, and *free Cities*: which are not jealous of *Englands* affecting the *Imperial Crown*, as they are of *France*: and therefore will not prejudice us under the former, as they will certainly in a little time under the latter. Nay I doubt not, but were we under *England*, they would take courage, and generally appear againſt *France*. So that we ſhould hereby greatly promote the common Intereſt of *Europe*.

2. Under *England* we might have the freedom of the *Weſt-Indie* Trade, which would be of great profit to us, many ways. Now how great a ſhare *England* hath in the *Weſt-Indies*, and how ſmall and inconſiderable *France*, is well known. Theſe having only the Iſland *Terre Neuf*, for fiſhing, and ſome of the moſt Northerly Continent, unpeopled, not cultivated, and improfitable, as may be ſeen in *de Laet*, by thoſe that know it not: part of
d. St. *Chriſtophors*, and ſome other places of ſmall concernment, in compariſon to what the *Engliſh* profitably poſſeſs.

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to caſt a ſwarm of their pooreſt and moſt laborious people, is apparent from the Hiſtories of all Ages. And though I confeſs the *Dutch* are not ſo good Planters, as the *Engliſh*, being more uſed to the Water, and the other to Land: yet in regard all thoſe *Plantations* are upon the Sea Coaſts and Rivers, the *Dutch* might be uſed for building of Ships or Boats, Houſes &c. and eſpecially for fiſhing, carrying and recarrying goods by Water on the Rivers, and to and from the Ships, and in navigation; and the *Engliſh* for planting and working in the ground; and ſo, in mine opinion, would make an excellent temperament, and very profitable for both Nations.

4. Expences might be ſaved in ſeveral Convoys, and particularly of the *Eaſt India* Companies. I know very well they will have them return round about, on the back of *Ireland*, leſt they ſhould touch at any of theſe Northern places, eſpecially in the Chanel, and ſo Trade; and will ſend out Ships with freſh men, and take out the Mariners that return, to prevent their trading for themſelves: but yet the extraordinary Charges of our men of War might be ſpared. Nay the *States General* bring in theſe, to be diducted in the Accompt with *England*, as the occaſion thereof, in their *Liſt of damages Article the* 5. *before the laſt War*, A. D. 1664.

5. Such as are Rich, and weary of Trade, or love their eaſe, honour, or pleaſure; may if we were under *England*, more eaſily remove thither, and be made *liege* ſubjects, and free *Denizens* of *England* by the *Crown*; or be *naturalized* by the *Parliament*; and ſo buy, poſſeſs, and inherit Lands and revenues at half the price here; and live upon their Rents as Country Gentlemen, in a cheap and pleaſant Land, enjoying as great civil Liberty as any where in Chriſtendom, and alſo the freedom of their Religion. Or let out their money not only at far greater intereſt, but alſo upon *hypothece* or real ſecurity. I have often thought this 20 years, whether it might not be better for *England*, to give this Liberty by Law to ſtrangers, eſpecially thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and of theſe Countries; and of which ſide the intereſt lay betwixt us for this: Now that *England* hath ſo many and great Plantations in the *Weſt Indies* for their poorer people, now that money is ſo plentiful, now that this Common-wealth was ſo increaſed upon them, now that the Number of Merchants is every where ſo multiplied, and now that Trade is beaten ſo low, almoſt in all the known parts of the World. But this would be both a large, and unneceſſary digreſſion; and I am very ſenſible that I have been already too long in this Argument. Yet induſtriouſly I confeſs, becauſe I foreſee, that many will diligently peruſe this, who perhaps will negligently paſs by the reſt: and mine Oppoſites ſo much glorying herein, I thought beſt to give them full meaſure, and rather abound to curioſitie, than be deficient in ſatisfying the leaſt nicity; *Trade being the Crown of that Kingdom and this Common wealth.*

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Sect. 8. *Several other Arguments and enducements to incline us rather for* England, *briefly mentioned. With an inference from the whole preceding discourse, that the friendship of* England *is to be prefered before that of* France.

ALthough what is said of *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Estates*, and *Trade*, be sufficient to prove this hypothetical problem? yet I shall give as over measure some other enducements for *England* briefly.

1. The different humor and genious of the *French* and *Dutch*: which is well known to those that know them both, to be far greater than between us and the *English*. Which makes not only a strangeness, but alienation of affection; begets a disgust and nauseating of each other; brings forth many contests and quarrels; and nourishes a continual discontent, uneasiness, and unquietness of life.

2. The affection which the generallity of the *English* and *Dutch* Nation have for each other. So that if the Controversies of late years, and at this present between us, had been or were refered to the body of the people in both Nations (although I well know what both their *Representatives* have done) I dare say, upon reasonable satisfaction for the mutual miscarriages, which cannot but some times happen towards each other; there never had been, nor would be War betwixt us more. And that his *Majesty*, and the *Prince of Orange* would have more Voluntiers in one day to fight the *French*, than they have in twenty to fight each other.

3. The way of *France* is only *Gentry* and *Paisantry*, the former lording it over the latter; which have allways lived more miserably, than any common people in *Europe*. In *Cæsars* time there was *nihil plebe contemptius*, as he tells us, and hath continued so as *Bodin* acknowledges, and is so at this day we all know. Whereas in *England* and these *Countries*, there is a middle
10. sort of people, that live freely and independently, on their own Lands and Farmes, that will never endure the insolency of such Lords much less to be their slaves, and least of all to be ruined by them.

4. Now that the *Prince of Orange* is advanced, and his party upmost, so that the Crown of *England* may confide more in our friendship; it is not to be doubted but through his *Highness* interest in his Uncles, we shall better accord hereafter, when these unhappy differences are once ended.

And thus I have done with this great *Question* of the times. Sufficiently, I thinke, to satisfie any rational man; though nothing is sufficient, nor will satisfie I know, such as are either so resolvedly prejudiced against the *English* or Princes interest that if they can but ruin them, they matter not though they ruin both themselves and the Nation; or so partially passionate for the *French*, that they desire them, though it be to their own destruction. For all the Arguments in the World, will never prevail against passion and prejudice: It is only experience that can convince such of their error, and make them with *Damocles*, when the drawn Sword is over them, desire

to

to depart, finding they were deceived in their opinion of Happineſs.

I ſhall therefore conclude, with a brief reflection upon ſome of theſe Arguments, and the Corollary which naturally flows from them.

That ſeeing *England* and We are of the ſame Religion; Both free people and affectionated to each other; Both imbarqued in the ſame Intereſt of Trade, though in different bottoms; It not only becomes us, but is our mutual concernment, that we take heed, we daſh not one another to pieces, but fairly and Chriſtianly comply with each other, for the ſafeguard of our Religion, preſervation of the Proteſtant Intereſt, our own and others alſo Liberties, and the juſt and equitable courſe of Commerce; that ſo each Nation may happily enjoy their *Religion*, *Liberty*, *Eſtates*, and *Trade*, with Gods bleſſing on them all.

Sect. 9. *That we are not yet come to that extremity, but we may ſtill remain a Republick: in regard of our own ſtrength, and our neighbours intereſt,* Englands *eſpecially, that they had better loſe* Scotland *or* Ireland, *than let the French have theſe Provinces. This War a Game at Hazard. Being engaged will go through, and Parliament probably aſſiſt therein.*

WE have hitherto diſcourſed upon the ſuppoſal of *inability to defend our ſelves*; becauſe it becomes wiſe men always, to ſuppoſe the worſt condition that may probably befall them; with the conſequences thereof; and accordingly to make proviſion, and in regard of the endleſs curioſity of mens minds, which are always reſtleſs under *miſeries*, and ſtill inquiſitive after *futurities*. We ſhall now proceed to ſhew, that we are not yet (through Gods mercy towards us) come to the extremity ſuppoſed, nor reduced to thoſe ſtraits, that we are neceſſitated to take either *French* or *Engliſh* for our Maſters; but that we may ſtill remain a Republick, if we be not awanting to our ſelves, or through paſſion or precipitancy betray our own intereſt, and caſt our ſelves into irrecoverable deſtruction. And this we ſhall make apparent, by ſhewing there is no ſufficient ground for us to deſpair, if we either *Conſider our own ſtrength, or our Neighbours Intereſt*. Let us therefore obſerve the good rule in policy, which the Poet gives,

Senec. Thyeſt.

Nemo confidat nimium ſecundis,
Nemo deſperet meliora lapſis.

Firſt lets take a view of *our own ſtrength*, and ſee what grounds of encouragement, that will yield us. Which though ſufficiently known to many, yet not ſo well to the multitude. Now the ſtrength of a Nation conſiſts eſpecially in theſe things following, which I ſhall briefly recite, and accommodate to our own *Country*.

1. The great ſtrength of a people conſiſts in the *ſituation of their Country*.

7. Now concerning this both in the general, and this Land in particular, I have already ſpoken ſufficiently for my purpoſe; and ſhewn that all theſe Maritime Provinces, are either Iſlands or Peninſular, and very defenſible thereby; and alſo upon extremity liable to inundation, either from the Sea, or Rivers that ſurround them, or both.

2. In the Artificial Fortification of particular places; *Cities*, *Caſtles*, *Forts*, *Paſſes*, &c. And herein theſe Countries may contend with any Nation whatſoever, Kingdom, or Common-wealth that is of no greater circumference. For the Number of their Cities, and their regular Fortification, Art herein vying with Nature, is not to be parallel'd in the world. I need not deſcend to particulars, Thoſe that deſire ſatisfaction herein, may conſult *Guicciardine*'s deſcription of theſe Netherlands.

3. In means of defence. As ſhipping for thoſe Nations or Cities that lie upon the Sea, or great navigable Rivers, and Lakes, as theſe Provinces do, to defend their Coaſts from invaſion. And herein we are rather redundant than defective; the Number of ſhipping in *Holland* alone, being uſually accounted 20000. And warlike proviſion of Arms and Ammunition. Wherein alſo we abound: theſe Countries ever ſince they were a Common-wealth, having been the greateſt Magazine of warlike proviſions, as is well known, of any in the World.

4. In men; in regard of their Number, Courage, Skill, and Unanimity.

As to our Numbers, they are abundantly ſufficient for our defence. The *Intereſt* of *Holland* c. 8. from particulars, reckons the ſum of that Province alone 2400000. But if there be ſo many in them all, it is enow. Juſt how many is impoſſible to ſay, or near how many in ſuch a multitude is very difficult to gueſs, and harder with us than any other people, I think, in the World; in regard of the uncertainty of Seamen, the Number of Strangers and Travellers in peaceable times, and the diverſity of Religions, Jews, Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, &c. which baptiſe not their Children with us. But I know the Number of our men muſt needs be great; by the great Number of our Cities, theſe ſeveral Provinces being as it were nothing but Neſts of Cities, ſo many being no where to be found in ſo ſmall a circumference in any parts of the habitable World; by their largeneſs and multitude of houſes, which imply the Inhabitants to be many; by the greatneſs of their Trade, which is the lure that draws multitudes to them; and by the known Chriſtnings and burials of thoſe only of the Reformed Religion.

As to our courage, which at preſent ſuffers an eclipſe, there is more to be ſaid then the World is aware of. And indeed I wonder none of our Hiſtory Profeſſors, have given other Nations ſome ſatisfaction herein. I have not been without ſome thoughts of doing it my ſelf, having been a diligent obſerver how things have gone, but I want Authentick materials for ſuch a work. I could produce very many and very honourable teſti-

monies, both ancient and modern of their valour, out of ſuch Writers as give the Characters of Nations, Republicks, Geographers, and eſpecially Hiſtorians *Dion*, *Cæſar*, *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Oroſius*, &c. of old, the famous *Italians*, *Guicciardine*, *Bentivoglio* and *Strada*, with *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Engliſh* and the neighbouring Nations, even ſo many and ſuch as are ſufficient either to ſhame, or to inflame the verieſt cowards, one ſhould think, of the world into courage. But this would be too large to inſert here, and may poſſibly de done in another dreſs hereafter. Nor is the ſucceſs of *France* againſt us ſuch a wonder, as many make it, as I have formerly ſhewn. I will at preſent only add, that which is proper for this place, and that is that the *French* Armies were not only ſo numerous, but alſo trained up in the School of *Mars*, and ours for the moſt part raw and unexperienced in War. As the Fox in the Fable, the firſt time he ſaw the Lion and heard him roar, trembled; the ſecond time, was leſs affraid; and the third grown wholly fearleſs of him: So it is with men, by being accuſtomed to dangers either at Sea or Land, they converſe with them familiary, and account them nothing at laſt. And therefore wiſe Commanders have always endeavoured to unlearn their Souldiers fear, by ſhewing them their enemies at Walls, Trenches, Paſſes, Rivers or other places, where they could not be come upon by them, and ſo harden and fleſh them by degrees, before they have adventured to fight them againſt old and experienced enemies. And I doubt not, but through Gods bleſſing, in a little time if the Wars continue, our Belgick Lion, will not be found ſuch a tame Lamb, and ſo eaſily torn in pieces, as our enemies may hope, and others poſſibly may imagin.

Se

As for our skill ſuperadded to courage, there is no want, for the manner of defence we are to make. For beſides our able Commanders and Souldiers to defend the Poſts, and Paſſes abroad, all our Cities abound with Seamen, and ſuch as are skil'd to traverſe their Ordnance, and deſperate for ſallies, if need ſhould require.

Our unanimity, I confeſs, is that I moſt fear: and, that when our Cities are threatned with danger, the Citizens ſhould grow mutinous, and fall together by the ears, and ſo let in their enemies to part the fray. And yet I have reaſon to think they will grow wiſer, by their hearing and knowing how their freinds are uſed by their enemies.

5. In money and food to maintain their men. And in neither of theſe, through Gods mercy, is there any want amongſt us: If we will lay out our ſelves, as we ought, for the publick. *Aitſma's Lieure* reckons the publick incoms of *Holland* alone A. 1643. at eleven Millions of our money, which is eleven hundred thouſand pounds Sterling: we calling every ten thouſand pound Sterling a tun of gold, and ever hundred thouſand a million *i. e.* of gilders. And beſides the publick incoms of every Province, every City hath their peculiar, which in ſome is very conſiderble. But if our Common Treaſuries are exhauſted in ſeveral places, it is no wonder: Yet if we

conſider the Riches of particular perſons, we have enough to hold out the War, to weary our enemies out at the laſt, as muſt as they do us at the preſent. I will not now ſtand to ſhew the calculation of this, though if neceſſary, I think I can do it ſatisfactorily, comprehending the diſadvantages our enemies are under. But the late Project printed ſo often, of the *Capitals* of this Country, for raiſing and maintaining ſo numerous an Army, though the manner preſcribed prove not practicable, hath in part ſpared my pains herein.

And for food, our Cities are generally ſo well furniſhed, that if our enemies ſteal not ſupplies from us, it is well; we need neither ſeek to them, nor fight with them for ſupplying our ſelves. We have Bread Corn Fiſh and Oyl, Butter and Cheeſe in abundance. And if our liquoriſh Dames, want their delicacies a while, no great matter: they will value peace, and pay their Souldiers the better.

Now what can be added for the ſufficient defence of any Nation, to the particulars mentioned, I cannot imagin; and if my enumeration be inſufficient, I wiſh any wiſe man would ſhew wherein, and then I ſhall thank them. And therefore let us take courage to our ſelves, and not be frighted with vain fears; or ſcared with any vanting bravadoes; like that great *Rhodomontadoe* of the grand *Turk*, who when he heard of the long War ſuch a great Prince as *Spain*, made about this ſmall Country; ſaid, *that before he would have kept ſuch a pottering, about a few petty Provinces, he would have taken them, and hurled them into the Sea at once:* though his ſucceſſor kept no ſmall pottering about the ſingle City of *Candia* many years together; to which ſome of our Cities, all things conſidered, ſeem not much inferior for ſtrength: although I well know what a difference there is, betwixt the defence of one City alone without a Country, and many at once contained therein.

But though this *internal ſtrength* be ſo conſiderable, and with us of greateſt conſequence; yet this is not all; we have alſo an *external and accidental ſtrength*, by the Intereſt of our Neighbours. For this end it muſt be well conſidered, that ſome Countries and Cities, of ſmall ſtrength comparatively in themſelves, are yet very ſtrong by their ſituation among, and well ſecured by the Intereſt of other circumjacent Princes and States: who will not ſuffer, if they can poſſibly prevent it, acceſſion of ſtrength to one another, leſt their own ſcale in the ballance of powers ſhould become light and ſoon born down. What is it but this under the ſhadow of the Almighties Protection, that ſecures the ſmaller Republicks in *Italy* and the *Empire*? What *Geneva*, *Stratsburg*, *Colen*, *Hamburg* and the reſt of the free Cities, and *Hans Towns*, but this? God governing the World uſually, as both *Comines* and *Cardan* well obſerve, by the paſſions of men, in the ballancing of Powers; that when any one will break out into rage and Wars, others will oppoſe them with the like fury, and ſo keep the World a little quiet; otherwiſe the great *Nimrods*, and hunters after Domi-

nion would ſoon, if let alone, deſtroy and devour all before them.

Now if we look about us, and ſee amongſt whom our Land lies, and well conſider their intereſt; this will be very apparent in our ſelves, notwithſtanding this War that is made againſt us, that we are not devoted by any to deſtruction, but only the *French*, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

For *Spain* our next Neighbours on one hand, in the reſt of the Provinces, they know this ſo well, and are ſo ſenſible of their intereſt herein; that they not only aſſiſt us what they can; but I dare ſay were it not for *England*, would rather break with *France* than ſee us endangered. But thoſe two Crowns as I have already hinted, and ſhall more fully ſhew hereafter, muſt not, and therefore will not break.

For the Empire above us, they alſo are frighted with our fears; and if the Princes thereof had money to their might, would willingly, I doubt not, aſſiſt the *Emperor*: leſt the *Lillies* of *France* ſhould mount above the *Roman Eagle*. In the year 1584. when the States upon the death of Prince *William*, were a looking towards *France* for Protection, the Princes of the Empire ſent *Malroy* to admoniſh them, *ut à conſilio Gallici patrocinii implorandi deſiſterent, alioqui fore, ut Germani Principes tantam domui Auſtriacæ & origine & fœdere arctis adeo cum Imperio vinculis conjunctæ factam injuriam non negligant*, as *Thuanus* tells us, *l.* 80. And if they were then jealous of *France*, what ſhall we think they are now? And if then zealous for the concernments of *Spain*, ſhall we think they will now be wholly negligent both of theirs and their own?

And *France* to be ſure will never ſee us entirely *Engliſh*: for ſo he knows, he ſhould never be able, to ballance *Englands* power at Sea; which he doubtleſs both hopes and aims at, by the acceſſion of ſtrength from theſe *Netherlands*.

Nor *England* ſuffer us, if they can hinder it, to be wholly *French*; for this they know would clearly tend, in a little time to their deſtruction. This very Reaſon of State moved *Q. Elizabeth* at firſt to ſupport us againſt *Spain*, rather than to have us fall into the Arms of *France*, by their becoming our Protectors. Which that wiſe Hiſtorian *Thuanus* faithfully relates in ſeveral places. A. 1575. ſhe told *Campanach*, — *ne moleſtè ferat Philippus, ſi ipſa ſecuritatis ſuæ cauſâ Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ patrocinium ſuſcipiat, antequam Galli perpetui Anglorum hoſtes eis potiantur*. L. 60. A. 1576. *Eliſabetha verita ne aliorum ope deſtituti Belgæ, ex deſperatione fœdus nobiſcum jecerent, ſeque & res ſuas Francis committerent, eos pecunia adjuvit, &c.* L. 26. A. 1577. ſhe excuſes her defence of us to *Philip* the 2. with this very Reaſon, *ne Belgæ ex deſperatione pernicio ſum non ſolum ſibi, ſed vicinis, conſilium caperent, externi Principis patrocinio ſalute commiſſâ*. Meaning the *French* L. 64. And A. 1584. ſhews the emulation between the *French* and *Engliſh* herein. *Ipſi ſibi invicem ſuſpecti erant. Nam Rex veterem hoſtem Belgii acceſſione Galliæ imminentem reformidabat, & Angli noſtros Belgi-potentes minus æquos fœderi, quod Angliæ cum Burgundica domo intercedit, atque adeo commercio futuros verebantur*. L. 80. And

is angry with the Miniſters of State in *France*, for neglecting this ſingular occaſion, of enlarging their Empire by taking theſe Provinces into the *French* protection. And to ſay the truth, this was the greateſt error in Policy by way of omiſſion, and that of *Charles* the 8. concerning the Kingdom of *Naples* of commiſſion, that I think the Crown of *France* was ever guilty of. And indeed there were many of the *Engliſh* Nation, that judged it one of the greateſt overſights that that wiſe Princeſs ever made, not to take into her hands,as ſhe was offered,the abſolut protection of theſe Provinces. But that is not ſo clear to me, nor will be ſo I think to others, who rightly conſider the circumſtances of thoſe times; for we muſt not judge by the following, wherein this Common-wealth grew up beyond all expectation, under ſuch Wars, as many feared would have been our deſtruction. But yet though ſhe refuſed for ſeveral reaſons both of Conſcience and State (mentioned by *Cambden* in her *Annals*, A. D. 1575.) yet it plainly appears by the forementioned places in *Thuanus*, that rather than the *French* ſhould, ſhe would have done it. And could ſhe have foreſeen, what we have known, I am apt to think ſhe would have adventured it; although I muſt tell you it would have been a great venture: *Spain* being both ſo potent at that time, and ſpightful againſt her, as was quickly after perceived, by the *Spaniſh Armado* in 88. and beſides the enmity of *Spain*, ſhe had thereby incur'd the envy of *France* infallibly, and was uncertain not only of ſucceſs in the War, but of what ſupport of men, and money eſpecially the *Dutch* ſhould be able to contribute, for the carrying on the War, which was eaſily foreſeen would be long and bloody.

Nor can any one think, that *England* is not ſenſible, of the danger they are in, if we be under *France*, that either conſiders the Reaſons of State, or obeſerved that which was obvious to every eye: and that is how the *Engliſh* was ſtartled at the progreſs of *France*. What poſting was made too and again? Was not the *Lord Vicount of Hallifax* haſted over, when they feared their approach to *Utrecht*? And hearing it was over, was not his *Grace the Duke of Buckingham*, the *Lord Arlington*, with ſeveral other Commiſſioners, poſted after? At which time having the honour to wait on my *Lord of Hallifax*, and telling him the Town talk of the D. of *Buckingham*, &c. coming through the Fleet, and being gone to the *Hague*; he could ſcarce credit it, having not had the leaſt notice thereof; they coming away in ſuch haſte, for fear the *French* ſhould overrun all.

And no wonder, if we conſider the Conſequences thereof for *England*, which are ſo great that they had better loſe either *Scotland*, or *Ireland*. And if any *Engliſh* think I overlaſh, I ſhall deſire them firſt carefully to compute theſe ſeveral particulars, and then cenſure.

1. The loſs that the King will have in his Cuſtoms, and the Kingdom in their Trade; which neither of thoſe Nations can compenſate.

2. The conſtant charges of maintaining a Navy, which that Kingdom muſt be at to maintain their traffick, far greater than will ſecure them a-

3. The great injuries they are always liable unto, from ſuch potent enemies by Sea as the *French* and *Dutch* conjoined: more than from the other by Sea and Land.

4. The Wars that are likely to fall upon them in a few years both by Sea and perhaps Land alſo; which would prove far heavier, than either of thoſe Kingdoms can make with them.

5. The hazard they run of being baffled and beat out of their Trade by ſuch a War. It is true, this is not ſo eaſie as many of the *Dutch* imagine, as I have already proved; nor yet ſo difficult, much leſs impoſſible, as perhaps ſome of the *Engliſh* may fancy.

I ſhall not now ſtand to draw theſe out of their cloſe order into an open, yet if any of the *Engliſh* think me weak in this, I have a Reſerve, which, I think, will ſufficiently ſecure me from being routed.

It will be ſaid to me why then ſhould *England* commence this War.

Truly let me ſay it freely, for I know it, that the ſcale of War very hardly caſt that of peace, and the difference was ſo ſmall, that it came upon two or three grains only. I have weighed this as exactly as I poſſibly could: firſt diſtinguiſhing pretexts from real cauſes, and then diſtinctly conſidering theſe one by one. There were theſe 5 variouſly diſcourſed of. His Majeſties deſigning to introduce the Popiſh Religion; to alter the government of thoſe Kingdoms; to revenge himſelf upon us; to advance the *Prince of Orange*; and the Intereſt of the Kingdom of *England*.

For the two firſt which made the loudeſt noiſe in ſome mens mouths, I ſoon found them frivolous; and only calumnies caſt out by his enemies at home and abroad, to make the King odious, and his People jealous. As to that of changing Religion I have formerly ſhewn, and I think ſufficiently, that he neither will, nor can if he would effect it.

As for the 2d. I conſidered the Kings years, as being paſt any ſuch youthful and vain ambition; his being deſtitute of a Child that can challenge the Crown; his former miſeries and ſufferings by War; and his wiſdom too great, to ſet upon a deſign, ſo wholly impracticable, eſpecially in *England* and *Scotland*. For by the conſtitution of his Kingdoms, though he have the *Militia* for the execution of the Laws; authority without power, being a vain ſcare-crow, and inſufficient to ſuppreſs the audacious exorbitances of the multitude: yet the people have the purſe to ballance that power, and whence then would he pay his Armies? Nor let any one ſtop me with ſaying, the Long Parliament conteſted with his Father for the *Militia*; for that was only temporary, they challenging it only for that time of the danger they apprehended in the Kingdom, and not as their conſtant right, and not belonging to the Crown; as may be ſeen by thoſe, who will rightly read their Declarations, which they publiſhed to the world concerning that War, collected and printed together by *Husbands* at *London*, 1642. And beſides this, a Parliament in being though not ſitting, which hath

ſome kind of radical power; though not to be exerted, but when legally congregated. But ſuppoſe them diſſolved, it being in the Kings power, to do it at his pleaſure; yet hath he not the City of *London* on his back, and both Kingdoms about him to oppoſe him? eſpecially conſidering that the jealouſie of Popery would be taken into the quarrel. And what Miniſters of State durſt ſuggeſt ſuch deſigns? they know well the maxim of the *Commons* and their practice (as the great means of preſerving their freedom) is *to ruine ſuch as would infringe their Liberty*. And that they are ſo jealous of, and zealous for their rights herein, that ſome of them ſtill have the courage, and reſolution to venture their own heads, to break the necks of ſuch men and ſuch deſigns, as would prejudice their Priviledges. I have obſerved in the Hiſtories of former times, and in my own time alſo, that there were ſeldom any of the nobleſt Stags of State, how much ſoever imparked in the Kings favour, and how ſtrongly ſoever impaled with power; but if the *Commons* of *England* ſingled him out and ſet upon him, though he might hold them at an abay for ſome time, yet they ſtill hunted him down at laſt. And for the King to think of making himſelf abſolute, and govern only by an Army (like the *French* Kings) by an Army of *French* men; is ſo ridiculous, that I thought it not worthy of conſideration. Can any man in his wits, imagine his Majeſty of *England* ſo ſenſeleſs, as to give his Crown and Kingdoms to the *French* King? For that is all one with this in effect.

As for that of *Revenge*, either for *Chattam*, or the affronts mentioned in his Declaration of this War, or both: I conſidered his *Temper*, which hath ſo much *Clemency*, that it rather inclines him to *lenity* than *cruelty* and *revenge*. As is abundantly apparent, not only by paſſing, but even forcing (as I know he did, againſt ſome adicted to the latter extreme) the *Act of Indemnity* or *Oblivion*, for thoſe many and great injuries, he had ſuffered from his Subjects. And his government ſince, in conniving at the violation of ſuch Laws, as are thought ſevere in matters of Religion, and indulging liberty therein: which hath made ſome, that have ſufficiently heretofore cried up Parliaments, now run into the other extreme and cry them down as faſt; and inſtead of the Parliaments formerly, now magnifie the Kings favour and Clemency. And yet Kings and Princes are men, and men ſubject to like paſſions with others, liable to ſuggeſtions from thoſe about them, and tender of their honour as the apple of their eye. And therefore I will grant this might come in conſideration, but not ſo much, I dare ſay, as alone to make a War.

For the *Prince of Orange*, there was not only near Relation and Affection, but Intereſt alſo to be conſidered. For the *Loveſteyns* party having been ſo croſs to *England* upon his account, and the correſpondent friendſhip between us ſo uncertain, without his Headſhip; I verily believe, that if what is now done therein, had been done timouſly, it had wholly prevented this unhappy War. Yea beſides the extraordinary affection which

the people have for the Prince, our very Bores had this Policy, and were more than ordinary zealous for his promotion, as the beſt means to procure their peace.

As to the further intereſt of the Kingdom of *England*, in regard of their Trade, and Naval expences, I have expreſſed my thoughts before in the *Preface*.

It is true, this War was always intricate, and hath proved a Game at Hazard for *England*, beyond not only theirs, I believe, but all the worlds expectation. But yet if it be ſtill notwithſtanding cautiouſly played, as they may, and ſo far as I can poſſibly diſcern, mean to play it; they can many ways come to ſave their ſtakes, at the leaſt, if not to win more than we imagine by the War: and was far fairer at firſt than *France* for winning by the game in all humane appearance, as I could manifeſt by many Arguments. But becauſe that concerns them two only, and us not at all further than our ſufferings, I ſhall wave them (at leaſt for the preſent) and proceed. For I will not hearken to the curious enquiries of thoſe who would here be asking, how I think *England* will play their game? for that let them look to it whom it concerns on all ſides, as doubtleſs they will; for me to expreſs my private thoughts, might do more hurt than good, which is the only thing I aim at: and what I think the iſſue will be, I ſhall declare hereafter in my *Conjectures*.

But here it will be asked, ſeeing it is *Englands* intereſt that we fall not into the hands of *France*, and that the Prince is now promoted, will they not make peace with us this Winter?

I muſt needs ſay, I fear they will not, except we ſhould give them ſuch terms, as I ſee we ſhall not; we thinking our condition far better, and they thinking it far worſe, than really it is. For the cauſe of this, as of moſt Wars, is complex, as I have ſhewn; ſo that though two of thoſe I aſſigned may be paſt, yet the 3d of the Kingdoms intereſt, not. They are already too far ingaged in the War, and with *France*. The Kings Honour is at the ſtake, and the Kingdoms expectation of another iſſue than the laſt War. And beſides all theſe, how can any wiſe man imagine, now that they are engaged with *France*, and have an advantage againſt us, as well as a Hazard from *France*; that if they know how to ſecure themſelves againſt the latter (as I ſuppoſe they do) they will let go the former? For we muſt needs think they will be at a certainty on one ſide or the other; and not part with *France's* friendſhip, till they be ſure of our ſatisfaction. What it is they demand, or how rightly, is not now our deſign to diſcourſe, but only matter of Intereſt all along. And yet I can eaſily foreſee that the danger of our becoming *French*, will be a ſingular advantage to us, as an inducement to them, for a more eaſie compliance with us. But at preſent I ſee no probability of Peace, but that they will go through with the War: or continue it ſo long, till they have tryed their utmoſt to obtain their ends.

I know there are many wiſe men amongſt us, that think the King can-

not carry on this War: as there was that thought he could not begin it. The former they find themſelves deceived in, and will be ſo in the latter alſo. I have diſcourſed this with ſeveral in Government, who argue that the King hath not money of himſelf to go through with the War, and that he will not convene the Parliament, or if he do they will not ſupply him. I grant the firſt, but deny the others. For if we rightly conſider their deſign, the Parliament muſt meet, and the repreſentation that will be made thereof, and the conſtitution of the Parliament, they will grant him ſupplies; though perhaps not with that facility, that they did it with in the former War. And therefore let us neither flatter nor deceive our ſelves with vain hopes herein; but rather ſeek timely to accommodate differences, before their preparations in the Spring; for I fear the longer we delay, and the worſe it will be with us.

Sect. 10. *Compliance with England the only means of the Commonwealths continuation.*

HAving thus declared the condition that we are in, and that there is no probability of peace; we come now to ſhew the conſequences thereof; and what is to be done by us, to preſerve our ſelves from ruine and deſtruction. And here to my underſtanding one of theſe three things muſt neceſſarily follow: That we muſt either continue the War againſt them both; or comply with them both; or with one of them alone if poſſibly we can. We ſhall firſt declare our thoughts concerning theſe briefly, and then ſhew with which we both may and muſt comply.

1. Then whether we ſhould continue the War againſt them both. And herein would we do, as we might and ſhould; it may be this were better, than to comply with either of them, eſpecially if they will impoſe upon us unreaſonable conditions, and much better than to comply with them both. We have ſtrength enough, through Gods bleſſing, to withſtand them (as I have already manifeſted) if we have but courage, and unanimity; and the former of theſe will be got by degrees, as I have ſaid, and our own intereſt, and preſervation ſhould perſwade us into the latter. But truly let me ſay it freely, I ſee ſuch a wearineſs in many of the War; ſuch an unwillingneſs to lay out our ſelves, as our Anceſtors did formerly, for the good of the publick; ſuch a ſelfiſh temper, every one ſeeking to preſerve his particular intereſt, and neglecting the good of the Community; and ſuch a lothneſs to adventure our lives and eſtates in a War; that I ſee little probability of preſerving our ſelves, and much leſs of prevalency againſt our Enemies. So that if this War continue I fear theſe Provinces will become a prey to them both. For though neither *France* will ſuffer *England*, nor *England France* to have them all, as I have ſhewn; yet they will part and ſhare them betwixt them, except we prevent it by a com-

pliance. And what a miſerable condition we ſhall then be in, even worſe than if we were under either of them, I have formerly declared. Seeing then we are ſo degenerate, aud become like *Iſſachar*, which his Father ſtiles a *Strong Aſs*, and ſays of him, that *He ſaw that reſt was good, and the land that it was pleaſant; and bowed his ſhoulder to bear, and became a ſervant unto tribute:* we muſt either take courage and be unanimous, valiantly fighting it out with our enemies; or for the preſent be contented with this character and condition. Will we then fight for our *Religion, Liberty, Country, Families, Eſtates, Trade*? or will we not? If the former, let me encourage all in the words of *Joab* that great General and brave Souldier wherewith he encouraged the *Iſraelites*, when he had his enemies before and behind him, *Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the Cities of our God: and the Lord do that which ſeemeth him good.* But if the reſt be ſo *good*, and *the Land ſo pleaſant* to us, that we will rather *bow our ſhoulders, and become ſervants*, than ſhew our faces in the field to fight with our enemies; let us ſee what *Maſter* we ſhould chuſe, and agree with him upon the beſt terms we can.

2. Therefore, ſhall we comply with both our enemies? ſurely if reaſon, and what we can give, will ſatisfie them; every wiſe man will ſay *Yes*, that we may enjoy the many bleſſings God hath given us in peace. But if they will have ſuch *Cities*, ſuch *vaſt ſums of money*, and ſuch *Conditions*, as we cannot give them, except we be ruined thereby; who will not ſay, *No*. We muſt therefore conſider if there be no other way practicable, to ſave our ſelves, from the devouring Sword of our Enemies.

3. There is no way therefore left us, but to comply with one of our Enemies, if we can poſſibly; that ſo we may ballance the others power, and either compel him to a peace, or be enabled to continue the War. If any one know any other way, I heartily wiſh he would ſhew it, as I think he is bound to do one way or other; for every one ought to contribute his beſt aſſiſtance, even by the principles of ſelf-preſervation. And *Solomon* tells us, *There was a poor wiſe man, who by his wiſdom delivered the City, though no man remembred him*, and infers thence, *that wiſdom is better than ſtrength, though the poor mans wiſdom is deſpiſed, and his words are not heard.* Yet ſurely notwithſtanding that poor man did but do his duty; though he was but poorly requited for his pains.

But I believe moſt will grant the way is good, but impracticable, in regard of the League betwixt the two Crowns, and that they will not treat aſunder, &c. Well then, let us proceed to conſider theſe things a little, and ſee whether we cannot level theſe mountains of difficulties that are before us, and make our way become plain and paſſable.

1. With which of theſe our Enemies we ſhould chuſe to comply, I think I have made ſufficiently apparent; in ſhewing it our *Intereſt* rather to be under *England* than *France*, and to have peace and correſpondent friendſhip for our Sea-traffick, with the former rather than with the latter, if we

cannot have it from them both. And I am ſure this was the wiſdom of our Anceſtors, who in their low condition A.D. 1575. deliberating into whoſe Protection they ſhould give themſelves over, firſt declared the Empire, and the competition coming between the Crowns of *England* and *France* preferr'd the former upon many and weighty conſiderations, related by their Hiſtorians; and very many of our own, which are ſo well known I need not mention them; and *Boxhornius* the Author of the *Diſquiſitiones Politicæ*. *The civil Wars of* France; *the inveterate feud betwixt* French *and* Dutch, *thoſe eſpecially that live upon the Confines of both Countries*; *the hard yoke of the* French *Government*; *the levity of that Nation*; *its liablneſs to be invaded by the* Spaniſh; *the incommodiouſneſs of their Ports for our Ships and Navigation*; made them averſe to *France*. And on the contrary, *The reformed Religion of the* Engliſh; *their greater likeneſs with us in genious and language*; *the nearneſs of the Country*; *the multitude of their Ports*; *their commodiouſneſs for our Commerce*; *the multiplicity of the* Engliſh *Manifactures and Commodities*; *the Country not eaſily invaded*; *ſtrong and potent by Sea and Land*; *not frequently imbroyled in civil Wars*; *a free People*; *the Government temperate, and not burthenſom with exactions*; *and the Intereſt of the* Engliſh *Nation, which if theſe Countries were conquered, would ſcarce be able to reſiſt the Conqueror*; clearly enclined them for *England*. You ſee then that reaſons of State, direct us to the ſame choice, which our Anceſtors heretofore wiſely made.

2. Seeing then we muſt chuſe *England*, not only for the Common Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, but for our own greateſt both religious, and civil concernments. We ſhall now remove thoſe obſtructions that ſeem to block up our way to Compliance.

It is objected that the two Crowns are in a League, that neither will treat without the other, and how can we then comply with *England* alone?

I confeſs if all Stateſmen were *Ariſtides*'s, the Argument might be ſtrong. For he having heard by command of the *Athenian Senate*, *Themiſtocles*'s deſign of burning their enimies Fleet, made report, *that it was very profitable, but no ways honeſt*, upon which it was rejected. Or if they were all *Stoicks*, and held that *honeſty*, *equity*, and *utility* were all one, and with good old *Socrates* curſed thoſe that firſt ſeparated theſe, as learned men tell us. But we ſee it is far otherwiſe now in the World; and that the *Peripateticks* doctrine that *honeſtum* and *utile* are really diſtinguiſhed, is every where prevalent, and no where more, than amongſt *Politicians*; which hath occaſioned that known ſaying, *that all States are Atheiſts*. I do not approve any, and much leſs ſo high uncharitableneſs; but this I will ſay, that as the world goes now, *all States muſt be conſidered as Gameſters*. And what if I ſhould ſay, that neither of the Courts are ſo ſtrait laced in their Conſciences, but were they aſſured from us of ſuch conditions as they require, they would let the other go and get theirs as they could? Nay what if I ſhould ſay, there may be none iniquity in this? If I ſhould, I think I can prove it, for if in mutual covenants, either ſide do that, which is a breach; it is folly

to think, that the innocent ſhould be bound, and the peccant party free, which they may know, though others do not, as it is clear in the ſtrongeſt covenant, that is in the World, I mean that of wedlock. I do not ſay that this is ſo betwixt them, but I ſay it may be ſo though we do not know it, ſo that either of them in ſuch caſe, may conclude with us. And I am ſure it is no diſhoneſty on our part.

But it will here be ſaid, they will not.

Do not tell me that, I know they either of them will. And if any one asks me, how? and if I be of their Cabinet Council? I ſhall only ſmile, perceiving they do not know me. I am far from that, or having ever to do with Kings or States in that kind, or pragmatically trinketing with State affairs, it being a Rule which I live by, *never to ask great men mercy.* Common favour and juſtice I deſire of men, but mercy only of my God. And yet I know this very well, and I will tell you how, and that is from their *Intereſt*; which is the compaſs, by which all States-men ſteer their courſe, and may be diſcerned by a skilful paſſenger, although he ſit not at the helm. If any man be ſo ignorant of the affairs of the World, as to think that States-men trouble their heads with the *Scool-mens quiddities*, and *hæccieties*, or their conſciences with *Caſuiſticall nicities*, as a late *German Divine* that puts the caſe, whether we ſhould pray *Vader onſe*, or *Onſe Vader*, and learnedly concludes that cuſtom muſt carry it; let him enjoy his opinion, it is very charitable, and can do no hurt. But yet I may ſay, that for above 20 years I have obſerved, that the cuſtom of the World carries it with them, and have known few, I had almoſt ſaid none, of the ſtricteſt Sect of the *Phariſees*; though I have ſome, and my charity obliges me to hope there are many, that ſeriouſly mind the *weightier things of the Law, juſtice, righteouſnes, temperance, and the World to come.*

Now that this is the Intereſt of both the Kings, rather to deal with us apart, than jointly, as well as ours, I could many ways make apparent. But ſeeing it is our intereſt to chuſe *England* we ſhall prove only that it is theirs to comply with us; omitting that of *France*, as ſuperfluous to our purpoſe.

1. They know they cannot wholly conquer us themſelves. Not only in regard of our own ſtrength, of which I haven ſpoken before, but the *French*, which are in the Country already, and if they were not, would never permit it, as I have formerly ſhown ſufficiently. Nay I dare ſay, they never deſigned any ſuch thing, becauſe they know it is impracticable: that being always true of the Greeks, ἀδύνατα ἐ βουλευτά or things impoſſible come not into conſideration. I doubt not but they both intend and hope to have their ſhare, what ever it is that is agreed upon between the two Crowns, in caſe of Conqueſt; but that they ſhould have the whole, could never ſo much as be dreamt of by them.

2. They know alſo that it is their intereſt, never to ſuffer *France* to have all, no nor any of theſe Maritime Provinces. If he have ſome of the ſu-

perior, that is the utmoſt their intereſt can permit. Nay indeed he is nearer theſe inferior, than that will allow, if they could help it, but that's now paſt. What vaſt diſadvantage it will be to the *Engliſh*, to let *France* have footing upon our Coaſts, and ſo come to cope with them at Sea, I have formerly ſhown: and I know they are very ſenſible of it; and therefore may well infer a willingneſs on their parts to a compliance.

3. The *Prince of Orange* his intereſt being alſo theirs, cannot but ſway ſomething with them. For if it had been Gods will, thoſe Kingdoms had continued in peace, and the ſucceſſion of the Royal reign uninterrupted there, and the *Orange* family continued alive and in power here, I perſwade my ſelf we ſhould never have warred with one another; ſo I doubt not, if it pleaſe God to preſerve his Highneſs, that they may confide more in our friendſhip, than they could formerly, he will be a happy Inſtrument of a better underſtanding between the Nations, when theſe unhappy quarrels come once to be compoſed; becauſe this is their intereſt as well as ours, and it is intereſt that rules and reigns in the World.

And thus I have ſhewn you that we *may*, I ſhall now ſhew briefly that we *muſt comply* with them, or without a miracle of mercy we are ruined.

1. Becauſe if the War continues, and we be too weak to make ſtrong reſiſtance, ſo that our enemies prevail; they will ſhare the Country betwixt them, and then we fall into the worſt condition, that can poſſibly befal us. It is true, I foreſee that ſeveral particular Perſons may ſave themſelves and their eſtates, by friends on the one ſide or the other; but I ſpeak of the community; and it is well if the hopes many have of that, make them not more negligent for this. There are two famous Republicks in *Italy*, *Venice* and *Genoa*; and what is the cauſe of the formers flouriſhing ſo much more than the latter, which was anciently both their better and their Maſter? but this, that the *Venetians* are more intent upon the Publick, and the *Genoeſe* upon their private concernments: whereby they become obnoxious not only to many factions among themſelves, but alſo to oppreſſions from their Neighbours. I could ſay more herein of our ſelves, than I ſhall at preſent, in regard it might create more jealouſies (which are already too many) of thoſe that are, or at leaſt have been, in Government amongſt us. But though I will accuſe none, yet I muſt needs ſay, that I aſcribe a great part of our preſent miſeries to this *Genoan* practice; and heartily wiſh, this prove not fatal to us at laſt.

2. Becauſe if we be not ſenſeleſs we may clearly ſee, that *France's* deſign is abſolutely to conquer us: whereas *England* ſeeks only (to uſe their expreſſion) their own ſecurity. And therefore in my Logick the inference is plain, that we had better part with ſomething, than loſe all, as we are like to do, if we come not to a compliance with *England*. To make theſe apparent to any wiſe man, would be the lighting a Torch to the Sun. Although I know the quite contrary is caſt out among us by the friends of *France*, who would perſwade us, that the *French* ſeek only to humble

us, and the *Engliſh* to conquer us. But we know the minding of men, is but ſhooting at random, and that he that means to come near the truth, muſt have his eye upon the *mark of intereſt*, which cannot lye, as men do frequently for it. If any be ſo fooliſh, as to be enchanted with ſuch *Syrens* ſongs, as are daily ſung amongſt us; and have more regard to publi k news, than the intereſt of Nations; they may go on, I cannot hinder them: but let me tell them, that I fear they will find at laſt, the Poets fiction a real truth; and if they ſtear their own courſe, meet with the Seamens fate in the Fable, be ſung a ſleep for a time, that ſo they may be afterwards, with greater facility drowned and devoured.

3. Becauſe there is no other way or humane means left us (ſo far as I can diſcern) of the Common-wealths continuation. And this is the concluſion that follows clearly from the premiſes. For if we be unable to withſtand them both, or ſatisfie them both, we muſt either break their confederacy, and have the help of one of them, or the Republick will be ruined.

It will here be demanded, ſeeing it is both *Englands* intereſt and our own to accord, why do we not then come to a compliance.

I will tell you why. Becauſe we judge our Condition better, and they judge it worſe, than really it is; and therefore ſtand upon greater terms, than we will give them. We think things will go better with us in time, and they think they will grow worſe. We flatter our ſelves with vain hopes, and rely upon *Brandenburgs* Aſſiſtance, *Spains* breaking with our enemies, the *Parliament of Englands* not ſupplying that King to carry on the War, and the like, when they know the quite contrary in all humane appearance. or perhaps we are afraid to irritate *France*, if we ſhould make overtures to *England*; and *England* will not give ſuch an umbrage of jealouſie to *France*, as to tamper with us, except they be firſt aſſured from us of ſatisfaction. But cannot the effecting this be put into the hands of his *Highneſs* and a few others as it was lately, to be privately tranſacted by them? Here then it is that the ſhooe pinches, We are a popular State, the people ſtill think, till an enemy comes, they can defend themſelves, and therefore our Governors dare not adventure to tender *England* ſuch ſatisfaction, as (for ought I ſee) they will have, leſt they either ſhould not be able to perform it, or if they do, ſhould loſe themſelves with the people. And therefore I foreſee, the War will be continued, till we be reduced to that condition, that we ſhall be neceſſitated to give them both their demands, by publick tranſaction, or at leaſt that way break with one of them. And on this foundation, I ſhall now proceed, to gueſs at that which I think is moſt likely to befal us.

Sect. II *Conjectures of future affairs. The motions of the enſuing Summer likely to be quick and great. As to this Repulick, probably* England *may get a Bridle to curb us,* France *the Sadle to ride us,* Colen *a ſupernumerary girth,* Munſter *a boſs of the Crupper. Our condition deplored and conſolated. A caution for* England, *and the* Orange *family. The Authors fears of what will at laſt befal us. The* Spaniſh *Netherlands a dying. The friendſhip of* Englaud *and* France *ſick at heart, and cannot live long. That of* Spain *and* England *ſound at heart, and will recover.*

ALthough I have ſometimes ſpent almoſt whole nights at gazing on the Stars, and could perhaps erect an Aſtrological Scheme as well as another; yet I never uſed that way, nor never ſhall for gueſſing at *futuritics*; becauſe I know it is vain to think, we cam ſpell Gods providence, by their myſtical hieroglyphick. Yet let me ſay it without vanity, I do believe I have made as many conjectures, concerning Kingdoms, States and particular places, as any man of my quality in *Europe*: not by any enthuſiaſtick ſpirit of prophecy, or by Aſtrology from the Stars; but reaſons of State, their intereſt, and the fundamental maxims of their Government; ſometimes out of curioſity only, and ſometimes for other ends, but ſuch as are honeſt I aſſure you, for none are either better or worſe by it, but only my brothers and my ſelf. The reaſon why I adventure to do this publickly now, is that I may awaken us out of our ſecurity, and that we may look about us, and ſee if poſſibly we can prevent thoſe things, which it is very probable are coming upon us. Only I deſire to do it modeſtly, as it becomes every *Chriſtian*; and neither on the one hand to pretend to that certainty, as if we were of Gods Council; no on the other hand to fall under *Chriſts* rebuke for *not diſcerning the ſigns of the times*, which are both theological and political, but I am now only treating of the latter, and to that I ſhall confine my diſcourſe. 16.

Now that we may be quickned to defend our ſelves, comply with *England*, and free the *Spaniſh Netherlands* from their fears, and our ſelves from the neighbourhood of the *French* there, (this being one Reaſon of State, why we formerly made peace with *Spain*, leſt we ſhould be in continual danger of annoyance from *France*) and alſo render their maintaining their Conqueſts among us more difficult, by their being kept unconnected with that Kingdom: I ſhall now proceed to the *Conjectures* I have made, not with an Aſtrological confidence, but a Chriſtian allowance of divine providence, which ſtrangely alters times and ſeaſons, puls down one and ſets up another, conſounds the wiſdom of the wiſe, brings to nought the counſels of *Achitophels*, and turns the great deſigns and preparations for War, into a happy compliance, and peace as he pleaſes; and all in infinite wiſdom, though we cannot diſcern it, the knowledge of Gods

providence even when paſt or preſent, and much more when future, being to *David*, and therfore far more to us. *Too wonderfull for us, ſo high that we cannot* Pſa
attaine unto it, and ſo deepe in the great waters, that the footſteps thereof are not to be traced and knowne. So that we may well ſay, as of old, *Dei ſapientia,* Pſa
& hominum ſtultitia regunt mundum. Firſt then, if we awake out of our ſecurity, and looke up in the morning of the yeare, we muſt needs conclude of *foule weather* the enſuing Summer, *the skie is ſo red*, that we may eaſily perceive it portends blood, and the loweſt region *is ſo lowring*, that we may eaſily *diſcerne* that a tempeſtuous ſtorme is a gathering; except we be ſo beſotted, as the tooliſh *Jewes* of old, with ſecurity, *that we cannot diſcerne, as Chriſt tells them, the ſignes of the times.* Can all *Europe* allmoſt be arming, and we a ſleepe in the Bed of Security, dreaming of Peace? Beſides the incredible preparations of *France*, is not *England*, *Sweadland*, and all our Neighbors allmoſt up and at worke; and can we thinke they would be at that coſt for a Comedy of Peace? have we not all the reaſon in the World, to thinke it will be to us, a Tragedy of War? Let others enjoy their opinion, and not take the alarme, till they ſee *Hanibal ad portas*; for my part, I muſt needs profes, I cannot, from what I obſerve, but conclude, that the affaires of the enſuing Summer, are like to be great, and the motions thereof quick, and ſuch as will highly concerne us in theſe Countreys.

As to this Republick, which hath at this time theſe four declared Enimies, *England*, *France*, *Colen*, and *Munſter*; I ſhall briefly ſpeake my thoughts, with reference to them all.

England probably will get, *a brible to curb us.* I have ſhewne in the *Preface*, what they account the *Intreſt* of the Kingdome: We ſee notwithſtanding the *Prince of Orange* his promotion, they ſtill purſue the War; and muſt we not then conclude, that they ſeeke ſome thing further? Whether they will by Sea attacque our Coaſts, or by marching their Armie about over Land, is not for me to determine; much les what particular places below they may fall upon, or what ſucces they may have. Yet I conclude they will have ſome hanke or other upon our Navall power, one way or other, before they make Peace with us; otherwiſe they will continue the War the following Summer, to try their utmoſt to get, that which we will not give them.

France that is allready got into the Sadle, will there ſit and ride us; though we flatter our ſelves, we ſhall by one means or other, ſhake him out of it, and off our backs. Truly I cannot but wonder often times, to heare what vaine hopes men expres and there's no contradicting them; (allthough ſome times I cannot conteine my ſelfe from ſmiling, or ſhakeing my head) that *France* muſt be content with one or two of our Cities which we can beſt ſpare, and with a confidence allmoſt as large, as if they was ready to run away, or reſolved to march out and quit thoſe Cities they have, at our pleaſure. As if the *French* were ſuch fooles, to be at that vaſt expence, great paines, even the King himſelfe perſonally, and have

ſuch advantage upon us, and quit the ſame for a thing of nothing? For my part, I am affraid they will rather get more, then loſe that they have gotten already. And I know, their deſigne is, to get all at laſt. It is true, if we comply with *England*, and ſo ſtrengthen our ſelves by them and *Spaine*, we may thereby hope either to obteine better conditions by Treaty, or compel them thereunto by Force. But I am ſpeaking of the ſtate of the War, as now it ſtands.

Colen, that pretends to ſome of thoſe Cities which we held about the *Rhyne*, that are now in the power and poſſeſſion of the *French*, may poſſibly for his paines, and permiſſion of their paſſage, *&c.* get ſome *ſupernumerary girth*, one place or other that may be of no great concernment to *France*, either for their deſignes upon us or the Empire, and muſt be contented therewith. And perhaps for ſome time his Counſellors may have their Penſions continued from *France*.

Munſter, that is mercinary and fights for Money, will get a bos off the crupper; *French Lewis*'s made and minted of *Dutch Ducats*. For elective *Princes*, as *Biſhops*, that are onely for life, ſeek more to enrich themſelves, then to enlarge their Territories, as thoſe doe that are hereditary.

And this is likely, ſo far as I can ſee, to prove our condition; except Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς appeare in the Tragedy, or God Almighty by ſome wonderfull providence, make a change in the Scene of this War. Which, I confeſs, is very deplorable, which way ſoever we look; and we are not ſo ſenſible of it now, as we ſhall be hereafter. I had thought here to have ſit downe a little with a lamentation, but I have been ſo large already, that I ſhall wholly wave it for the preſent.

And yet *it is a bad wind that blows no good*, we may make this advantage of our miſeries, ſo long as we remain amidſt our enimies, when a Peace is once concluded; that we may hold them both fair to us, and ſo ſecure our ſelves a little more in quiet, then we perhaps think, by being ready to cloſe with either, to the great prejudice of the other.

And therefore let me freely inſert this important and neceſſary Caution for *England*, *That they take heed they do not overdo their work*; and ſo far irritate this Republick, that out of a preſent prejudice and paſſion, and alſo deſperation of their future quietneſs from them, they call in the *French*, to be revenged of them, though it be to their own ruine.

I know many are jealous, that this whole War is onely to make the *Prince of Orange* a *Monarch*, and the two Crowns will have no more to do with the States; although I profeſs, I am far from thinking, that thoſe two Kings and Kingdoms would be at all this expence of blood and treaſure for that end onely, and doe believe that if that would ſet us in our former condition, it would ſoone be aſſented unto, not onely by the multitude, but the wiſeſt men amongſt us, who know the extraordinary abilities and great capacities of his Highneſs. Therefore let me ſay it freely without offence, either of Him or his Enimies, that I perceive many lay this for a

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fundamental maxim. *Better a Prince that hath power to defend me, then one whom we muſt onely defend.* And except my eye-ſight fail me, ſome are faſt at work in preparing materials to build thereon. A word is enough to the wiſe, and therefore I will ſay no more.

Nay I will not diſſemble my further fears, That if *France* keeps thoſe places on the South Sea, and ſhould get others lower, either in *Holland* or *Frieſlands*, as may capacitate him to incommodate their Trade, though we ſhould have a peace for ſome time with him, we ſhall fall into his hands at laſt. For the *French* are already ſo near us on every ſide, that they hover over us, as a Hawk over the prey, watching onely an opportunity, how they may graſp us in their talons.

If any ſhall here aske me, Why may we not then as well now become *French*?

I alſo ſhall aske ſuch one Queſtion, which when they ſatisfie me in, I alſo ſhall them. You know certainly you muſt die at laſt, (whereas here is onely uncertaine fears) and yet when you are ſick, why do you take Phyſick and uſe means for recovery? Is it not becauſe you deſire to live as long as you can? Doe you not account him a mad man, that will caſt away his life, although he muſt loſe it at the laſt? And rightly, becauſe who knows what God may doe, and whether he may not recover him, though the diſeaſe be deſperate?

Having ſpoke our thoughts concerning theſe united, we ſhall now ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Provinces. I have as much ſmattering skill in Phyſick, I confeſs, as would ſerve me to make *Charon* a fraight of old Wives; yet am I far from being arrived at the confidence, which I have obſerved in *Urinal-Doctors*. And yet for once, I will adventure to try the little skill I have, with thoſe *State-Mountebanks*, that are ſo ſecure concerning the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. For my part, I have ſhak't their Water again and again, and can find nothing but ſymptoms of death. I ſhall onely premiſe that I ſhall not with an Emperical confidence tell you the time: Kingdoms and States, as well as private perſons, ſometimes languiſh out rather then live their laſt. But that they are ſo ſick, that I ſee no hopes of their recovery if this War continues. And I will tell you my feares for the enſuing Summer.

1. The incredible preparations that *France* makes this Winter, both of Men and Money, as if they would ſet all at ſtake for carrying on the following Summers Wars.

2. The Empire's Army is overmatcht with *Turens*. They know, that we are not in a capacity to recover the Cities we have loſt, and that they cannot conquer thoſe that remaine; ſo that their Armies cannot be deſigned either for ſtrengthning their owne Garriſons, or forcing of ours. Except they will ſpend a Summers Expedition upon ſome inconſiderable out Garriſons, which I cannot imagin.

3. I have looked round about in *Europe*, where this ſtorme ſhould fall,

and can ſee no place it hovers over, except thoſe Provinces, and our ſelves.

4. I conſider the eminent advantage *France* hath at preſent by their friendſhip with *England*; which I feare he will take.

5. Allthough I doe not thinke *France* will prevaile by all his endeavors with *England* to breake with *Spaine*; yet I thinke *England* will either be employed in doing their owne worke, or not ſo quickly breake with *France*, to ſtop his carriere in over-running thoſe *Netherlands*.

6 We ſhall either have the Wars continue, or a Peace. If the former as they are, though *England* helps not therein, (for they profes in their Declaration to maintaine the Treaty at *Aken*) yea, though they would hinder it, yet I doe not ſee how they can practically, if they have not prevented it beforehand by their Treaty; nor we to be ſure the Wars continuing. If a Peace be concluded, we ſhall be forced to forſake them; this being the main ground of the quarrel. For if we would have helped *France* to have ruind them, we might have been quiet for ſome time at leaſt; but becauſe we had rather quench, then ſet our neighbors houſe on fire, leſt ours follow in the flames: *France* hath fallen upon us, and ſhall we not then thinke that he will cudgell us into ſuch conditions? It is true indeed, if *England* and we come to underſtand one another, and our joynt intreſt better; we may ſuccor them for ſome time; but that's not my ſuppoſal, of the Wars continuing as they are, which in that caſe implies a ſtrange complication of diſeaſes, which to me, who knows not their Treaty, ſeems incurable.

7. And where elſe they ſhould have aſſiſtance to ſave them, if *France* will fall upon them, I ſee not. For the Empire cannot, it is well if they can ſave themſelves. *Spaine* is at a great diſtance. May make perhaps ſome diverſion in *Catalonia*, or ſome ſmall from *Millan*, *&c.* But whats that to ſave thoſe Provinces?

8 We muſt therefore conſider if they can ſtand on their owne legs, ſo as to withſtand their enimies power, and not to be throwne downe thereby. And here we ſhall find the number of *Spaniſh* inconſiderable; the *Dutch* very wavering and uncertaine: Some Popiſh Zealots thinking *France* can beſt carry on their deſignes; others betwixt hopes and feares, wiſhing they might ſee an iſſue; and others plainely deſpairing of reſiſtance, deſiring they were over. Their Cities great and untenable, ſeverall of them requiring allmoſt as many to man them well, as they have *Spaniſh* in the Countrey. If they can make good *Bruxels*, *Antwerp*, *Namur*, and *Ooſtend*, for ſome time, to ſee if the affaires of *Europe* may not alter, it is all I expect. But what ſhall become of the whole Countrey, and the reſt of the
210 Cities, *Bruges*, *Mechlin*, *Gant*, *Lovaine*, *&c.* Some of them as large as moſt Cities in *Europe*. Three Noblemen *An.* 1427. (as *Guicciardine* tells us) with great charges, had five of the greateſt Cities on this ſide the Alpes meaſured, and found but 18 Rods or Perches difference. Of which *Lovaine* and *Gant*, the greateſt; *Paris* (within the Walls) and *Liege* alike; *Colen* the leaſt. But neglecting to mention the juſt meaſure, *Guicciardine* tells us they

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are 6 *Italian* miles within, and above 8 without the walls. And though this be enough, yet I muſt needs thinke them more. For having had the curioſity to meaſure one of them for all, I found it upon a warme walking within the Walls, three full hours by my watch. And beſides this, *Paris* and *Liege* are moſt populous, *Colen* next, but theſe of the *Netherlands* leaſt, ſo that I leave any rationall man to judge what number of men they require to maintaine them, for I will not now ſtand to make that calculation. Now if he takes theſe two great Cities, he is in the heart of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, ſo that all the reſt will fall of themſelves. I conclude therfore, that except the treaty between *France* and *England* ſecure them, which is unknowne to me; or that God in his all-wiſe Providence, make ſome wonderfull chang in the ſcene of affairs in Europe, the *Spaniſh Netherlands* are loſt. Having therefore thus tolled their paſſing bell, we will leave them to Gods mercy, and the King of *France*'s clemency, and haſt us out of them to *France* and *England*.

And here many perhaps will thinke me litle better than madd, to croſs the current opinion of Chriſtendom; when I ſay that the *Friendſhip of France and England is ſick at heart, and cannot live long*; and the contrary of that betwene *England* and *Spaine*. But I matter not that, other men have their way of making their meaſures, and I have mine. And indeed I thought to have communicated it, but this worke having allready exceeded my intentions, and that would be a great digreſſion, I would onely tell you my grounds or reaſons for the preſent why I thinke ſo, and may happily make a particular diſcourſe of the other hereafter.

How *France* and *England* came to be ſo great friends as to agree to commence, and carry on a War thus far againſt us, is not now mine enquiry; but to ſhew there is no ſuch ground to diſpaire of compliance with *England*, notwithſtanding their preſent league with *France*, is my deſigne. And for this end I ſhall firſt ſhew that though this friendſhip is faire outwardly, each for their own ends; yet that it is not ſo cordiall and firme, as many amongſt us feare it is. And to ſay the truth, the conſideration hereof, was the firſt dawning of hopes I had, for the Proteſtant Intreſt, and the good of theſe Countries. Now allthough I could mention ſome more private expoſtulations, and perhaps ſome of their Articles, allthough I could by no means, ever procure from either ſide, the knowledge of them all: yet I thinke it not fit to mention theſe, but ſuch things onely as are publick, and others as well as my ſelf may know, if they uſe their eyeſight, and obſervation.

Let us then omitting all ſecrets and myſteries of State, which yet are the beſt grounds to make a judgement, when certainely knowne; we will onely mention ſuch things as are publickly apparent, but being not conſidered in ſubordination to Reaſons of State, were unuſefull to the moſt, for the end I have obſerved them.

When all *Europe* ſtood in doubt what *England* would doe, and all men on

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their tiptoes with expectation; to see whether War or Peace, betwixt that Kingdome and these Countries: upon the *Smyrna*'s Fleet returne, the doubts of many were then decided. The Saturday morning early after the fight, the *Fiscale* sent his footman to tell me they had fought, with some generalls thereof, and that the Fleet was before the Land: I must confes, I stood amazed at *Holmes*'s furious folly, who had orders onely to bring them up, not to commence a War, the Declaration thereof being not publisht; allthough to those that would not submit to such orders, it was all one in effect, though not in formalities, which are the greatest plea, that I know of, that the *English* have for that Action. Upon this I began to consider the Reasons of State as to *England*, both domestick and forreign; For I reasoned thus, if this friendship be so firme that *England* will goe through with *France* in all their great designes, I must make other measures then I had formerly done. But still finding all Reasons of State against this, and those jealousies of changing *Religion* and the *Government* in those Kingdoms frivolous, (as I have demonstrated) I found also thereby stronger grounds of hope for the Protestant Religion and the common Intrest of *Europe*; and that it was onely a temporary friendship, out of some particular peake, or designe against these Provinces, which would have an end when satisfaction therein was given to that Crowne. Whilst I am busy in ballancing all the Reasons of State for those Kingdoms, and likewise for their Intrest abroad as comprehensively as I could, the Protestants Intrest, the Triple Alliance, the greatnes of *France*, the danger of *England &c.* comes the *English* Declaration of War to mine hands, but without a particular date, contrary to practise, but wisely to colour what *Holmes* had done. Which having diligently perused, what I desired first to see, I found last to my great satisfaction, and that is that they would *support the peace made at Aix la Chappelle*, (or *Aken*) *and notwithstanding the prosecution of this War, will maintaine the true intent and scope of the said Treaty, and that in all their Alliances which they have or shall make in the progres of this War, they have and will take care, to preserve the ends thereof inviolable unles provoked to the contrary.* Whereby I was fully confirmed in my former opinion, so that I will now proceed to relate such things which have publickly past in the management of this War, that are sufficient I thinke to enduce those that are unprejudiced, though perhaps not to convince the obstinate, to be of the same opinion with my selfe, and that the friendship of *England* and *France* is not so firme as they have feared. Premising that though all States as Gamesters must and will be cautious in their playing their parts, yet there appeared still more then ordinary jealousies of each others friendship all along, in the management of this War.

1. It is observeable that though *France* is the Principall in the War, yet they were so diffident of *England*, that they would have them first to begin it, that so they might see them certainly engaged against us.

2. When they are both engaged, they trust not one another, without great

great *Hoſtages* as it were on both ſides; the *French* Squadron of Ships with the *Engliſh* and the *Duke of Monmouth* with the body of an Army with the *French*.

3. That body of the *Engliſh*, which doubtles ſhould have remained together under their owne generall Officers conjoyned with the *French* Armie; we know was not truſted by the *French* ſo to doe, but were mingled here and there, under the principall command of the *French* Generall.

4. The Fleet wherein the *Engliſh* had the principall ſhare of power and command, onely faced ours at firſt in point of Honour; yet attacqued them not, though they had the wind, whereby they might eaſily have done it at their pleaſure, and alſo to their Advantage; but ſtood over againe to the *Engliſh* coaſt. Which fooles thought was want of valour, but wiſe men will judge it reaſon of State, that they might ſtay and obſerve what ſucces the *French* had by Land. And had not we fallen upon them, for Reaſons of State in thoſe circumſtances and Government of theſe Provines, that are well knowne, I thinke they would have done, as litle as they could for *France*; to have fought us to this day.

5. After that fight, though they knew ſeverall of our Ships were laid up, and ſome thouſands of men called out of the Fleet, yet notwithſtanding all the Summer after for many weeks, they attempted nothing againſt us with their Fleet. Intending doubtles to doe their owne worke, as they then ſaw *France* did theirs.

6. How the *Engliſh* were ſtartled, at the *French*'s coming to *Utrecht* was very apparent, which we have formerly mentioned.

7. Why might not *England*, as well as the reſt of the World, thinke that *Weſel*, *Rijnberg*, *Skenker ſconſe*, and the reſt of our ſtrong out Garriſons might give the *French* ſufficient worke? and the *French* on the contrary, who had laid their traines before hand, know that when they came to fire them, there was no feare they would mis, and they ſhould faile of having thoſe places? Yea why may they not deſigne by this meanes to breake both our powers ſo by Sea, that they may riſe up to contend with either of us? I am ſure theſe things are very uſuall with Princes and States, and examples of this kind are infinite. Why may we not then thinke that *England* might hereby deſigne to breake *France*'s power by Land; and *France Englands* power and ours alſo by Sea? How often theſe two Crowns have played ſuch like games with one another formerly; when *England* had footing in *France*, is apparent from the Hiſtories of both Nations. But we will ſpeake of that which more nearly concerns our ſelves, and within our own knowledge. In our firſt War with *England* I obſerved, what influence *Don Alonzo*, the Reſident for *Spaine* at *London*, had, to fomet thoſe jealouſies that that Common-wealth had of this, that it was the Kings cauſe, which this Republick by meanes of the *Orange* Family had eſpouſes, and what aſſiſtance *Spaine*, (which firſt publickly acknowledged that Common-weath) would afford them, &c. And when we were both engaged,

gaged, how the *Spaniſh* drew their Forces towards our Frontiers, as if they alſo would fall upon us; and when we declined, withdrew them againe, to encourage us both to continue the War. And in our ſecond War, if *France* had not a great hand both in contriving and continuing it, wiſemen are much deceived, and the French miſrepreſented to the World. By what inducements they perſwaded both ſides to a willingnes to that War, I liſt not mention, nor is there much neceſſity thereof, they being ſo well knowne to ſeverall of both Nations. What a hand they had in its continuation, we may eaſily perceive, if we recollect but what paſſed therein. When the *Engliſh* in the firſt Battel had beaten us, *France* being onely a *Spectator* to ballance *England*, becomes our Second; and *Monſieur*, the Kings onely Brother, and his Lady, *Englands* onely Siſter, were not permitted to uſe any publick expreſſions of joy by Bonefires, or otherwiſe for their Brother the *Duke of Yorks* Victory over *Opdam*. Their Fleet under *de Duke of Banford* ſhall come to our aſſiſtance, which occaſiond the dviding of the *Engliſhe's*, by which meanes and *Monks* precipitancy (who would needs fight contrary to the advice of the cheif and beſt Commanders in the Fleet, as *Aſcough* told us in the *Hague*) the *Engliſh* are beaten by us. And to boye up *England* againe, a private League is made betweene the two Crownes, as I have formerly declared from an honourable Author. So that theſe tricks of State are uſuall, though not diſcerned by every eye; nor dare I cenſure them allwayes for ſinfull, except I ſee manifeſtly foule play, becauſe I know not the Reaſons of State, which are the Grounds of their proceedings.

Having thus ſhewne, and I thinke ſufficiently, *that the friendſhip of* England *and* France *is ſick at heart*; I ſhall now proceed to ſhew, *that it cannot live long*; but if *France* goes on, *will and muſt die quickly*.

1. *Englands* intreſt will perſwade them to this, which they cannot but diſcerne clearly prompts them to put a ſtop to *France's* progres. If any think that they are ſo blinded with Paſſion, That to be revenged of us, they will ruin themſelves: I am not of their opinion, for many Reaſons, which I think I am cleare in; allthough I ſhall not mention them now, but onely appeale to the iſſue, whether they or I be in the darke and deceived.

2. The many tricks that *France* playes them, ſome whereof I have hinted, and ſeverall others might be mentioned, That I know they have attempted, but been diſappointed in; cannot but alienate the *Engliſh* from them.

3. A Treaty being the game (as I have ſaid) we ſhall play at, (which the ſooner and better for us) I foreſee plainly, that ſuch Cards will be played, as will make it apparent, that the Pack was neither fairly ſhuffled nor delt, and that the *French* meane to play at *la bete* with us both; and if we continue to play, ſhall come to *loſeing loadam* at laſt: So that though the *French* have more of *Clubs* and *Spades* in their hands, by which they hope to win the *Diamonds*, we ſhall have more of the *Hearts* between us; and ſo perhaps ſave ſome of our ſtock at the ſtake.

4. If *England* come to receive ſatisfaction, the ſpirit of the Nation will

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turne the ſcales. For ſuppoſe that ſhould be now, that *Comines* tells us was L i
heretofore, (which yet is ſooner ſaid than proved) yet we muſt needs thinke that if *France* deales unfairely with them; they will not onely have a faire occaſion to deſert them, but the King and his Court, the Parliament and People will be more irritated againſt them, then they are now againſt us, (as is uſuall in ſuch caſes) and be readier to joyne with us and fall upon them, then they were to joyne with them againſt us, for the conſervation both of their Religious and Civil Concernements.

5. The Neceſſity of keeping up the ballance between *France* and *Spaine*, will neceſſitate *England* to breake with *France*, or at leaſt hold them to keepe more within their bounds, as we ſhall more fully ſhew hereafter.

6. Nay the very defence of theſe Countries, which we thinke they ſeeke to ruine, will cauſe them either to bring *France* to a peace with us, or themſelves to help to defend us againſt them. For they will never ſuffer *France* to have them all, no nor the greateſt part of theſe maritime Provinces, nor the ſtrongeſt as *Holland*, if they can poſſibly hinder it, though they may permit them ſome part of the Superior, for having themſelves a ſhare of the Inferior, as I have formerly ſhewne. So that our *intreſt* is ſo far *Englands*, and is the greateſt ſecurity we have, next to Gods protection, and our owne ſtrength, that we ſhall not be wholly overrun and brought under the *French*. Yea, this is ſo highly their concernement, that I perſwade my ſelfe, if all the ſtrength of the 3 Kingdoms under the Crowne of *England*, and all the power of *Spaine* with them, can hinder it, *France* ſhall never gaine them; or if he doe, never quietly poſſes them.

And theſe things I thinke are ſufficient, to free us from our fooliſh feares of *England*; and to perſwade us to a compliance with them, ſeeing we are both ſo greatly concerned to comply.

We ſhall now proceed to ſhew the quite contrary of the friendſhip between *Spaine* and *England*, that *it is ſound at heart, and will recover*. Wherein we need not be ſo large, becauſe that which ſhews that the friendſhip of *France* and *England* muſt die, proves that of *England* and *Spaine* will live.

That this friendſhip is ſound on the ſide of *Spaine*, none queſtions; this being the great motive, (though not the onely I confeſs) that hath kept them from breaking with *France*.

And that it is allſo ſo on the ſide of *England*, I thinke is as cleare to thoſe that conſiders.

1. Their declared intention of maintaining the Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle* (or *Aken*) in their Declaration of this War.

2. Allthough a proviſionall clauſe, *unles provoked to the contrary*, in the cloſe thereof, gives them a latitude of breaking with *Spaine*; yet notwithſtanding they have been provoked ſeverall wayes by them, as all know that have obſerved the War, yet they will not breake with them we ſee; which is a cleare demonſtration their friendſhip is firmer then we imagine.

3. The importunities of *France*, which we know have been great, that

England would engage with them againſt *Spaine* allſo, hitherto we ſee, have prevailed nothing therein.

4. The aſſurance we know *England* hath given the Court of *Spaine*, both there and at *Bruxels*, concerning the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, makes us not doubt of their intentions; allthough we doe of *France*'s, by reaſon both of their preparations and opportunities, as we have formerly ſhewne. But if *France* ſhould fall upon them, as we have reaſon to feare; that will prove both our Aſſertions the ſtronglier, making the friendſhip of *England* and *France* die immediately, and that of *Spaine* and *England* quickly recover. And if this ſave not thoſe Provinces for the preſent, there's nothing (ſo far as I ſee) under Heaven that can, as I have formerly ſaid.

We perceive then the pulſe of this friendſhip beates both ſtrong and orderly enough, to ſecure us from all feares of its dying; lets viſit the patient once more, and we ſhall find no further need of ſuch *Phyſitians* adviſe, as the Author of *la France Politique*, in his *Avis important à l' Angleterre*, *pag.* 471. and that the diſtemper was onely a fit or two of an Ague the laſt Spring, and therefore ſo far from being dangerous, that it may prove rather phyſicall according to the Proverb, *An Ague in the Spring, is Phyſick for a King*: And that the Body Politick of *Spaine* in their friendſhip with *England* is recovering, as well as the King of *Spaine* perſonally is recovered.

1. If we conſider the Common intreſt of *Europe* wherein the *Engliſh* not onely are, but allſo profes themſelves concerned. And for this I need not any other proofe, but the *Triple Alliance* *, and the *Declaration of this War*, both which whoſoever reads, muſt needs acknowledge this for truth. 23.

2. The great Intreſt of Trade which the *Engliſh* have in the *Spaniſh* Dominions. The very effects the Merchants had ſtanding out there, were computed at the beginning of this War, at ſixteen Millions. And can we thinke the King will eaſily forgoe his Cuſtoms, and the Kingdome their Commerce with thoſe Dominions? Which in my calculation, is equall with that they have with all *Europe* beſides.

3. We know that they have lately made a peace in the *Weſt Indies*, and how peremptory they are in the obſervance thereof; ſo that the Governor of *Jamaica* upon complaints of him, was ſent priſoner to *London*, clapt up in the *Tower*, *&c.* And ſhall we thinke then, that they will breake into War at home?

4. *England* cannot but be ſenſible of the greatnes of *France*, and cannot be ſo ſenſeles, but they muſt needs thinke, that it is their concernement that he grow not ſo great, that he become their Maſter allſo at laſt? And the whole World knowes that *Spaine* not onely hath been now for many yeares the ballance for them; but ſtill muſt be ſo upon the Continent, or none: The Princes of the Empire being now ſo divided between the *Imperiall* and *French Crowne*. What wiſe man therefore can thinke now that *Spaine* declines, but that the *Empire* and *England* are highly concernd to ſupport them? And ſhall we thinke then that in ſtead of this, either ſhould help forwards their downfall? For my part, were there no other reaſon of ſtate,

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but this, I ſhould not fear *Englands* breaking with *Spaine*; and eſpecially now that they ſee what progres *France* hath made amongſt us.

5. This hath been a Fundamental Maxim in the Governement of *England*, to keep the ballance even betwixt the two Crownes of *Spaine* and *France*, ever ſince *Lewis* the Elevenths time, who ſeiſed on *Burgundy*, which was formerly the uſual Confederate with *England* againſt *France*. In place whereof *Auſtria* firſt, and after *Spaine* obteining the reſt of the Provinces that were under *Charles*, laſt *Duke of Burgundy*, by marriage of his daughter; *England* after ſtill had an eye to them in reference to *France*. And when the Civil Wars in theſe Provinces broke out, and *England* was jealous of *France*'s being our Protector: Q *Eliſabeth* would not permit it, ſtill having reſpect to the *Houſe of Burgundy*, as *Thuanus* and *Cambden* in the forecited places ſhew.

And thus you have my *Conjectures*, with ſuch Reaſons of State whereon they are grounded as are publick, and may therefore be publiſhed: I having induſtrioully declined, all reflections on private Tranſactions, Treaties, and Articles whatſoever, that ſo no ſide may have any juſt occaſion of being offended with my writing.

Sect. 12. *France's Ambition. Growing greatnes. The cauſes thereof. We and England in the fault. The Common Intreſt of Europe to oppoſe France particularly declared of the Empire, Spaine, England, Denmarke, and this Republick and Hans Townes. Yea of Sweden, Savoy, and Switzerland. The ballance of Europe to be kept even, and by whom.*

TO thoſe that know the World, *the ambition of* France cannot be unknown. Lets but look a litle about us, and we ſhall ſee the *French Intreſt* is every where driven on. To ſet this forth in its right colors, would require Volums rather then Pages. We ſhall therfore doe as the Painter, that inſtead of drawing the Giant at length, drew onely his Thumb; or as *Geographers* that ſet forth great Countreys in ſmall Maps. And for this we ſhall not looke far backwards to former times, but onely our owne, ſince *France* recovered of thoſe ſtrong Convulſions, by the Civil Wars and Diſſentions in *Mazarines* time, in the minority of his preſent *Majeſty*. And we ſhall find ſufficient, to awaken the moſt part of Princes and States in *Europe*, to looke to themſelves. The Invaſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; the taking the *French Comte* (though after reſtored to the *Spaniſh*) and *Lorreigne*, which they ſtill keepe; the engageing a ſtrong party of the *Electors*, and Princes of the *Empire* for their Intreſt; the worke they have made in *Poland* and *Hungary*, that that Crowne might be at their diſpoſal, and this diverted; their taking the *Swede* off the Triple Alliance, and obliging him to give the Emperor worke in *Germany*, and *Brandenburgh* in *Pruſſia*, with a great ſum of Money; ſome ſay and Print allſo 60 Tun of Gold, or 600000 l. ſterling;

ling; the endeavours they have used with *Portugal* to give *Spaine* a diversion, though that Kingdom is not in a capacity to serve their designes; the worke allso they have made in *Italy*; their intresting themselves in all Treaties allmost in *Europe*; the Pensions they allow to Ministers of State in most Princes Courts, and many other wayes they take to enlarge their Empire. Those that are desirous to see their designes, may consult the late Author of *La France Politique ou ses desseins executez & à executer.* And especially the ingenious discours of the *Baron of Isola*, in's *Bouclier d'Estat & de Justice* Article 6. where he shows *France*'s aspiring to the *Universal Monarchy*, and by what maxims and means, they advance apace towards it; and as their ambition is great, so their pretentions are boundles. Who knows not how they pretend, not onely to the *Spanish Netherlands*, but the whole *Empire? Des justes pretentions du Roy sur l'Empire, par le Sieur Aubery Advocat au Parliament, & aux conseils du Roy.* Printed at *Paris* 1667. And there are *Aubery*'s, or at least Advocates enow in *Paris*, to draw up pretenlions to the Crowne of *England*; and so of one Kingdome and State after another, according as their Swords shall be able to pursue them.

And indeed such is the growing greatnes of that Kingdome, that it is become formidable to all *Europe*. I need not insist on this, the World is sufficiently sensible of it; but it may be worth our pains to enquire into the causes thereof.

France formerly had severall boundaries to their Ambition, which by degrees they have broken downe. Severall *Dukes*, on the one side that of *Normandie*, and the *English* after who for 400 years together *latè dominati sunt in Gallia*; till *Charles* the 7. his time; and that of *Bretagnie*, till *Charles* the 8 gained it to the Crowne of *France*, by the marriage of *Anne*, Daughter of *Francis* the 2. the last Duke thereof; and on the other side the Dukes of *Bungundie*, till *Lewis* the 11. who after the death of *Charles* the last Duke slaine at the Battell of *Nancey*, seized thereon, and united it to the Crowns of *France*. These three Potentates kept the French Kings continually under, by their Confederations and Wars against that Kingdome. Which Bands, they having once broke, they became at liberty to get more elbow-room in the World; and become the largest, compactest, and strongest Kingdom of *Europe*, were it not that their owne intestine Divisions, and frequent Civil Wars hath often weakned them.

After *France* had arrived at this greatnes, the following Kings *Charles* the 8. *Lewis* the 12. and *Francis* the first, fruitlesly spent the Kingdoms strength in their Wars in *Italy*; till *Francis* and *Charles* the 5. became competitors for the *Empire*, and *Spains* and *France* a fit match for each other in power. Since which time such mighty contests have been betwixt those two Kingdoms, as have filled all *Europe* with terror and amazement, and all Historians with their Actions. But how *France* hath so far prevailed, as we see at present, is partly by our owne, and partly by the *English* fault; we by Commission, and they by Omission, as we shall (with what brevity

vity we can) make apparent, in regard it may be uſefull to us both.

During the reigne of *Charles* the 5. and *Francis* aforeſaid, the Reformation of Religion begun, which occaſioned great alterations to the Kingdom of *France*, and to the Kings of *Spaine* in theſe *Low Countries*. Wherein the Crowne of *Spaine* continued to proſecute their intreſt, in breaking downe the power of *France* by all means poſſible, and eſpecially by joyning with the *Guiſian faction* which ſtiled themſelves the *Holy League*, under pretenſe of oppoſing the *Proteſtants*. Thoſe great conteſts which the ſeverall factions in *France* clothed with the glorious mantle of Religion, are well knowne to thoſe that are converſant in their Hiſtories, and are particularly declared by many; but beſt in my judgement, on the Proteſtants ſide by *Beza*, the Author (though not named) of thoſe 15 Bookes, he ſtiles *Commentariorum de Statu Religionis & Reip. in Regno Galliæ, ſub Henrico. 2. Franciſo 2. Carolo 9. & Henrico 3.* And on the Papiſts by *Davila* in his excellent Hiſtorie of the *Civil Wars of France*. In which Conteſts, in the Reigns of the four forementioned Kings, the Succeſſors of *Francis* the 1, and in the times of *Henry* the 4. who ſucceded them; the *Proteſtants* (called there *Hugonots*) got into their Poſſeſſion, above 300 Garriſons and Forts in that Kingdome.

On the otherhand *France* was not aſleep, or awanting to proſecute their intreſt, in fomenting, promoting, and carrying on thoſe diviſions in theſe *Low Countries*; to breake downe the power of *Spaine*, into whoſe hands they had fallen by marriage (as we have ſaid) and to remove the obſtacle, which theſe Provinces conſtantly were, to their advancing their deſignes. For which end they continually aſſiſted us, and whilſt they pretended to fight our Battells; at our charges they really fought their owne. And leſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſo nearly allied to *Spaine*, ſhould afford them further aſſiſtance, they ingage *Sweden* to invade the *Empire*, and give the *Emperor* worke at home, allowing A. D. 1631. *Guſtavus Adolphus* 300000 Franks for levying an Army, and a Million yearly for paying them, (every Frank being two Shillings ſterling) as in the years 1625. and 1635. they fathering all the Empire did on *Spaine*, engaged us allſo in more firme and conſtant Leagues againſt them. This being the true State of thoſe times betwen thoſe two Crownes, we therein thus doubly miſcarried, and erred both in our Civil and Religious Intreſt.

Firſt in that we thought we could never bring *Spaine* low enough, nor aſſiſt *France* ſufficiently againſt them. In this blind zeale we went a great deale too far, though nothing the length that *France* deſired: For had we liſtned to their ſuggeſtions, we had to this day continued our Wars with *Spaine*, and ſo have done their worke for them. What arts *France* uſed to diſſwade us from peace with *Spaine*, may be ſeen in their Hiſtorian *Privl*, as well as our owne, concerning the Treaty of *Munſter*. But the States ſeeing the ſucceſſes of *France*, of whoſe greatnes they now at laſt, and indeed too late, became jealous; to which they were the more awakened, by the *Frensh* approaches towards us in *Flanders*, and taking of *Dunkirke*, it being

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being their owne proverb *Aye le Francois pour ton Amy, non pas pour ton voiſin*: they reſolve to take the opportunity which was put into their hands by *Spaine*; who deſpairing of peace with *France*, ſought nothing more then to take off their confederates, the *Swede*, and theſe united *Provinces* eſpecially, by concluding a peace with us, and procuring one allſo between the *Empire* and *Sweden*. For knowing their owne weaknes, and great worke on their hands, by the revolt of *Portugall*, Rebellion in *Catalonia*, the doubtfull condition of *Naples*, the frequent loſſes they had received, and their want of men and money to war every where; they offerd us equall conditions; and we privately without the knowledge either of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, or the Mediators (*Chigie* from the Pope, and *Contaren* from the State of *Venice*) except them at laſt, and a peace is made betwixt us at *Munſter*, January 30. 1648. and quickly after between the *Empire* and *Sueden* at *Oſnaburg* Auguſt the 6. in the ſame yeare. By which meanes *Spaine* was freed from our Wars, had opportunity of Proſecuting theirs againſt *Portugall*, and of creating *France* trouble at home by joyning with the *Condean* faction, in the greatnes of *Mazarine*, and the minoritie of his preſent Majeſty. This peace ſo ſtuck on the Cardinals ſtomack, that neither He nor that Kingdome have ever digeſted it: but becauſe we would not war for them any longer, reſolved they would war againſt us at laſt: though if we had not done that too long, they had never done this ſo ſucceſfully.

Secondly we help forward *France*'s greatnes and our owne deſtruction, by helping to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intreſt in that Kingdome. For as *France* had the power of *Spaine* to keep them in on every ſide; ſo they had allſo a curb of the Proteſtants at home, to check them in their exorbitant deſignes. Who from the beginning of the Reformation under *Francis* the firſt, *Henry* the 2*d*, and *Francis* the 2*d* had growne to that ſtrength and greatnes, that they grew formidable to the Crowne of *France*. And notwithſtanding the Maſſacre of *Merindel* and *Chabries* A. D. 1545. and the 8 ſeveral civill Wars that was made againſt them, (by *Charles* the 9, and 3 by *Henry* the 3) the great Maſſacre at *Paris* 1572. yet God ſo bleſt them and multiplied them, that in the yeare 1560 there was reckoned above 1250 Churches of them, and by their ſeverall capitulations with the two forementioned Kings at the end of their civill Wars, and the Connivance of *Henry* the 4 formerly Head of their party, they got 300 at leaſt Garriſons and forts for their defenſe, which he uſed to call, *the Commonwealth of Rochel*, that and *Montauban* being their principall places of ſtrength. From whom they obteined ſeverall immunities, but eſpecially that of the liberty of their Religion; which he confirmed to them by the ratification of the ſeverall conceſſions of his Predeceſſors in the *Edict of Nantes*, 1598, paſſed in the Parliament of *Paris* February the 25 in the following yeare. Allthough the promulgation thereof, out of reſpect to *Cardinal Medices* was deferd, till March the 2. 1599. Which he then vehe-

vehemently preſt, begining his ſpeech with a ſtrange prodigie that had fallen out betwixt Himſelfe and the Duke of *Guiſe* 26 yeares before, who being about to play at tables in the preſence of many Nobles, there appeard drops of blood, which though once and againe wiped off, yet new ſtill were perceived, and none knew whence; there being not any in the roome that bled; which he then declared for a ſad omen of much blood, that ſhould be ſhed betwixt them two, which having accordingly happend to his great grief, he deſired to take away all further occaſions of their civill Wars by publiſhing that edict &c. which may be ſeen in Thuanus. *Lib.* This great King by name and merit, having fought 140 battels and skirmiſhes with his owne hands, beleagured 300 Cities and forts, was no ſooner ſlaine by the dagger of that Raſcally villane *Ravillac*, in the midſt of his greateſt glory and deſignes; But his Son and Succeſſor *Lewis* the 13. confirmes the ſame, May the 22. 1610. wherein he acknowledges that, *Experience having taught the Kings his Predeceſſors that the fury and violence of Armes had not onely been unprofitable to draw their ſubjects to the Romane Church, but was rather hurtfull: which made them have recourſe by a more happy Counſel, to mildnes, granting them the exerciſe of the Reformed Religion they profeſſed: in whoſe imitation his father (Henry the 4) had made the Edict of Nantes, to reconcile all his loving ſubjects: the obſervation whereof, had ſetled and aſſured quiet amongſt them, which had ever ſince continued without interruption.* And declares that *though that Edict be perpetual and irrevocable, and by that meanes hath no need to be confirmed by any new declarations; yet to the end his ſubjects may be aſſured of his love and intention to have the ſaid Edict inviolably kept (being made for the good and quiet of his ſubjects) therefore it is ordained by him with the advice of the Queen Regent, Princes of the blood &c. that the ſame be kept inviolably; and thoſe that ſhall infringe it, ſeverely puniſhed, as troublers of the publick peace of the Kingdome, &c.* Yet notwithſtanding all this, the King being provoked by them, is induced, much againſt his inclination, to War againſt them whom he declared Rebels 1621. and tooke many of their cautionary Townes from them; yet this was at laſt compoſed, and they reſerved *Rochel* and ſeverall other places ſtill for their defence. But afterwards, at the inſtigation of *Cardinal Richelieu*, (not out of any zeale for his Religion being called the *Hugonot Cardinal*, but of Policy to free *France* from their feares of the Proteſtant party at home) with much regret the King makes War againſt them againe 1625. and ſent to the States for Twenty ſayle of Men of War according to the late Treaty, which was aſſented unto, though with great reluctancy, and they was ſent under Admiral *Hauthain*; which were eſpecially inſtrumentall of ruining the Proteſtants power at Sea, and of *Rochel* afterwards, and conſequently all the power that party had left under the Duke of *Rohan*, with nere 50 places for their Protection: All their Cautionary Townes being diſmantled, and they having no other ſhelter, but the ſhaddow of the *Almighty*, and their Kings clemency left them to flie unto for their defence. So that as I wiſh we had otherwiſe imployed our power, ſo I pray

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(as *Schookius* * in our first War with *England*, *Deum rogo, filiis & nepotibus non imputet, quæ a parentibus facta fuerunt*) that God may not lay this sin to our charge. The Protestants having thus made their last will and Testament, whereby the Crowne became sole heir and executor of all they had, *Lewis* the last thereby became the greatest Monarch since *Charles the Great*: his predecessors having reduced the many Provinces dismemberd from *France* by *Hugh Capet* into one entire body, and he all the parts thereof to the entire subjection of the Crowne; and that Kingdome at liberty to look abroad, and carry on their designes where they please, having for this end gained 3 keys to their neighbor Kingdoms, *Pignerol* to enter *Italy*; *Brisack Germany*, and *Perpignan Spaine*.

We have seene how we have gon against our intrest in overdoing our worke; lets now see how *England* have been no les guilty, in not doing their duty; wherein they have not onely been greatly awanting to themselves, but more to the Protestant intrest in *Europe*.

The Protestants in *France* having by *Armes, Treaties, Concessions*, and *Confirmations* of severall Kings, obteined that strength which we have declared: There could be nothing more clearly the intrest of all those of the Reformed Religion, and especially their Neighbors then to support them in their just rights; Which Queen *Elizabeth* and her Council so well understood, that though she had assisted these Provinces both with money and men considerably, whereby she had drawne upon her a War with *Spaine* which was very costly to her, and allso occasioned the Rebellion in *Ireland*, which to reduce stood Her and her Kingdom of *England* in 4 yeares time no les, if we take *Morisons* accompt, then 1198000 L. Sterling: yet she neglects not to supply *Henry* of *Navar* against the *Guisian* league and faction for the support of the Protestants, with 101560 franks for the Baron of of *Donna* to raise an Army in *Germany*, A. D. 1587. for his service: and 71165 besides 20000 she spent in sending 4000 men under the conduct and command of the *Lord Willoughby* A. 1589. and 33333 to levy an Army under the Prince of *Anhalt*, for the service, and as much money she lent *Navar* himselfe, the following yeare 1590 and continually upon all occasions supported him and the intrest of the Reformed Religion in those Kingdoms, so that she was publickly prayed for by the *Hugonots* as their *Protectoresse*.

No sooner was this great Princesse dead, whose glory yet will never
29. dye, (being accounted by her very enemies the *Guisians*, the most glorious that ever swayed Scepter, *gloriosissima, & omnium quæ unquam sceptrum gestarunt, fœlicissima fœmina*, as Thuanus tells us, adding many great elogiums of her, and conluding *none ever was or will be like her of that sex*:) and *King James* called in, to succeed in that Crowne: but the *French*, though they had underhand opposed the conjunction of those two Kingdoms all they could, having still made use of *Scotland* formerly in their Wars with *England* for a diversion to them, by setting them upon entring that King-

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dom at the back doore betwixt them; and as loath alſo that ſuch an acceſſion of power ſhould accrew to their old enemies the *Engliſh*; yet now they are the firſt that come with a ſplendid Embaſſage, to welcome him to his new Crownes. This King, if he had had as much of the Lions courage, as he had of the foxes cunning and Kingcraft as he called it; how happy had it bene both for his owne family, and his Kingdoms! But as he was the occaſion of the ſad diſaſters that happend to both, as is ſhewne not only by the Hiſtorians, but particular Authors in the *Engliſh* tongue, ſo I ſhall now briefly ſhew how he occaſioned many and great irreparable loſſes to the Proteſtant intreſt abroad, eſpecially by his puſillanimity. *Ruſh. Weld. Osbu. &c.*

How he perſwaded this Republick to a 12 yeares Truce with *Spaine*, and how prejudiciall it was to theſe Provinces, is well knowne. How earneſtly he was preſt to aſſiſt his ſon the *Palſgrave*, both by forreigne Princes abroad, and his Parliaments at home, I need not mention: nor how he ſpent more in Embaſſies, their traines and Treaties, then would have done his worke with men of Armes and traines of Artillery. I ſhall onely ſpeake of that relating to the *French Proteſtants*, as the proper ſubject of my diſcourſe.

When *Lewis* the 13 ſet upon reducing the Cautionary Townes which the Proteſtants had in his Kingdome, by the grants of ſeverall Kings (as we have ſaid) and the diſtreſſed ſought to the Crowne of *England* for Reliefe: K. *James* according to his uſuall cuſtom, onely imployes Embaſſadors, the Lord *Herbert* once and againe; whom the *French* delayd with words, till they had done their worke. For knowing King *James*'s temper too well, *Luynes* the High Conſtable of *France*, being appointed to give *Herbert* audience, firſt ſets a Gentleman of the Reformed Religion behind the hangings, that being an eare-witneſs of what paſt, might relate to the Reformiſts, what ſmall grounds of hope they had, of having ſuccors from the Crowne of *England*; and then in ſtead of hearkning to his Embaſſage, in a moſt inſolent manner affronted both his Maſter and himſelf with menaces: which when he could not brooke, but roundly replyed, *His Maſter then knew what he had to doe*, and offered the Conſtable who was chollerick thereat, the ſatisfaction of his Sword; the *French* Embaſſador miſrepreſents what paſt to K. *James*, and procures *Herbert* to be called home, and the *Earle of Carlile* is ſent in his place, to as little purpoſe as before. Nor was this the worſt, for the *Duke of Guiſe* obteined 8 *Engliſh* ſayle of men of War to joyne with him againſt the *Rochellers* and them of the Religion to diſtres them by Sea, as the Count of *Soiſſons* did by Land (for which the *Duke of Buckingham* was after queſtioned in Parliament) and thus the greateſt part of the Proteſtants power was broke downe, and had been wholy, but that the *French* had not then time by reaſon of the *Spaniſh* worke in the *Valtolin*; ſo that a peace was skind over for a ſmall time, till they had leiſure to open the wound againe, and make the poore Patients bleed their laſt. Theſe things cauſed great complaints of *England* every where amongſt them of the Reformed Religion, and occaſioned *Deodate*'s ſaying, *that King* *Howe. Hiſt. Lewis A.* 16

Iames's ſins of omiſſion, were greater then all his Predeceſſors ſins of Commiſſion.

Though the pacification was publiſhed at *Montpellier*, yet *Richelieu* being made *Miniſter of State* and chief Director of affaires in *France*, A. 1624; he made it his firſt worke to go on with the deſigne of deſtroying the Proteſtants power in that Kingdome; and though the King was againſt it at firſt, yet the Cardinal carried it on at laſt, ſo that afterwards he ſaid, *He had taken Rochel in ſpight of three Kings*, meaning his owne *England* and *Spaine*. For the accompliſhing this worke, the Eagle-eyed *Richelieu* foreſeeing that *England* and theſe *States* might ſtand in his way and obſtruct him, he reſolves to charme us both to a compliance. For which end *France* makes a ſtricter league with theſe *United Provinces*, affords us 1600000 franks yearly for the two next following, to be repaid the two next years after our peace with *Spain*, agrees for ſhips for their ſervice, &c. And for *England*, though they knew K. *Iames* would not diſturb their deſignes, yet not knowing what the *Prince of Wales* might doe, there were meanes uſed to ingage him, by a Match with *Henriette* the onely Daughter then unmarried of *Henry* the 4. K. *Iames* who was deſirous to match his onely ſon Conſiderably, had for 9 or 10 years beene Courting of *Spaine* to this purpoſe, that ſo with one he might have the *Palatinate* reſtored to the *Palsgrave*; and the *Prince of Wales*, having paſt through *France* incognito into *Spaine*, to make love perſonally to the *Infanta*, and ſee with his owne eyes if fame belied not her beauty; and being there ſtill delayed, but not denyed (the *Spaniſh* deſiring to ſee all the Daughters of *France* firſt matcht, to prevent an alliance betwixt *England* and that Kingdome) and the buſines of the *Palatinate* ſtill kept in ſuſpence; he is commanded home by his Father K. *Iames*. But having ſeen the Lady *Henriette* at a maske, in his paſſage through *France*, under the notion of an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and being taken with her beauty, more then the *Infanta's*; overtures are made of a Marriage with her, and though ſome in the *French Council*, were rather for her matching to *Lorraigne* (that ſo thoſe Territories might be gained to *France*, which had been long troubleſom to them) yet this reaſon of State, of obliging him not to interrupt their deſigne of ruining the Proteſtants, and prevent his marrying with *Spaine* prevailed, and in 9 moneths time a Match is concluded.

Richelieu thinking *France* ſecure of theſe two they moſt feared; falls to worke to reduce the *Hugonots* Cautionary Townes. Upon which *Soubeze* and *Blankart* goe for *England* to implore K. *Charles* (his Father K. *Iames* being then dead) his aſſiſtance. This good King thinks himſelfe obliged in conſcience and honour, notwithſtanding his marriage with the King of *France's* ſiſter, to ſupport them. And indeed ſo he was, for the Ambaſſadors and Agents of the Crowne of *England*, had become *Caution* to thoſe of the Religion, for the King of *France's* performance with them. He therfore ſends 150 ſayle of ſhips and an Army of 10000 men; under the Command of the *Duke of Buckingham*, to take off that odium which was upon him in *England*, for what was formerly done under K. *Iames*. Who publiſhed

bliſhed a *Manifeſto* in the K. of *Englands* name July the 21. 1627. declaring that though there were other grounds ſufficient for a War, as the abuſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants, their ſhips and goods ſeized on, and the extraordinary equipping for Sea in *France*; yet that the ſole cauſe of the War, was the *Crowne of France*'s not performing of Articles with thoſe of the Reformed Religion. This expedition, and the cauſes of its miſcarriage, is writ by a learned pen *, and well knowne from the moderne Hiſtories of both Kingdoms. The *French* and *Engliſh* both proceed, the former in carrying on, the latter to prevent if poſſible, their deſignes. For which end K. *Charles* ſent the Earle of *Denbigh* with another Fleet, which was able to effect nothing; and the Earle of *Linzey* with the laſt (*Buckingham* being aſſaſinated by *Felton* the day before he was to embarke) But before *Linzey* came, ſuch ſtupendous workes were raiſed (of which *Bertius* hath writ a particular booke) and ſo palliſadoed, that the Cardinall ſent to the *Engliſh Admirall*, that he ſhould have a paſport with 6 of his ableſt Commanders, to come a ſhore and view the works, and if they thought *Rochel* relievable, he would raiſe the ſiege, without fighting a ſtroake. The *Engliſh* thus coming too late loſt *Rochel*, upon which followed the Duke of *Rohan* and the reſt of the Reformiſts compliance, the diſmantling of their remaining Garriſons (above 40 whereof *Mantauban* was the laſt) and a peace with *England*, and thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *France*.

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Since which time what mighty deſſignes have been contrived, and carried on by the two Cardinalls, *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, for that Kingdome abroad, whoſe plots they are ſtill purſuing; is not unknowne to thoſe that are curiouſly inquiſitive. How the former wrought the revolt of *Portugal*, the Rebellion in *Catalonia*, the carrying on the Wars in theſe Countries, to bring downe *Spaine*; ſet on foot and fomented the diſtractions of Great *Britaigne*, firſt by the *Scots*, and afterwards by other means, to give *England* worke at home: tamperd with *Walleſteyne* for betraying the Imperiall Army, for whoſe death he moſt paſſionately wept, failing thereby of his hopes, of *France*'s ſpeedy comeing to the *Empire*: engaged *Sweden* to ſerve their ends in *Germany*; tooke *Pignerol* to keep *Italy* in aw: *Lorraigne* is taken; the *Dukes of Savoy*, *Mantua*, and *Modena* are wholly at *France*'s ſervice: and the Princes Electors, eſpecially the Eccleſiaſtica'l, rather courting the favour of that Crown, then the Imperiall. This was the true State of *France*, at the death of *Richelieu* in 42 and the King his Maſter, who quickly followed him, May 14. 1643. the ſame day of the yeare his father died, and wherein he was Crowned. Which I have beene the larger in, firſt becauſe tis for the moſt part the ſame now, and in ſeverall things greater than then, eſpecially by their alliance with *England*, and ſucceſs againſt theſe and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: and 2. that it might appeare, how far they have overgrowne *Spaine* in power, that ſo the world may be awakend, and ſee to lop off their ſuperfluous bowes, leſt they grow in time like *Nebuchadnezars* tree, ſo great that they overſhadow us all.

For *Mazarine* succeeding *Richelieu* as Minister of State, who was his onely Scholler that proved his parallel, to which two Clergy-men let me say it, for it is a truth (though I know the Laity may stomack it) *France owes their present greatnes*; the first 5 yeares after till 48 that tumultuous Nation was never wiselier governed in the non-age of their Soveraigne: and though in the next lustre or five yeares following till 53, they had some aguish fits that shaked them in their civill wars, yet they soone recovered thereof, and have ever since growne stronger and stronger. So that it was high time for the Neighbour Nations no longer to dance after the fidle of *France*. And the States saw this, and therefore made peace, as I have said; but *England* herein offended againe, and prevaricated in the common intrest of *Europe*. Let me shew how briefly, because it may satisfie perhaps the curiosity of some that have wondred at it, as much as my selfe, in regard they have been ignorant of the true grounds thereof.

When *Cromwel* the *Hanibal* of the *English Common-wealth*, and immortal enimie and Terror to *Rome*, came to have the power of those three Kingdoms in his hands; he saw it necessary to engage those Nations and imploy his Armies in a forreigne War; for without an Army he could not maintaine the power he had got, and without imploying them he could not quietly enjoy it (Armies being like raised spirits, that must be imployed, or else they fall foule upon him that raised them) and besides this necessity of intrest, his own inclination strongly carried him, and perhaps some extravagant hopes, to pull downe the *Pope*; for he once said to *Lambert*, *were I as young as you, I should not doubt to knock at the gates of Rome before I died*. *Spaine* and *France* both courted him, knowing what mettal his sword was made of, and his *Iron-sides* wore; of which competition he made his advantage, obteining such conditions of *France*, as were a wonder to all, that understood the maxims of their Government. That which most inclined him to the *French*, was that he judged *Spaine* and *Austria* the two strongest *Hornes of Antichrist*, whose fall was come as one of his Prophets (whom I could name) inspired him, and that *France* might be brought to renounce *Rome*; intending withall to get such places in *Flanders* and over against the coast of *England*, that he might keep the *Dutch* in aw, and with a few of his Ships command a toll for the passage in the Channel, as the *Dane* did in the *Sound*. A League therefore is made with *France*, March 23. 1657 for a yeare, and renewed the next, by *Lockard* his Ambassador, who for his parts and sagacity was so acceptable to *Mazarine*, that he had more acces to him, and busines with him, then all the Ambassadors at *Paris* besides. These two *Cromwel*, and the *Cardinal* the stronglier to carry on their designes, take in the King of *Sweden* for a third into their confederacy (*Christina* having resigned that Crowne, and wandring about like a blazing Comet) and these three Leagued together made the *Triumvirate* of those times.

Sweden was to pluck the plumes of the *Roman Eagle*, when he had clipt the wings of his Neighbours, that they might not fly upon the prey he left behind.

behind. Wherein *Oliver* ſo concerned himſelf, that when the *Dane* had got the *Dutch* for his ſecond, he ſent *Montague* to boye up *Swedens* ſinking intreſt in the *Sound:* and they were ſo neere an engagement, that they had certainly fought, had not the *Engliſh* eſpied an Advice-Yacht coming towards them, which bringing them newes of the *Protectors* death, they hoyſt up ſailes, and returnd home.

France was to pull downe *Spaine* by Land, with his own forces, and ſuch as the Protector could ſpare. Which *Lockard* the Embaſſador there commanded. Who having beene more uſed to fight in the field, then play the pioneers with their ſpades, were not ſo much eſteemed at firſt by the *French*: till the fight with *Don John of Auſtria's* Army which came to relieve *Dunkirke*, wherein they behaved themſelves with that gallantry, that *Don John* cryed out he *was beat by ruging wild beaſts rather then men*; and that great Soldjer the *Prince of Conde* hath often ſaid ſince, *that he never ſaw the like action, as was that day performed by the Engliſh* Shortly after *Dunkerke* yielded, and was put into the *Engliſh* hands.

The Protector was to bring downe *Spaine* by Sea, which *he ſaid he would do, or he and his ſhould live on bread and water.* Intending allſo to carrie on the deſigne, which *Sidney*, *Rawleigh* and ſeveral of the wiſeſt men of thoſe times under *Q. Elizabeth* preſt, and that was to beat the *Spaniſh* out of the *Indies*; but as ſhe had too many irons in the fire to carry on that worke, ſo how he miſcarried in it, is ſufficiently knowne. And indeed he had broke *Spaines* Naval power much more then he did, allthough he did a great deale at *Tenerif* and elſewhere, had it not been for a ſmall accident that happend, which was this. Admirall *Blake*, who ſtill principled his ſeamen in thoſe Confuſions and frequent Revolutions of Governement, *that the Fleet ſerved no Parties nor Perſons, but the Engliſh Nation*; having brought ſome of his great ſhips before *Tunis*, batterd down the Caſtle and compeld them to his termes; for which extraordinary ſervice he expected the reward of gratitude at leaſt: In ſtead thereof, by his next Advice from *England* he hath a pardon ſent him, for endangering the Fleet in ſuch an attempt without order, &c. Which ſo ſtuck on the ſtomack of that ſtout and ſturdy *Stoick*, that afterwards the *Spaniſh* Fleet coming on the maine Ocean off *Cadiz*; He reading his Commiſſion, and finding it onely for fighting them in the *Mediterranean*, would not fall on them, though the Commanders Sollicited him, promiſed to anſwer it for him, &c. onely was willing to fight if the *Spanjards* begun; but though the *Engliſh* provoked them to it, and affronted them all they could, yet the wary *Spanjard* was wiſer then to ingage, and ſo ſaved themſelves; at which *Oliver* ſtormed not a litle, but *Blake* cared not much, the *Admirall* heereby crying quits with the Generall.

Thus you ſee what great things a little blind zeale may doe. And indeed it is not ſo much to be admired at in him, he having had ſuch an *enthuſiaſticall heat*, as all know, that knew him well; nor can we wonder ſo much, if his head ſometimes run round, who was ſo continually wrapt up in

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ſuch whirlepooles of affaires, as he was perpetually plunged in: though to miſcarry in ſo great a concernment for the Proteſtant Intreſt, was a capitall crime in him above all others; who deſigning to pul down the *Pope*, *by bringing downe *Spaine*, ſet up *France* to ruine the *Proteſtants* throughout Chriſtendome. Thus *Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus!*

But theſe three lived not long to goe on with theſe deſignes, and indeed it was well for the world they did not. *Oliver* went firſt, at which *Mazarine*, was ſecretly glad, ſaying when the newes was brought him as he was at play, *there's then a fortunate foole gon.* But this was but to trample upon a dead lion, whom he ſo ridiculouſly feared before, that his greateſt Confidents made themſelves privately merry therewith. Knowing how uncivily for this, he put the King of *England* out of *France*; and the Duke of *Yorke* alſo notwithſtanding his ſervice, and the Cavalries acclamations of *vive's* to him, and curſes of the *Cardinal*: Yea how after his death he feared his ſhaddow, for in the *Iſle of Feſant* 59 at the interview of the two Kings and their Courts, where the marriage was made, and peace concluded betwixt them, (which *Mazarine* had reſerved for his owne glory) and the King of great *Britaine* being there received by *Lewis de Haro* at firſt with the height of a *Spaniſh* complement in the depth of the mire, and treated after with all civility: yet the *Cardinal*, though courted by the *Duke of Ormond*, durſt not ſpeake with him, for feare of *Lockard* that was preſent at the Treatie. But though the crafty Cardinal was no coward, yet thus fearefull, and timorouſly was he cautious for Him, whom I know he hated above all Mortals, and that Common-wealth above all people in the world; as I can many wayes make apparent, if it was of any importance to the publick.

But to be briefe, *Olivers* other two *Conſorts* followed after him quickly, and theſe three Conquerors, being cut of by death, who kept all Chriſtendome in aw whilſt they lived, the world had a little quiet, till *France* got a horſeback again in *Flanders*.

But betwixt and that time was that great change in *England* by the wonderfull providence of God in the reſtoration of his Majeſty, by which meanes the *French* got *Dunkirke* again into their hands, and were thereby capacitated, the better to carry on their worke againſt theſe Countries. At which the *French* made themſelves merry, and ſome ſay abuſively, by having *Dunkirke* drawn with a purſe hanging over it: The *Engliſh* ſtormed, and ſome ſwore *Oliver would have ſold his great noſe, rather then Dunkerke.* Yea this ſtill ſticks on many of their ſtomachs; I remember at my laſt being in *England* in 66, and ſeeing *Clarenden Houſe*; and wondring a little why it was ſituated ſo neer the roade, which made it both unfree, and moleſted with duſt; and critiſing upon ſome other things, the Oratory eſpecially, that the Chancelor that was the eldeſt Son of the Church of *England*, ſhould make his Chappel, as a wag writ of *Emanuel Colledge's*, ſo *awry*: *Juſt North and South, yea verily*: when I came above on the leads I was ſo pleaſed with

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the pleaſantnes of the proſpect, that I thought for that it might compare with any Houſe I had ſeen, knowing no place in *England* except above *Greenwich*, that I thought comparable to it, upon which the domeſtick had the confidence, perceiving me a ſtranger, to tell me I could not thence ſee *Dunkirke*; for the Commonality had Chriſtened it, and made *Dunkirke* the Godfather, calling the Houſe after its name. But though I confeſs it was againſt the Common Intreſt of *Europe*, that it ſhould fall to the *French* againe; yet whether it was againſt the Intreſt of the King of *England*, and that Kingdome, is not ſo cleare to me. I will onely ſay this, that I know a perſon hath weighed that ſo well, that I ſhall carry this challenge for him, That if any Gentleman, *Engliſh* or *French*, pleaſes fairely to ſtate this Queſtion *in hypotheſi*, according to the circumſtances of thoſe times, let him take which ſide thereof he pleaſes, and uſe what weapons he will (and I think thats very faire) and he ſhall not want an *Antagoniſt*, that ſhall fight him fairely, whether he pleaſes to appeare in *Roman buf*, or in his halfe ſhirt made of his owne mothers language, upon the publick Theater of the World. And truly his deſigne is ſo honeſt, I dare be his Compurgator, and being a litle acquainted with it, I ſhall tell you briefly: It is to let men ſee, how hard it is ſometimes to diſcerne on which ſide the true intreſt of State lies, (there being ſo many circumſtances conſiderable, which often in the Scale of Policy, weigh heavier then that which byſtanders think the maine) and therby allſo to check the ſawcines of every ſhopkeeper, who like the litle *Spaniſh Dons*, will be cenſuring Princes Counſels, and condemning Miniſters of State, though they are ignorant of the grounds of their Actions, and much more of that which is true policy.

Having thus ſhewne the true State of *France*, and its continuall growing greatnes downe to the times of his preſent Majeſty, who hath not onely got *Dunkirke*, regained *Lorraigne*, conquered a great part of *Flanders* from the *Spaniſh* but three Provinces allſo entirely from the States: It will clearely follow to be the Common Intreſt of *Europe* to oppoſe *France* in their future progreſs, except they meane to follow our fate.

I had thought to have been larger heerein then I ſhall, in regard my paines is heerein in part prevented, by the Authour of la *France Politique* from page 470 to 525, or the end: And having been ſo long allready, I may happily hereafter, diſcourſe this more largely in another language. I ſhall therefore be brief in that which remaines.

The *Empire*, though greatly concerned, (the *French* being not onely nigh them, but among them, and having got ſuch places of the *Rhyne*, capacitated to pas over all at their pleaſure) yet ſeeme a ſleepe, and are therefore to be rouſed; and if no words will doe it, yet let the alarmes of War raiſe them, and the ſtrength of their enimies make them combine, leſt fighting ſingly, they be all foiled. I ſhall not ſtand to particularize, but ſurely the *Duke of Newburgh* and *Prince of Liege* that have been moſt guilty in letting

ting the *French* have paſſage through, and quarter in their Countries; will have the firſt cauſe to repent, except they meane to ſell them to the Crowne of *France*; which yet may happily beat them downe in price, now they are ſo impoveriſhed by them. For though *Guliek* belonging to *Newburg* be ſtrong, the Caſtle eſpecially (which was the Patterne to that of *Antwerp*) yet it is on dry ground, eaſily approachable, and in a champaigne Country and not relievable from a ſiege. And if that ſmall City once be taken, all that pleaſant corne Country may cry out,

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has ſegetes!

And though *Liege* (or *Luyke*) be great and populous, and the deſperateſt people in all times, that I know in *Europe*; yet *vana eſt ſine viribus ira*, the City hath ſuch hills overhanging it, that it is neither ſtrong by its ſituation, nor can hope of relief if they ſhould be diſtreſſed, except it be by a confederacy from others; and if this ſingle City be loſt, all their Country will be ſo quickly.

Yea not onely thoſe on this ſide the *Rhijne*, but even all the reſt will quickly find, that if the wings of the *Roman Eagle* be clipt, and prove too ſhort to ſhaddow her young Ones; they will ſoone become a prey to the power of *France*, and will be throwne out of their neſts as ſpurious, if they cannot ſtedfaſtly behold the riſing ſun, and will not receive their warmth from his beames.

Spaine is ſenſible enough of their concernments, knowing that not onely their *Netherlands*, but their *Indies* and *Italy* lie at the ſtake: for if *France* be Maſter of all theſe *Provinces*, they will ſoone be ſo of the *Indies* allſo; and the *Dutch* fetch thence, the *Spaniſh* Gold for the *French Crowne*; and the *Lilies of France*, be the Royall flower, in all their Gardens both in *Italia* and *Sicilia*.

England, though now their Confederate, cannot but know what danger they are in for their Trade; which is the beſt jewel in that Crowne, and the greateſt darling of that Kingdome. And therefore it is high time ſurely, that the Soveraigne ſtraiten not his intereſt at home, by eſpouſing any particular party; nor the ſubjects quarrel about Ceremonies, when the ſubſtance of Religion is ſo endangered; that ſo they may timouſly looke abroad, before it be too late and all be loſt; and his Majeſty in due time retire from *France*, and make himſelf and ſucceſſors (as is much deſired) the Head of all the Proteſtant party in *Europe*.

Denmark ſurely knows, that if the *Empire* fall they cannot ſtand: but muſt loſe both their toll in the *Sound*, and what by Land the *French* pleaſes.

This *Republick* of all others is moſt immediately concerned, for he is blind that ſees not, whatever ſome may flatter themſelves, that the *French* intend nothing les then reducing of us to their obedience.

And when this is done, and they advance upwards in the Empire; what are *Stratsburg*, *Colen*, *Aken*, *Breme*, *Hamburg*, and the reſt of the *Hanſe Townes*,

Townes, and free Cities, but as ſo many morſels, eaſily eaten up and devoured?

Yea their conſtant friends and Allies may looke to themſelves.

Sweden how they will ſave their *Biſhoprick of Breme, Pomeren*, and what lies on this ſide the *Baltick*: and how they will ſell their Copper, which is the Staple commodity of their owne Countrey. And in ſtead of the *French* Crownes, which is now their uſuall money amongſt them; when that Kingdome hath no more neede of their ſervice; they may carry their owne Copper coyne on their backs to pay a collation, or laden a horſe when they travel, to pay for 2 or 3 good nights lodging.

Savoy knows he is at *France*'s mercy, and therefore dances after their pipe, endeavouring to ſave himſelfe by his devotion. But they may remember the Lamb in the Fable, who when the Wolf above quarreld him, becauſe he troubled the water; anſwered that could not be ſo, in regard it deſcended to him, not from him; the Wolf then ſaid, he had reviled him 6 months before, to which the Lamb replying, he was not then borne. But thy Father then did ſaith He, and that's cauſe enough for the ſons ſuffering.

For *Switzerland*, though their mountaines and Poverty may ſecure perhaps their Countrey: yet what ſhall ſecure their liberty, which conſiſts in an equality amongſt them? or what ſhall ſecure the Religion of the *Proteſtant Cantons*? or the good pay which the *Popiſh* have long had, for their ſervice in the Wars of *France*? They muſt then be content with what they can get, or be turned to graze on their owne mountaines.

And thus you ſee what neceſſity there is that the *French* be kept within bounds: and conſequently that the ballance of *Europe*, be both brought and held in a greater equality. For Intreſts changing continually with the revolution of times; and Kingdoms and Commonwealths, Cities and places, having their youth ſtrength and old age, as well as particular perſons: If leſſer Powers combine not together, they ſingly become like the ſmaller fiſhes, eaſily ſwallowed up and devoured by the greater. Thus the league between the King of *Naples*, Duke of *Millain* and *Florence* A. D. 1480. *Li* ſecured *Italy* againſt the power of the *Venetians*; and the Confederacy of the *Italians* at *Venice* in 95, preſerved them from being all rüind by the *French* under *Charles* the 8, who had in a ſmall time conquered ſeverall, and got the Kingdome of *Naples* he came for: as that wiſe Hiſtorian *Guicciardine* *Li* ſhews, in his excellent Hiſtorie of the Wars of *Italie*.

Nor let any thinke to obſtruct my paſſage with ſaying, *that Wars to bring downe the growing greatnes of others are unlawfull.*

For though very many both *Lawiers* and *Hiſtorians* are of the opinion *De* they are, as may be ſeene in *Gentilis*, and ſome *Divines* allſo, yea the whole *bel* Colledge of *Sorbon* gave their determination for this, and the *Learned Bacon* * *c.* ſaies plainely that the contrary opinion is not to be received, and many ** E* other moderne Authors concur heerein, beſides the many Precedents of *(o* States that have made preventive Wars, as the *Lacedemonians* againſt the *fi* *19*

I know mediation betwixt men in passion is a very thankles office; and that the freedome I have used, will both please and displease many sorts of men on all sides; but yet when mens passions are allayed, I doe not doubt but they will thinke better of the honest designes of the Author. And yet I have endeavoured to give as little offence as I could possibly to any; but if any notwithstanding count me their enimie, because I tell them the truth, I cannot helpe it: for I never accounted them worthy to write, that are byast with feare, or favour and flattery. Yea, I perswade my selfe, that there is not any ingenuous man, or brave Gentleman even of the *French* Nation, whose designes I cheifly oppose; but they will acknowledge it lawfull for an enimie, to fight them with a pen as well as a pike, and that I am a very civil Adversary, having both fairely fought them, and with their owne weapons, having made use of their Authors, and not ours, throughout my discourse.

I shall not now throw downe the gantlet and make a challenge, yet if any undertake to refute me concerning the interest of these Countries, which I thinke worthy answering, I shall not faile to doe it. As for my *Conjectures*, I both account and call them *probable*, and therfore being not positive and dogmaticall in them, I leave them with their Reasons to the Reader to judge. But if some passionate person thinks with railing at the *French*, *English*, or the Author hereof, and carping at some particulars to refute me; I shall tell them before hand I was never bred, to give any one ill language, and shall onely answer them with silence and contempt. Or if any well meaning scholler that hath read perhaps honest *Keckermans*, or some others learned *Systema Politicum*; I shall onely smile in my sleeve, having allwayes accounted Booke policy alone, mere pedantry; and allthough no man valew's learning more then my selfe, yet he must know men as well as bookes, and the world well, that will write of these things. Yet if any will bring Reasons of State, and clearely delivered, as I thinke I have done, and fairely ventilate my opinion, I shall promise him as faire an Answer, for *truth never feared a faire tryall.*

POSTSCRIPT.

IT is necessary that I tell you, this worke hath been long in the birth. I had drawne up my thoughts on this subject the last yeare, and sent my Papers into Holland *to print; but my honest friends unacquainted with the Artifice of Governement, to nourish hopes in the greatest dangers (Hope being the miserable mans God, as well as the presumptuous mans Devil) sent me word, of nothing but peace, yet kept my Papers through curiosity, till I was forced to send my servant for them. And having got them, and contracted with a Printer here, He was called out for a Soldier, and goe he must, and therefore the worke must stand. In the meane time two sorts of Papers came to mine hands,* The Appeale; *which, though his designe, in reference to* England, *be different from mine, yet in reference to* France, *being much the same, I let pas for the present; and the* Chancelor of Englands *speech, with his* Defenda est Carthago, *which whilst my Printer after his returne home is printing off this, I examined, according to the Rules of* Christian Charity, Common Equity, *and* State Policy; *but that being too large, I reserve it for an* Appendix. *In the meane time, though it be late before this comes forth (the Moneth of April 73.) yet I hope better late then never; and though no Printer will undertake it, because it is Paradoxical to the common opinion of Peace, yet I have put it into the publick Treasury for good, at my owne charge in both Languages; and though it cost me* 100 l. *and none consider me, or to use* Solomons *phrase,* Remember that poore man, *in any kind, not so much as to enquire after him, or returne him thanks; yet it shall not repent me for the good of both Nations, for which I intend it, and to whom I wish a happy peace, and all prosperity.*

FINIS.

ARTICLES
OF
PEACE,
Between the Moſt Serene and Mighty PRINCE
CHARLES II.
By the Grace of God, King of
England, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, &c.
AND
The High and Mighty LORDS,
THE
States General
OF THE
UNITED NETHERLANDS;
Concluded at *Weſtminſter* the $\frac{9}{19}$ day of
February, $167\frac{3}{4}$.

Publiſhed by His Majeſties Command.

LONDON,
Printed by the Aſſigns of *John Bill* and *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printers
to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty. $167\frac{3}{4}$.

3

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THE

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AND

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THE

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OF THE

UNITED NETHERLANDS;

Concluded at *Westminster* the $\frac{9}{19}$ day of *February*, $167\frac{3}{4}$.

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I.

IT is Concluded and Agreed, That from this Day there ſhall be a firm and inviolable Peace, Union, and Friendſhip betwixt His Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, and the High and Mighty Lords the States

General of the *United Provinces*, and betwixt all their Subjects, whether within *Europe* or without, in all Regions and Places whatsoever.

II.

That this good Union betwixt the above-said King and the said States General, may the sooner take its effect, it is by them Agreed and Concluded, That immediately upon the Publication of this Treaty of Peace, all Actions of Hostility shall on both Sides be immediately forbid, and no Commission, Instruction, or Order, privately or publickly, directly or indirectly, be on either Side given or countenanced, for the Infesting, Attaquing, Fighting, or Spoiling of each other, their Dominions or Subjects; but on the contrary, all peaceable and amicable Comportments enjoyned to the Subjects of both Nations.

III.

But in respect the Distances of Places are so

ſo different, that the Orders and Commands of the reſpective Sovereigns cannot at the ſame time reach all their Subjects, it hath been thought fit to appoint theſe following Limits for the committing any Acts of Hoſtility or Force upon each other: *viz.* That after the expiration of Twelve days next following the Publication of this Treaty, no Hoſtility ſhall be acted from the *Soundings* to the *Naz* in *Norway*; nor after the term of Six weeks, betwixt the *Soundings* and *Tanger*; nor after the term of Ten weeks, betwixt the ſaid *Tanger* and the *Æquator*, neither in the *Ocean*, *Mediterranean*, or elſewhere; nor after the Term of Eight moneths, in any Part of the World: And whatſoever Actions of Hoſtility and Force ſhall be committed after the expiration of the aforeſaid Terms, upon colour of whatſoever former Commiſsion, Letters of Mart, or the like, ſhall be deemed as Illegal, and the Actors obliged to make Reparation and Satisfaction, and puniſhed as Violators of the Publick Peace.

IV. That

IV.

That the aforesaid States General of t
United Provinces, in due acknowledgme
on their part of the King of *Great Britai*
Right to have His Flag respected in the Se
hereafter mentioned, shall and do Decl
and Agree, That whatever Ships or Vess
belonging to the said *United Provinces*, wh
ther Vessels of War or others, or whethe
single or in Fleets, shall meet in any of t
Seas from *Cape Finis terræ* to the Midd
Point of the *Land Van Staten* in *Norwa*
with any Ships or Vessels belonging to H
Majesty of *Great Britain*, whether those Shi
be single or in greater number, if they carr
His Majesty of *Great Britain*'s Flag or Jac
the aforesaid *Dutch* Vessels or Ships sha
strike their Flag and lower their Top-sail i
the same manner, and with as much Respe
as hath at any Time, or in any Place bee
formerly practised towards any Ships of H
Majesty of *Great Britain* or His Predecessors
by any Ships of the States General or thei
Predecessors.

V. Whereas

V.

Whereas the Colony of *Surinam*, and the Articles made upon the Surrender thereof, 1667. betwixt *William Biam*, then Governour thereof for His Majesty of *Great Britain*, and *Abraham Quirini* Commander for the States General, have in the Execution of them administred much occasion of Dispute, and contributed much to the late misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and the said States General, to remove all grounds of future mistakes, the said States General do by these Agree and Covenant with the said King of *Great Britain*, That not onely the fore-named Articles shall be Executed without any manner of tergiversation or equivocation; but that likewise it shall be free for His Majesty, to deputе one or more persons thither, to see the condition of His Subjects there, and to adjust with them a time for their departure; And that it shall be lawful for His Majesty to send one, two, or three Ships at the time, and thereon to embarque and carry

ry away the ſaid Subjects, their Goods a
Slaves; And that the then Governour the
for the States General, ſhall not make o
execute any Law, whereby the buying o
ſelling of Land, paying of Debts, or com
mutation of Goods, ſhall be otherwi
qualified to the *Engliſh*, then it hath
ſhall be to all other Inhabitants of the Co
lony; but that during their ſtay, the
ſhall enjoy the ſame Laws and Privileg
of ſuing for Debts, and paying their Deb
making Bargains and Contracts, as hath be
uſually practiſed amongſt the other Inhab
tants; And that whenſoever His Majeſty
Great Britain ſhall deſire of the States G
neral ſufficient and authentique Letters
the Governour of the ſaid Colony, to ſu
fer the ſaid *Engliſh* to depart, and perm
the coming of the ſaid Ships, the ſaid Sta
General ſhall within the ſpace of fifte
days after ſuch demand, deliver unto whom
ſoever Deputed by His Majeſty of Gr
Britain for that purpoſe, full and ſufficie
Letters and Inſtructions to their Gover
there, for permitting the arrival of the Ship

4

THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTENDOME AND The INTEREST of ENGLAND, With a Regard to FRANCE.

In a LETTER to a Friend.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. B.* for *H. Brome* at the Signe of the Gun at the West End of S. *Pauls*, 1677.

THE
Preſent State of Chriſtendome,
AND
The Intereſt of *England*, &c.

SIR,

YOu gave me a Brief, and a Pertinent Deduction the other day, of the *French Practices*, and *Deſigns* ; the Progreſſe of their *Arms*, and the *Methods* of their *Proceedings* : Together with a Scheme of the Inevitable Ruine, and ſlavery, that threatens *Europe*, without a ſpeedy, and a powerfull Conjunction, againſt them. After this General Contemplation of the preſent State of *Chriſtendome* ; you were pleaſed to take a particular Proſpect of the Intereſt of *this Nation* ; and how far we are to reckon our ſelves concerned in the Common Calamity : Coming at laſt, to this Concluſion, that *England cannot Reaſonably expect to ſtand long, after the Loſſe of Holland, and Flanders*. For the ſupport of this Opinion, (beſides the Force of your own Reaſoning) you referr'd me to ſeveral Hiſtorical, and Political Treatiſes upon the ſubject ; which I have diligently examin'd, and made Uſe of, in this following Diſcourſe : wherein I take the Freedom to give you my Thoughts upon the whole Matter.

Your

Your firſt Charge upon the *French*, was, *Breach of Faith* : and you pitch'd upon the Caſes of *Spain*, and *Portugal* ; the barbarous uſage of the Duke of *Lorain*; and the Nulling of the moſt *Chriſtian Queens Renuntiation* upon Marriage ; (which was the very foundation of the *Pyrenean Treaty*) by a *pretended Devolution of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in the Right of that Match* : Their underhand tampering of *Denmark*, and *Swede*, to draw the One *from* us, and hinder the Other from joyning *with* us ; the Influence they had upon our Diſgrace at *Chatham* ; Their playing Booty on both ſides, betwixt *England*, and *Holland*, in the *Dutch-war* : And to theſe Inſtances, (which are all ſo notorious that they need no expounding) you might have added a thouſand more of the like Quality. But theſe may ſuffice for a ſeaſonable, and a Neceſſary Caution, and without the Helps of Aggravation, and Clamour ; Eſpecially that Extraordinary Action of deſtroying the *Queens Renunciation*, and then invading the *Spaniſh Netherlands* upon it : An Action, hardly to be paralell'd in the Story of the whole World, for a Concurrence of ſo many Enormous Circumſtances. There was in it, *the Publique Faith of the two Crowns* ; which is the only Security of Government, and the Bond of Humane Society : There was in it *the Solemnity of an Oath at the very Altar* ; which is the moſt Sacred Tye of a *Chriſtian* : There was alſo *the higheſt Profeſſion, and Aſſurance of Friendſhip imaginable* ; which is accompted one of the moſt Binding Obligations betwixt Man and Man : And then there was *a Brother, a Couſin, and an Infant*

fame, in the Caſe ; which makes it Matter of Humanity, and Honour. And yet all theſe Cords were as eaſily broken as Bulruſhes. This ſingle Preſident may ſerve, however, for a warning to all Princes, and States, not to leave themſelves at the mercy of men of ſuch Principles. But *His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is not the only Prince that has been abuſed by Corrupt, and Ambitious Miniſters.*

Your next Obſervation was, that they are *the greateſt Intermeddlers in the World, in other peoples Affairs* ; that *they embroyl all whereever they come* ; and that *there's hardly any Rebellion, but they are in the Bottom of it.* For their Mony walks in all the Courts, and Councils of Chriſtendomes ; nay, and beyond it too ; For 'tis ſaid, that the laſt *Grand Viſir* was their Pentioner. Was it not *France*, that debauch'd *Scotland* firſt ; and afterwards, *England*, into the Late Rebellion? Nay, did they not ſtand ſtill, and look on, to ſee the Crowning of the work which they themſelves began, in the Execrable Murther of the Late King ? And did they not refuſe to our Gracious and perſecuted Sovereign that now is, even a Retreat in their Dominions ? How did they prolong the War in *Portugal* ? What Havock have they made in *Poland*, and what work in *Hungary* ? And are they not at this day, in Counſel with the *Port* againſt the *Empire* ; and Undermining the *Bullwark* of *Chriſtendome* ? How have they daſh'd *England* againſt *Holland* ; blinded the Eyes of ſeveral Princes of the *Empire* ; and baffled all Mediations toward a General Peace ? Did they not formerly, under the Colour of Protecting *Germa-*

ny,

ny, cut off *Alſatia* from the *Empire*? And in a word; this has been their Practice whereſoever they have come: *They Covet Harbours in Spain*, (ſays the Admirable *Baron del' Iſola*) *Leagues in the Empire*; *Factions in* Poland; *Wars in* England, *and* Holland; *Paſſes into* Italy; *and the Sovereign Arbitrage every where. Their Quiet conſiſts in the Trouble of all others, and their Advantage is in the Publique Calamities.* Nor have they any other way, then by dividing, and weakening of the Parts, to maſter the whole, which is the Capital deſigne. And if ſo, *There's no Fence againſt a Common Enemy, but a Common Union.*

It is already made appear, by what is above ſaid, how dangerous they are to *Mankinde*. The next hint you gave me, was to conſider on't, *whether the* Engliſh *may reaſonably expect any better Quarter from them, then* other People: in which point, I ſhall only lay the Matter before you, and leave you the judge on't.

The *Four main Intereſts* of a Nation, are, *Religion*, *Reputation*, *Peace*, and *Trade*. For the firſt of theſe, we ſhall neither fare the better, nor the worſe: but loſe juſt as much for being of *Another Communion*, as his *Catholique Majeſty* gets by being of the *ſame*. The Queſtion now on Foot is a Communion of *State*, not of *Faith*. The *Alcoran*, and the *Goſpel* go hand in hand; and at the ſame time, the *Proteſtants* are *protected* in *Hungary* and *perſecuted* in *France*. To ſay nothing of the Encouragements they give there to the *Janſeniſts*, which

may

may, for ought we know, prove the greateſt Blow to the Church of *Rome* that ever it received ſince the Reformation. But what do I talk of *Religion*, in a Cauſe that is dipp'd in *Chriſtian Blood*, and in the *Tears of Widows, and Orphans* ? A *Cauſe that is* propagated by *Sacrilege, Rapes, Depopulation, Slavery, Oppreſſion; and at leaſt a Million of Lives ſacrificed to it already?* The very thought of it is enough to ſtrike the Soul of any man with horrour and Indignation.

If you would ſee now how tenderly they have handled us in the Buſineſs of *Reputation*: Pray do but caſt an Eye upon the Character of an *Engliſh man* in their *Politique de France.*

Quant à ce qui eſt des Anglois, ils n'ont aucuns amis, ce ſont des gens ſans Foy, ſans Religion, ſans Probitè, ſans Juſtice aucune, defians, legers au dernier point, Cruels, Impatiens, gourmands, ſuperbes, audacieux, avares, propres pour les coups de main, et pour une prompte execution, mais incapables de conduire une Guerre avec jugement. Leur Pais eſt aſſez bon pour vivre, mais il n'eſt pas aſſez riche pour leur fournir les moyens de ſortir, et de faire aucune conqueſte : auſſi n'ont ils jamais rien conquis, excepte L'Irlande, dont les habitans ſont foibles, et mauvais Soldats, &c. i. e. *As for the Engliſh, they are a People without Friends, without Faith, Religion, Honeſty, or Juſtice; Diſtruſtful, and fickle to the higheſt degree imaginable: Cruel, Impatient, Gluttonous, Proud, Audacious; they will do well enough for a Rubber at Cuffs, or a ſudden Exploit, but they underſtand nothing at all of the Government of a War. The Country is paſſable enough for them to live in; but not*

Rich enough to offer at any Conqueſt abroad; nor did they ever make any, but upon the Iriſh, *which are a weakly people, and Ill Souldiers.*

I think it were not amiſs in this Place, to deſire our Impertinent Undertaker to turn back to the Hiſtory of *Philip de Valois*, and he ſhall there finde that our *Edward the third* made a ſhift with one Army to beat 60000 *French*, and leave betwixt thirty, and forty thouſand of them upon the Place; and with another Army in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to defeat as many *Scots*, and cut off fifteen thouſand of them too. And it muſt not here be omitted, that this *Scotch* Army was alſo animated by *French Counſels*. I would not willingly run out a Letter into a Volume, ſo that all other Reflections apart, I ſhall only add, that if the *Engliſh* had not once *recovered* the Field, and another time made it *good* in two of the greateſt Actions of late that have yet paſſed betwixt the *Imperialiſts*, and the *French*, 'tis the Opinion of wiſe men, that the latter would not have had much to brag of upon the ſucceſs of this War. And this in ſome degree is acknowledg'd by the Authour of a *French Relation of the Actions betwixt the two Armies* in 1675, 1676, and 1677, (How Romantical ſoever in other Caſes). Speaking of the Battle under the command of the *Count de Lorge*, after the Death of the *Vicount Turenne*, theſe are his words. *Et à rendre juſtice aux* Anglois, *et aux* Irlandois, *on peut dire, qu'on leur doit une bonne partie de cette victoire*; That is to ſay, *And to give the Engliſh, and Iriſh their due,* France *is indebted to them in a large meaſure for this Victory.* But now to our Polititian

again.

again. *Ils ſe haiſſent les uns, les autres, et ſont en diviſion continuelle, ſoit pour la Religion, ſoit pour le Gouvernement.* The Engliſh, ſays he, *hate oneanother, and are ſtill quarrelling, either about Religion, or Government.*

Theſe Indecencies would almoſt make a man call them Names; but let us paſſe without one Angry word, from the Intereſt of our *Reputation*, to that of our *Peace*. And enquire how they ſtand affected to us upon that point. To ſay, that *England* has not for a long time had any troubles either at home, or abroad, which the *French* have not either promoted, or improv'd to their own Advantage; is to ſay no more then that they deal with *Us*, as they do with *all the World beſide*; So that we muſt e'en have Recourſe again to their *Politiques* for ſome particular Mark of their Favour, where you ſhall finde that our State-Mountebank has not yet ſhown all his Tricks, but puts himſelf with a very grave and fore-caſting Countenance upon the very Project of our Ruine. *Une Guerre de France de trois, ou quatre ans contre eux les ruinera entierement, ainſi il ſemble qu' il ne faut point faire de paix avec eux qui à des Conditions qui nous ſoient tres avantageuſes. A War* (ſays he) *of three or four years with* France, *would abſolutely deſtroy the* Engliſh; *ſo that methinks we ſhould not entertain any Peace with them, but upon very profitable Terms.* And then a little after. *In fine*, ſays he, *the way to undo the* Engliſh, *is to make them keep an Army on foot; and there's no fear of their Landing in* France, *but to their Certain deſtruction, unleſs they ſhould be invited by a Rebellion;*

bellion ; without which, their Troops will in a ſhort time moſt undoubtedly fall foul one upon another. To keep them upon Continual Expence , 'tis but giving them the Alarm upon the Iſles of Jerſey, *and* Gernſey, Wight, *and* Man, Ireland, *and the* Cinque-Ports ; *by which means, they will be put upon the Charge of Fortifications and Garriſons, which will perſwade the People that the King intends to ſet up a ſtanding Army, and an Arbitrary Government. So long as this holds, the Nation will never be at quiet, but torment themſelves with fears, and Fealouſyes, which may be eaſily fomented by letters in Cipher, to ſuch or ſuch particular Perſons ; and in ſuch ſort to be intercepted as ſhall be found Convenient Theſe Letters may give a Hint of a Deſcent in* Ireland, *and elſewhere, which would diſpoſe the Iriſh, who mortally hate the Engliſh, to a Revolt ; and among the ſuſpicious Multitude they would* paſſe *for Goſpell. This Contrivance would make the Scots alſo to bethink themſelves of recovering their Liberty ; where there muſt be Partyes made, and the ſects encourag'd one againſt another ; eſpecially the Roman Catholiques, muſt be fairly handi'd, and private Aſſurance given (in the Name of the King of* England) *to the* Benedictins, *(who are eaſy enough, to be impos'd upon) that they ſhall be reſtor'd to all their former Benefits, according to the Printed Monaſticon ; which will preſently make the Roman Catholiques declare themſelves ; and the Monks will move Heaven, and Earth for the bringing of Matters about : But then Care muſt be taken to carry on the Report that the King is of the Romiſh Religion ; which will diſtract the Government, and throw all into an abſolute Confuſion.*

From

From hence we may gather; first, what Opinion the French have of us: Secondly, that it is not only their desire, and study, but a formed design to embroyl us. Thirdly, that they will stick at Nothing neither, to compasse that end; be it never so foul: Fourthly, this Libeller has trac'd us out the very Methods of their working: As by amusing the People with forged Letters of Intelligence, where the first Authour of the Plot must miraculously discover it: By filling the Peoples heads with fears and Jealousyes, and leaving no stone unturn'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to stir up a Rebellion: by making use of the Kings Name in pretended Commissions to *Papists*, in favour of their Religion, and artificially insinuating that his Majesty is of that Perswasion, to make him odious to his Subjects; by first puting the King upon the Necessity of an Army, for the securing of his Dominions; and then interpreting the Effect of that Necessity, for an attempt upon the Liberty of his People. Why has he not advis'd the Poisoning of all our Fountains too? which would have been a Course of as much Christianity, and Honour. But that this Trifle may not glorify himself too much in his wondrous Speculations, take Notice, that he is only the Transcriber, not the Authour of this goodly Piece, for the Original was betwixt *Richelieu*; and *Mazarine*; and it amounts to no more in effect, then an imperfect History of the *French* Dealings with us for a long time, and particularly in our Late Troubles.

To

To come now from his moſt Unmannerly Malice, to his Reaſon of State, If I am not miſtaken, England *might longer ſubſiſt in a War with* France, *then* France *could in a Peace within it ſelf* (the heavyeſt of all Judgments, when a Nation muſt be wicked upon Neceſſity :) And again; when he ſays that England *cannot hurt* France *by a Deſcent, unleſs call'd in by a Rebellion*; he never conſiders that if England *had an Army a foot, and ſtood inclin'd to make uſe of it that way, we ſhould not be long without an Invitation.* For we ſee What the *Bourdelois*, &c. did upon their own Bottome, and without any forreign Encouragement; and the whole Buſyneſs miſcarry'd only for want of a vigorous Second. Laſtly; give me leave to ſay that he has extremely overſhot himſelf in one thing more; for though this has been really the Practice of the *French*, and is at this day the very Modell and Rule by which their Emiſſaryes govern themſelves; it ſhould yet have been kept as the greateſt ſecret in the World: for the owning of theſe Inglorious Artifices in Publique, makes it one of the Groſſeſt Libells that ever was written, againſt the *French Government*: to ſay nothing of his overſight in diſobliging the *Roman Catholiques*, and laying ſnares to Trepan them.

A word now from their *Counſels*, and *Inſtructions* to their *Inſtruments*, which will be beſt known by the Conformity of their Behaviour to the mode of their French Maſters; and it is no matter to us, in what ſhape they appear, nor is it much to themſelves; who are any thing for Profit, and the very

Materia

Materia Prima, is not ſuſceptible of more Forms. *Do the* French *put Tricks upon us with forged Letters*? So do they. *Do the* French *labour to poyſon the People with Apprehenſions that their Liberties are in danger, and their Religion*; *and that the King himſelf is Popiſhly affected*? So do they. *Do the* French *endeavour to create miſunderſtandings betwixt the King, and his People*? So do they. *Do the* French *Blow the Coal in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and when they have ſet all in a flame, roſte their own Eggs at the fire*? So do they. *Do the* French *change their Party with their Intereſts*? So do they. What can be plainer now then that the French Intereſt beats in the Pulſe of theſe Incendiaries. And what can be more ridiculous then to be foold over and over by the ſame hand? But this is enough to lay open the ſource of our miſeries.

The queſtion of *Trade* has been ſo beaten already, that there remains Little to be added to it. Nor in truth needs it, ſince it is agreed at all hands, that the *French* ſet up for an *Univerſal Commerce* as well as for an *Univerſal Monarchy*. And in effect, the One is but a neceſſary conſequent upon the other. Nor is it enough, it ſeems, for us to be deſign'd upon by them, without lending them our own hands towards the Cutting of our own Throats: *For upon a ſober and ſuditious Eſtimate, we are Loſers by our Trade with* France, *at leaſt a Million, and a half per Annum.* I ſhall conclude this Head with one Paſſage more out of our *Politiques of France*. (and you'l ſay 'tis a pleaſant one too, but it muſt be under the Roſe) Upon a Preſuppoſal of miſchief that's

a Brewing in *England*, *Now* ſays he, *it will be our Buſineſs to renew an Allyance with* Holland; *we can wheedle them into an Opinion, that they are the only men that underſtand the knack of Trade, ſo that they ſhall have that to themſelves, the Talent of the* French, *alas! lies another way, and there's no forcing of any thing againſt Nature: and that now's their nick of time, to truſh their Competitours for the Northern Seas.* So that we are all of us to be ſerved with the ſame ſauce; but 'tis ſome degree of Honeſty yet, when they tell the world what they are to truſt to.

Now to ſumme up all that's ſaid. If the *French* can diſpence with *Oaths*, and *Solemn Contracts*; If it be their *Cuſtome*, and a branch of their *Policy*, *to fiſh in troubl'd waters*; If they *hate* us, as *Engliſh men*, and are not *for* us, as *Reformed Catholiques*; If they do all they can to wound us, in our *Reputation*, our *Peace*, and our *Trade*; we may take for granted that they will deſtroy us to all purpoſes if they can, which Naturally leads me to an Enquiry how far we are in their Power; or likely ſo to be; that we may take our meaſures accordingly.

It will not ſtand with the Brevity I propoſe in this Paper to give you a *Geographical*, or an *Hiſtorical* Accompt of *Places*, or *Actions*, But in as few words as I can, I am to preſent you with a general view of the preſent State of *Chriſtendome*, with a Regard to the Power of *France*; and then to conſider how far *England* may come to be concern'd in the *Common Fate*. Here it was that you and I brake off in our laſt Diſcourſe; So that in the Proſecution of it, I muſt try to walk without

Leading,

Leading; (saving only the helps that I have gather'd from certain Tracts which I have read upon his Recommendation) wherein I shall steer a middle Course, betwixt some that *overvalue* the strength of *France*, and others that will have it to be *lesse* then indeed it is.

That the Armes of *France* are at this day formidable to all *Christendome*, is not to be deny'd, and *Tacitus* gives you the Reason of it, in the Case of the *Romans*, and the *Brittains*. *Rarus* (says he) *ad propulsandum Commune Periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, Universi vincuntur. There must be a Common Force to oppose a Common danger; they struggl'd one by one, till they were all destroy'd.* The *French* (no doubt of it,) are a *wealthy*, a *Populous* and *a Military Nation.* But it must yet be allow'd that they are more indebted for their Greatnesse, to the *slips* and *oversights* of *others*, (And this without disparagement too) then they are to *their proper Conduct*, and *Valour.* The Advance they made into *Flanders* in 1667. was introduced by the *Spaniards* trusting to their Assurances of Friendship, and rather imputable to an Excesse of Charity then any want of Precaution; though it seem'd not very likely that they should march with horse, Foot, and Cannon, only to go a Birding. Through these and the like Arts they have rais'd themselves to that dangerous height where now we behold them; taking all Advantages of the unsettled Condition of *Spain*; the divisions of the *Empire*, the Factions in *Holland*, and of all other mistakes in point of fore-sight, and

Reſolution elſewhere. You know very well, the Conqueſts they have made upon the *United Provinces*, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; a Conſiderable part of *Germany*, with the *Terrour*, and *devaſtation* that accompanies them every where: The Progreſſe of their Armes in *Catalonia*, *Sicily*, *the Weſt Indies*, &c. Now what may be the Conſequences of this over-growing Power, and how to prevent them, is the matter in Queſtion.

A Short View of the Preſent State of Chriſtendom.

AS it is without diſpute, that the *French* Aim at *Univerſal Dominion*, (which is only a more plauſible Cover for that *Univerſal Slavery* which muſt create it) ſo is it accompted as indubitable a Principle, that the Conqueſt of *Flanders* muſt be the *Foundation* of it. And according to this Maxim it is, that they take their Meaſures ; for they have made themſelves Maſters of the Outworks already, in *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Omer* ; three places of very great ſtrength, and importance : And it is generally believ'd by the recalling of their Troops from the *Rhine*, and bending the flower of their Force that way, that they will puſh for the reſt this Campania. If they carry it, (as probably they will, without the ſpeedy addition of ſome Powerfull Alliance) take Notice I beſeech you of that which Naturally follows. In the *firſt* place, the Charge and the Hazard of that War is over, which in Garriſons, and in the Field, has put his *moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* to the Expence of keeping near 100 000 Men in Pay : (which will then be at liberty to fall in upon the Empire.) Beſide, what has been expended in *Management*, as the *French* call it, which in *honeſt Engliſh is down-right Corruption*. Secondly, This Acquiſition

will furniſh the *French* King with men, and moneys, for an Army of *fifty thouſand men*, (and no better Souldiers in *Europe*). *Thirdly*, what will become of the Duke of *Brandenburg*, if the *French* ſhall fall into *Cleves*, and *Mark*, with a matter of *forty*, or *fifty thouſand men* more; and from thence into *Pomeren*, and *Pruſsia*? *Fourthly*, the whole Patrimony of the *Empire*, from the *Rhine* to the Frontiers of *France*, fall by an inevitable Conſequence into the hands of the *French*; as they have already ſwallow'd the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Taul*, and *Verdun*. So that the *Imperial Army* will be forc'd over the *Rhine*, and there probably kept in Play, and upon the bare *defenſive*, by the Troops of *Bavaria*, and other Princes of the *French Intereſt*; while in the mean time, the Princes of *Weſtphalia* will be reduc'd to an abſolute neceſſity of ranging themſelves under the *French* Protection, and Changing their party. And what can be then expected from *Holland*, after what they have ſuffer'd already, and under their preſent deſpairs, but to content themſelves with ſuch Conditions as *France* will give them. For after the Loſſe of *Cleves*, and *Flanders*, their Caſe is wholly deſperate, unleſs *England* ſhould vigorously interpoſe to their Relief. And the State of the *Empire* is neither better nor worſe then that of their Neighbours; for they muſt all ſubmit their Necks to the ſame Yoak. When Matters are brought to this Paſſe, they have before them, *England*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; the Cloud is gather'd already, and it is wholly at their Choyce where it ſhall break.

There

There are a great many people, I know, that promise themselves mighty things from the Event of another *Campania*, for want I fear of Consulting the Chart; and the almost Insuperable difficultyes that lye in the way; The means they propose, are either by carrying the War into *France*, by way of *Revulsion*, or by forcing the French upon a *Capitall Battel*; The former Proposition seems *first* very impracticable; and *Secondly*, of little or no advantage, if it could be effected. It must be consider'd that beyond *Mentz*, *Coblents*, and *Treves*, the *Imperialists* have no Magazine at all beside that betwixt *Treves* and *France* (a part of *Luxemburg* excepted) is absolutely in the Enemies Power. Now how should an Army subsist there, that must over and above, passe through a Country of about twenty Leagues, that is wholly layd waste, and in Ashes, and without any Cattle in it, or any other sort of Necessary provision?

Put the Case now that the *Imperialists* should break through all these difficulties, and carry an Army even into *Lorain* it self, The Country of *Metzin*, or *Burgundy*, (which would take them up the best part of a Summer too) all the strongholds are in the hands of the *French*, and the Country laid so desolate, that there's no living for an Army there. When 'tis come to this, they must resolve either upon a *Battle*, or a *Siege*. If the former; The *French* are at liberty whether they will fight, or no, and there's no compelling of them; for they are among their strongholds; and all's

their

their own both behinde them, and on Each Side, and the Country either burnt, or deſerted. But carry it farther yet, and ſuppoſe the *French* forc'd upon the Riſque of a *Battle*. *Firſt*, The *Imperialiſts* are not ſure to get the better of it. And *Secondly*, What if they ſhould? Nay to the degree of an Entire Victory? All that would be expected more for that year, would be only to take in ſome Conſiderable Poſt, and make good the ground they had gotten, for the next Campaign: For it would be a madneſs to purſue their Victory into the heart of an Enemies Countrey, and leave ſo many ſtrong Garriſons upon their Backs, which would undoubtedly cut off all their Convoys, and Starve them.

But this is ſtill the ſuppoſing of a Thing not to be ſuppoſed; for the *French* in this Caſe, would ſtand upon the Defenſive, and not to come to a *Battle*. Or in Caſe they ſhould; and be worſted; they have men enough in Garriſon for Recruits, that would immediately reinforce them.

Now on the other ſide, what if the *Imperialiſts* ſhould chance to be routed? The Garriſons which the *French* hold in *Lorain*, *Burgundy*, and *Alſatia*, would, in ſuch a Caſe, totally deſtroy that broken Army, and cut out ſuch work in *Germany*, as has not been known in the *Empire* for many Ages.

In this Extremity, let us ſuppoſe that the *Empire* ſhould yet bring another Army into the Field; and try the Iſſue of a Second *Battle*. and miſcarry: And that the Duke of *Bavaria*, with other diſaffected Princes of the *Empire*, ſhould declare themſelves for the Enemy; all that part of *Germany* that

that lyes within two, or three days journey of the *Rhine*, would be irrecoverably loſt; a great part of it being ſo harraſed already, that 'tis not able ſo much as to furniſh an Army upon a March, much leſſe for a Winter quarter.

Now to the Buſineſs of a *Seige*, the *French* have taught us, by *Philipsburg*, and *Maſtricht*, that they want neither Skill to Fortify a Place, nor Courage to defend it. So that without a great loſſe of Time, and Men, it cannot be expected that the *Imperialiſts* ſhould make themſelves Maſters of any conſiderable place, And when they ſhall have carry'd it; what will a Town in *Lorrain*, or *Burgundy*, ſignify to the ſaving of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which, if once loſt, are hardly ever to be retriv'd?

Now taking this for granted; if *England* does not ſtep in with all the ſpeed and vigour imaginable, ſee what will be the end on't, *Firſt*; That the *French*, being Maſters of all the *Poſts Paſſes* and ſtrong-holds in *Lorain*, and *Burgundy*, may dodg, and trifle the *Imperialiſts* at pleaſure; and make them ſpend out the Year without any Advantage to the *Netherlands*. The way would have been for the *Imperialiſts* to have preſt with an Army of 50000 men directly into the body of *France*, and the *Confederate* Troops in the *Low Countryes*, to have made another Inrode by the way of *Picardy*, or *Bologne*; but ſince the taking of *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and St. *Omer*, there's no poſſibility of piercing *France* that way. So that a very ſmall Army now upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, with the help of the *French* Garriſons, is ſufficient to amuſe, and

tire

tire out the whole force of *Spain*, and *Holland*, upon that Quarter.

Secondly, *France* being thus secur'd on that side will unquestionably fall in with all their Power upon the *Empire*; unless diverted by the Aid they have now receiv'd from *England*. Now admitting this to be the Condition of *France*, let any man of sense judge, what good the *Imperial* Army can do to the *Netherlands*, upon which single point depends the Fortune of *Christendom*? What if they should march up to the Borders of *France* with 50000 men? will not the *French* encounter them there with as many, or more? And with this odds too, that the *Imperialists* suffer a thousand Incommodities in their March, through a ruin'd Country: whereas the *French* have good Quarters, and plenty of all things at hand; watching the Others motions, and improving all Advantages against them.

Thirdly, In this posture of Affairs, the Confederates must never expect to do any great Matter upon the *French*, in these Provinces, unless they do very much out-Number them.

And it is likewise to be considered, that the troubles falling out in the Minority of *his Catholique Majesty*, the distractions of that Government, the Revolt of *Sicily*, and great disorders upon the Frontiers of *Spain*; the *Netherlands* have been much neglected, till the Elevation of his Highness *Juan of Austria* to the dignity of *Prime Minister*. And that it is not possible for him, by reason of the many Exigences of that Crown nearer home,

to

to send any Considerable succour to the *Low Countrys*, otherwise then by supplies of Money : So that by that time the *Imperialists*, and the *Hollanders* are got into their Winter-Quarters, or at least, before they take the Field again, the *French* from time to time will be ready with Fresh Troops out of their Garrisons to prosecute their Conquests; which by degrees must needs break the hearts of the Poor Inhabitants, when they finde that neither their Faith, nor their Courage, is able any longer to protect them. And when that day comes; what by their Armies, and what by other Influences, the *French* will have as good as Subjected *two thirds of Europe*. And there will also occur these farther difficulties. *First*, no body knows where the *French* will begin their Attaque; which will oblige the *Spaniard*, and *Hollander*, to strengthen all their Garrisons as far as their men will reach. *Secondly*, when the *Spanish*, and *Holland* Troops shall be so dispers'd, whersoever the *French* sit down, they must give themselves for lost, for want of an Army to relieve them; beside their furious, and Obstinate manner of Assault, for they care not how many men they lose, so they carry the place. (And then most of the men too are made prisoners of War.) Nor is the season of the year any discouragement to them neither; witnesse their first Irruption into *Burgundy*, and the restlesse Activity of their Troops even at this Instant.

So soon as their Work in *Flanders* is over, (which only *England*, under Heaven, is able to

Prevent a Check) the *French* will have an Army of at leaſt 50000 men about *Lorain*, *Luxembourg*, and *Burgundy* to face the *Imperialiſts*, and at the ſame time with as many more perhaps they will ſeize upon the Dutchy of *Juliers*, and of *Cleves*, and from thence paſſe the *Rhine*, to countenance thoſe that are of the *French Caball*, on the ſide of *Weſtphalia*; and ſo in due time, ſeveral other Princes of the *Empire*. It is remarkable that in a three-years war againſt the *Confederates*, his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* has not only ſtood his ground, without loſing ſo much as one Inch of his Ancient Patrimony, but actually and almoſt without oppoſition, taken ſeveral Towns, and ſome entire Provinces, from the Principalls of the *Confederacy*; And made himſelf almoſt as Conſiderable at *Sea*, as he is at *Land*; Not only in the *Mediterranean*, and upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and *Italy*, but in *America* too: where he has laid a Foundation of great miſchief both to *England*, and *Holland*, in the point of *Commerce*; if not timely prevented. And he does little leſſe by his *money* than by his *Armes*; for he pays all; ſupports the *Swede*, and with *French money*, under pretext of *Neutrality*, maintains conſiderable Armies in the very heart of the *Empire*; which 'tis feared, will be ready enough upon any diſaſter, to joyn with the *Common Enemy*. It is the *French* Court that manages the Counſells of *Poland*, and they govern the *Swiſſe* no leſs; who, by the Conqueſt of the *Franche County* are made little better then ſlaves. And yet by a fatall, and Beſotted blindneſs *that Republique* ſtill furniſhes the *French* with the beſt of

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their Soldiers, and helps forward the destruction of *Europe*, never dreaming that they themselves are to be undone too at last.

But it is no great matter, you'l say, to impose upon the *Swisse* (which are a heavy, and a Phlegmatique people) but the *French* charms have bewitcht even *Italy* it self; though a Nation the most Clear-sighted, and suspicious of all others. For their *Republiques* lye as quiet, as if they were asleep; though the Fire is already kindled in *Sicily*, and the danger brought home to their own doors. It is a wonder, that they lay things no more to heart, considering, *first*, the Passages that the *French* have to favour their Entry. *Secondly*, that they are many, and small States; weak, and easily to be corrupted, if not so already. *Thirdly*, That though they have been formerly very brave, and many Particulars remain so still, yet in the generality, they are soft, and Effeminate. And *Fourthly*, That the *French* is there the Master of the Seas. These Reflections methinks might convince any man of the Condition they are in. And certainly they that were not able to defend themselves against *Charles the Eight*, will be much lesse able to encounter *Lewis the 14th*: Or if he gets in, to drive him out again, as they did the Other. For they must do it wholly upon their own Strength, having only the *Turk* in Condition to help them. For *Germany*, and *Spain*, are sunk already; And the *Swisse* will neither dare to venture upon't, nor are they able to do it if they had a minde to't.

As for *Spain*, it is neither Populous, nor for-

tify'd, and perhaps want of Proviſions may keep it from an Invaſion. And yet for all that, with a Body of Thirty, or forty thouſand Men by the way of *Fontaraby*, and as many by *Catalonia*, the *French* may (if they pleaſe) in two *Campania's* make themſelves Maſters of *Navarre* & *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Valentia*: and then it is but fortifying the Frontiers, and making *his Catholique Majeſty* a Tributary in *Caſtile*; Who muſt content himſelf to take what they pleaſe to give him, over and above, in Conſideration of his Dominions in *Italy*, and the *Spaniſh Indyes*: *A Poſſibility, that* England, *and* Holland *ſhall do well to think of: For when he has the* Mines *in his Power, and* Europe *under his Feet, there will be no contending.*

After this, they have only the *Swiſſe*, or the *Engliſh*, to fall upon next: For the *Former*, they are neither fortify'd, nor United, in Affections, or Religion.

As for *England*; They are a People not naturally addicted to the *French*; Senſible of their honour, and of their Intereſt; and the whole world is convinced of their Courage. They are United under the Government of a Gracious Prince; and their Concerns are at this Inſtant lodged in the hands of the Moſt Loyall, and Publique-ſpirited Repreſentatives that ever acted in that Station; beſide the ſtrength of the Iſland by Scituation: So that the *French* would finde it a hard matter, either to make a Conqueſt here, or, if they ſhould ſurprize it, to keep it. But yet they have finer ways to victory then

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by forbe of Arms; and their *Gold* has done them better ſervice then their *Iron*.

What have we now to do then, but in a Common Cauſe, to arm againſt a Common Oppreſſion. This is the Time, or never, for *Italy* to enter into a League for their Common ſafety, and not only to keep, but, if poſſible, to force the *French* from their Borders; while the *Imperial* Army holds the Capital Power of *France* in Play?

And this is the time too, for the *Swiſſe* to recall all their Troops out of the *French* ſervice, and to Strike a general League alſo for the Recovery of *Burgundy*, the only Outwork of their Libertyes, and to expell the *French* Garriſons, and deliver the places into the hands of the Right Owners.

And will it not concern *Poland*, as much as any of the reſt; that ſtands, or falls with the *Empire*, as the Defence of *Chriſtendome* againſt the *Turks*, and whoſe own Turn is next?

This Alarm methinks ſhould call off the Princes from the Acquiſitions they have made upon part of the *Swedes* Poſſeſſions in the *Empire*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and make all the *French Mercenaries* in the *Empire* to bethink themſelves of returning from the deluſions which either the *French Artifice* or *Money* has impoſed upon them. He that has no regard for the *Head*, will have leſſe for the *Dependences*, when he has them at his Mercy.

Nay the very *French* themſelves ſhould do well to contemplate the ſlavery that is now prepar'd for them.

them. Their Laws and Liberties are trampled upon; and *till the* French *Government be reduc'd to the Bounds of its Ancient Conſtitution, neither the People, nor their Neighbours, can ever be ſecure.*

In this dangerous *Criſis* of Affairs, it has pleas'd Divine Providence to leave *England* the Arbitreſſe of the Fate of *Europe*; and to annex ſuch advantages to the Office, that the *Honour*, the *Duty*, and the *Security* of this Nation ſeem to be wrapt up together. In the Point of *Honour*, what can be more Generous, then to ſuccour the Miſerable and the Oppreſs'd, and to put a ſtop to that Torrent that threatens *Chriſtendome* with an Univerſall Deluge! Beſide the Vindication of our ſelves for thoſe Affronts, and Indignities, both Publique, and private, that we have ſuffer'd upon our own Accompt. And then in matter of *Duty*; It is not only *Chriſtendom*, but *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, that lyes at ſtake. For, in the Ruine of the *Empire*, the *Turks* work is done to his hand, by breaking down the only Fence that has preſerv'd us all this while from the Incurſions of the *Ottoman* Power. Now as nothing can be more Glorious, then at all hazzards, to hinder the Effuſion of more *Chriſtian blond*, and to ſave *Chriſtendome* it ſelf from Bondage; It is ſo much our *Intereſt* too, that we our ſelves are Loſt without it. And as the Obligation is Reciprocal, ſo the Reſolution is Neceſſary: The choyce we have before us being only This, *Either to Unite with our Neighbours, for a Common ſafety; or to ſtand ſtill and look on, the tame Spectatours of their Ruine, till we fall alone.* This

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is so Demonstrative, that if we do not by a powerfull Allyance, and diversion, prevent the Conquest of *Flanders* (which lyes already a Gasping) we are cut off from all Communication with the Rest of *Europe*; and coop'd up *at home*, to the Irrecoverable Losse of our Reputation, and Commerce; for *Holland* must inevitably follow the Fate of *Flanders*, and then the *French* are Masters of the Sea; Ravage our Plantations; and infallibly possess themselves of the *Spanish Indyes*, and leave Us answerable for all those Calamityes that shall ensue upon it: which as yet, by God's providence, may be timely prevented. But *he that stills the Raging of the Sea will undoubtedly set Bounds to this Overflowing Greatnesse*; having now, (as an Earnest of that Mercy) put it into the hearts of our Superiours to provide seasonably for the Common safety, and in proportion also to the Exigence of the Affayr; knowing very well, that things of this Nature are not be done by Halves.

We have to do with a Nation of a Large Territory; abounding in Men, and Mony; and their Dominion is grown so Absolute, that no man there can call any thing his own, if the Court says Nay to't. So that the sober, and Industrious Partare only slaves to the Lusts, and Ambition of the Military. In this Condition of Servitude, they feel already what their Neighbours fear, and wish as well to any Opportunity, either of avoyding, or of Casting off the Yoak: which will easily be given by a Conjunction of *England*, and *Holland*, at Sea: and almost infallibly produce these Effects. *First*; It will draw off the Navall Force

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of *France* from *Sicily*, *America*, and elsewhere, to attend this Expedition. *Secondly*; The Diversion will be an Ease to the *Empire*, and the *Confederates*, from whence more Troops must be drawn to encounter this Difficulty, then the *French* can well spare. *Thirdly*; It will not only encourage those Princes, and States that are already engag'd, but likewise keep in Awe those that are disaffected, and Confirm those that waver.

'Tis true, this War must needs be *prodigiously expensive*; but then in Probability it will be *Short*; And in Cases of this Quality, people must do as in a Storm at Sea, rather throw part of the Lading over-board, then Founder the Vessel. I do not speak This, as supposing any Difficulty in the Case, for the very contemplation of it has put fire into the veins of every true *Englishman*; and they are mov'd, as by a sacred Impulse, to the Necessary, and the only means of their Preservation. And that which Crowns our Hopes, is, that these Generous Inclinations are only ready to Execute what the wisdome of their Superiours shall finde Reasonable to Command. I need not tell you how *Jealous* the People of *England* are of their *Religion*, and *Liberyes*; to what degree they have contended, even for the shadow of these Interests; nor how much bloud, and Treasure they have spent upon the Quarrel. Could an Imposture work so much; and can any man imagine that they will be now less sensible, when they see before their eyes a manifest Plot upon their Religion; their Liberties invaded; their Traffique interrupted; the *Honour*, and the very *Being* of their *Country* at stake; their Wives and Children expos'd to *Beggary* and *Scorn*; and in Conclusion, *The Priviledges of a* Free-born Englishman *Exchang'd for the Vassalage of* France?

FINIS.

House of 5

A

True Extract

Out of the

Commons Journal:

OF

The moſt Principal Proceedings of that Honourable HOUSE, in this laſt SHORT MEETING; In order to the Preſervation of the KING and KINGDOM

From

The GROWTH of POPERY,

And alſo

For Reducing the Growing Greatneſs of FRANCE.

Printed in the Year 1678.

A True Extract Out of the Commons Journal: &c.

Monday, *the* 29*th. of* April, 1678, *these following Reasons were agreed to be used at a* Conference *with the* LORDS, *concerning the* Dangers *the* Nation *is in by the* Growth of Popery.

THE *House* of *Commons* taking into serious Consideration the *Dangers* arising to this *Kingdom* from the restless Endeavours of *Priests* and *Jesuites*, and other *Popish Recusants*, to subvert the *True Religion* planted amongst us, and to reduce us again under the Bondage of *Roman Superstition* and *Idolatry*, and finding how great boldness they have assumed to themselves from the great remissness and connivance of his *Majesty's Officers* and *Ministers* of *Justice*, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, whereby so many good and necessary Laws, heretofore made against them, have not, of late times, been put in any Effectual Execution:

They do therefore think it requisite to apply some Remedy to this growing Evil, especially at this time wherein the *Unity* of Affections and the mutual Confidence between his Majesty and his People, doth so much conduce to the Preservation of the whole Kingdom. And because they have found by Experience that all those Applycations they have formerly made upon this Subject, have not produced any Effects answerable to their Expectations, they have endeavoured to discover the Causes and Grounds thereof, which they conceive are principally these.

 1. The

1. The difficulty of convincing a *Romiſh Prieſt* by proving their Ordinations by Authority derived from the *Sea* of *Rome*, which makes them more confident to appear in Publick, and perform their Offices and Functions without fear of puniſhment.

2. That Juſtices of the Peace are diſcouraged, becauſe ſeveral of thoſe that have been forward in executing the Laws againſt *Papiſts*, in ſuch Countries where they do moſt abound, have been turned out of Commiſſion, without any apparent Cauſe, whilſt others who have been *Popiſhly* inclined, have been continued in Commiſſion, or, put in *de Novo*.

3. That in ſeveral Countries many *Proteſtant Diſcenters* have been Indicted under the Notion of *Popiſh Recuſants*, and the Penalties of the Laws levyed upon ſuch *Proteſtant Diſcenters*, when the *Papiſts* there have been either totally, or for the moſt part diſcharged.

4. That the *Papiſts* do evade the Penalties of the Laws, by making over their Eſtates by ſecret Truſts and fraudulent Conveyances, yet receiving the Profits of them to their own Uſe and Benefit, whereas in former times conſiderable Sums of Money were raiſed by the Forfitures of *Popiſh Recuſants*; That now, by the Remiſſneſs of ſome and Diſcouragements of others of his Majeſties Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice, little or nothing is levied upon them, or likely to be levyed hereafter, unleſs the care thereof be committed to perſons Commiſſionated in the ſeveral Countries, and the Money ariſing thereof applyed to ſome Publick Uſe, for the Advancement of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which may encourage perſons to ſee it Executed.

5. That Perſons are not diſcouraged to bring up their Children, or ſuffer them to be bred up in the *Popiſh Religion*, becauſe they are as capable of Inheriting the Eſtates of their Parents or Relations, as any other of his Majeſties Subjects.

The *Commons* do therefere moſt earneſtly deſire your *Lordſhips* to conſider the Danger and ſad Conſequences that may befall this *Kingdom* by the *Spreading* of that *Religion* amongſt us, and ſeriouſly and cordially to joyn with them in removing theſe and all other Impediments which obſtruct the Courſe of *Juſtice* and the due *Execution* of the *Laws*, either by Expediting thoſe *Remedies*, which have been offered by *them* to your *Lordſhips*, or by propoſing ſuch *others* as may be more *Effectual*, and that this may be done with all *Expedition*, becauſe the *Commons* cannot think it *ſuitable to their Truſt* for them to *conſent* to lay *any further Charge upon the People, how urgent ſoever the Occaſions may be that require it, till their minds be ſatisfied that all Care and Dilligence is uſed to ſecure the Kingdom, and prevent*

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Dangers that may ariſe from the prevalency and countenance that is given to that Party, by ſome more effectual Courſe than hath been provided.

Examinatur per me, *Will. Goldesbrough*, Cler. Dom. Com.

Saturday, May the 4th. 1678, The *Houſe* of *Commons* paſſed theſe *Votes* following.

Reſolved, That the *League* Offenſive and Defenſive with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, with the *Articles* thereunto, are not purſuant to the *Adreſſes* of this *Houſe*, nor conſiſtent with *the Good* and *Safety of the Kingdom.*

Reſolved, That it is the *Opinion* of this *Houſe*, that his Majeſty be humbly Adviſed and Deſired forthwith to enter into the preſent *Alliances* and *Confederations* with the *Emperor*, *King of Spain*, and *States General* of the *United Provinces* for the *Vigorous* carrying on of a *War* againſt the *French*, and for the Good and Safety of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms. Particularly that all Endeavours be uſed for continuing the *States General* of the *United Provinces* in the ſaid *Confederacy*, and that it be agreed by all the ſaid Parties Confederated, to prohibit all *Trade* between the Subjects, Countries and Dominions of the *French King*; That no *Commodities* of *France* or Dominions of the *French King* be *Imported* into their Countries from any place *whatſoever*. And alſo that all other Endeavours be uſed to Invite all other *Princes* and *States* into the ſaid *Confederation*; And that no *Truce* or *Peace* be made with the *French King* by his Majeſty, or any of the Confederates without the common conſent of *All* the ſaid Parties.

This *Seaſonable Advice* being by Order of the Houſe preſented to his Majeſty that Evening, produced this Anſwer following on *Monday* Morning.

Charles R.

HIS *Majeſty having been acquainted with the Votes of this* Houſe *of the 4th. inſtant, was very much ſurprized both with the* Matter *and* Form *of* them: *But if his Majeſty had had* Exceptions *to neither, yet his Majeſty having asked the* Advice *of both* Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, *till he hath a concurrent Advice from both Houſes.*

Given at the Court at White-Hall, *the 6th. day of* May, 1676.

This

This *Anſwer* having been ſeriouſly debated by the *Houſe of Commons*, they Reſolved upon this following *Addreſs*, which on the 11th. day of *May*, 1678 was preſented to his Majeſty in the *Banqueting Houſe* by the *Speaker*, attended with *a Full Houſe*.

The Addreſs.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Humble and Loyal Subjects, the *Commons* in this preſent *Parliament* Aſſembled, do in all Duty and Thankfulneſs humbly acknowledge Your Majeſties great Grace and Favour in demanding our Advice upon the *State* of Your Majeſties *Affaires* in this preſent Juncture, wherein Your Majeſtes Honour, and the *Safety* of this *Kingdom* is ſo nearly concerned; according to which demand of Your Majeſty, we did immediately enter upon Conſideration of what was imparted to us by Your Majeſties Order; and after ſerious examination and weighing of the Matter, we did reſolve upon an Advice, which becauſe of the urgency of Affairs and the Expedition they required, we did preſent in that Form that was not uſual in a Matter of ſo great Importance, and which we then directed our Committee to excuſe to Your Majeſty, upon that conſideration, and becauſe we apprehend the Dangers were ſo eminent that the delay of the leaſt time might be of great prejudice to your Majeſties Service, and the Safety of your Kingdom, after ſo much time already loſt, we thought it neceſſary to apply immediately to Your Majeſty by *Our ſelves*, which in a matter of this nature, is wholly in the Choice of this *Houſe*, and hath been frequently practiſed by us.

And becauſe theſe Occaſions are ſo preſſing upon Your Majeſty, *and the whole Kingdom deeply ſenſible thereof*, We moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty to communicate to us the Reſolutions Your Majeſty hath taken upon our ſaid Advice, that thereby thoſe *Eminent Dangers* may be timely prevented.

And whereas the *Commons* conceive the preſent *Inconveniencies* and *Dangers* under which the Kingdom now lies, might either totally or in a great meaſure have been prevented, if Your Majeſty had *accepted of that Advice*, which in all humility and faithfullneſs we preſented to Your Majeſty on the 26*th.* of *May* laſt, and which we reiterated to Your Majeſty of the 31*th.* of *January* enſuing. The *Refuſing of which Advice, and diſmiſſing of the Parliament in* May *laſt, was the occaſion of thoſe ill Conſequences which have ſince ſucceeded both at home and abroad*: All which hath ariſen from thoſe miſ-repreſentations of our Proceedings, which have been ſuggeſted to your Majeſty by ſome

particular

particular Perſons in a *Clandeſtine way*, without the participation and advice (as we conceive) of Your *Council-Board*, as though we had Invaded your Majeſties Prerogative of making Peace or War; Whereas we did only offer our *humble Advice in matters wherein the Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, which is a Right was never yet queſtioned in the times of your Royal Predeceſſors, and without which Your Majeſty can never be ſafe.* Upon which Grounds your Majeſty was induced to give us ſuch Anſwers to theſe two Addreſſes, *Rejecting our Advice*, whereby your Majeſties good Subjects have been infinitely diſcouraged, and the *State* of your Majeſties *Affaires, reduced to a moſt deplorable condition.* We do therefore moſt humbly deſire, That for the good and ſafety of this Kingdom, and for the ſatisfaction of your Subjects, your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to *Remove thoſe Councellours which adviſed the Anſwers to our Addreſſes of the 26th of* May, *and* 31*ſt. of* January, *or either of them.*

And we do further moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, favourably to accept this our humble Petition and Adreſs, as proceeding from *Hearts entirely devoted to your Majeſties Service*, and that as we have never *yet* failed of giving teſtimony of our Affection and Loyalty to your *Majeſties Perſon and Government*, ſo your Majeſty may reſt confidently aſſured we ſhall never be wanting to Support your Majeſties *Greatneſs and Intereſt, whilſt your Majeſty relies upon our Counſel, which can have no other End than what ſincerely tends thereunto*, notwithſtanding any *ſiniſter* or *ſelf-intereſted endeavours to make Impreſſions on your Majeſty to the contrary.*

And we do further deſire your Majeſty that the Duke of Lauther-dale *may be removed from your Preſence and Councils.*

This is a True Coppy taken out of the *Journal* by *William Gouldsbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.*

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed immediately to return this Anſwer.

This Addreſs *is ſo* Extravagant *that I am not willing ſpeedily to give it the* Anſwer it Deſerves.

FINIS.

THE TREATY OF PEACE,

CALLED THE

Pyrenæan Treaty,

Between the CROWNS of

FRANCE and *SPAIN*.

Concluded and Signed

By his Eminency Cardinal *Mazarin*

AND

Dom *Lewis Mendez de Haro*,

Plenipotentiaries of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholick

MAJESTIES,

The Seventh of *November*, 1659.

Printed in Paris *by His Majeſties Command, and now faithfully rendred* Engliſh.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. Collins. J. Wright, T. Sawbridge*, and *M. Pitt*, 1678.

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The Treaty of Peace between the Crowns of France *and* Spain, *concluded and ſigned by his Eminency Cardinal* Mazarin, *and* Dom Lewis Mendez de Haro, *Plenipotentiaries of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholick Majeſties, in the Iſle called of the* Pheaſants, *in the River of* Bidaſſoa, *upon the Confines of the* Pyrenæan *Mountains, the ſeventh of* November, 1659.

LEWIS BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND OF NAVARRA, To all thoſe who ſhall ſee the preſent Letters, Greeting: Whereas, by vertue of the Powers reſpectively given by us, and the moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Potent Prince the Catholick King of *Spain*, our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved good Brother and Uncle, unto our moſt Dear and moſt Beloved Coſen the Cardinal *Mazarin*; and to the Lord *Don Lewis Mendez de Haro* and *Guſman*, they have in the Iſle called of the *Pheaſants*, in the River of *Bidaſſoa*, upon the Confines of both the Kingdoms, towards the *Pyrenaan* Mountains, the Seventh of the inſtant month of *November*, concluded, agreed and ſigned the Treaty of Peace and Reconciliation, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE CREATOR. To all preſent and to come, Be it known; That whereas a long and bloody War, hath many years ſince cauſed great miſeries and oppreſſions to be ſuffered by the People, Kingdoms, Countries, and Dominions under the obedience of the moſt High, moſt Excellent, and moſt Potent Prince *Lewis* the XIV, by the Grace of God, moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarra*; and of *Philip* the IV, by the Grace of God Catholick King of *Spain*: In which War, other Princes and Republicks, their Neighbours and Allyes having alſo taken part, many Towns and Countries of both the parties have been expoſed to great evils, miſeries, ruines, and deſolations. And although at other times, and by ſeveral ways, diverſe Overtures and Negociations for an accommodation, have been made; yet none of them, through the myſterious ſecrets of the Divine Providence,

could take the effect moſt earneſtly deſired by their Majeſties, until at length that ſupreme God who hath in his hand the hearts of Kings, and hath particulary reſerved to himſelf alone, the precious Gift of Peace, hath had the goodneſs, through his infinite Mercy, to inſpire at the ſame time, both the Kings, and ſo to guide and direct them, that without any other interpoſition or motives, but the only ſenſe of compaſſion they have had of the ſufferings of their Good ſubjects, and of a Fatherly deſire of their good and relief, and of the Peace of the whole Chriſtendom, they have found the means how to put an end to ſo great and long calamities, to forget and extinguiſh the cauſes and the ſeeds of their diviſions, and to ſettle to the glory of God, and the exaltation of our holy Catholick Faith, a good, ſincere, entire aud laſting Peace and Fraternity between them and their Succeſſors, their Allyes and Dependants; By means whereof the dammages and miſeries ſuffered, might quickly be repaired in all parts, Which to attain unto, both the ſaid Lords and Kings having given order unto the moſt eminent Lord *Meſſire Fulas Mazarin*, Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Duke of *Mayenne*, Head of the moſt Chriſtian Kings Councils, &c. and unto that moſt excellent Lord, the Lord *Dom Lewis Mendez de Haro* and *Guſman*, Marquis of *Carpier*, Earl-Duke of *Olivares*, perpetual Governour of the Royal Palaces, and of the Arcenal or Magazine of the City of *Sevella*, great Chancellor perpetual of the *India*'s, one of his *Catholick* Majeſties Council of State, great Commander of the order of *Alcantara*, Gentleman of his Majeſties Chamber, and Gentleman of his Horſe, theſe two firſt and principal Miniſters, to meet upon the Confines of both the Kingdoms, towards the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, as being the two perſons who are beſt informed of their holy intentions, of their Intereſts, and of the moſt intimate ſecrets of their hearts; and conſequently the moſt able to find out the neceſſary expedients to end their differences; and to that end having given unto them moſt large Powers, the Copies whereof are inſerted at the end of theſe preſents, both the aforeſaid principal Miniſters, by vertue of their ſaid powers, acknowledged on both ſides, to be ſufficient, have granted, eſtabliſhed, and concluded the following Articles.

I. *FIRST*; it is concluded and agreed, that for the future, there ſhall be a good, firm and laſting Peace, confederation and perpetual alliance and amity between the moſt Chriſtian and Catholick Kings, their Children borne and to be born, their Childrens Succeſſors, and Heirs; their Kingdoms, Dominions, Countries and Subjects, who ſhall love one another as good Brethren, procuring with all their power the mutual good, honor and reputation one of the other, and ſhuning *bona fide*, as much as in them ſhall lye, the damage one of the other.

II. In conſequence of that good re-union, the Ceſſation of all manner of Hoſtility, concluded and ſigned the eight day of *May* of this preſent year, ſhall continue according to its tenor, between the ſaid Lords and Kings, their Subjects, Vaſſals, and Adherents, both by Sea and other Waters, and by Land; and generally in all places, where the War hath been hitherto between their Majeſties. And if any new thing, or ways of Fact ſhould hereafter be attempted by the Arms, or in any manner whatſoever, under the name of the Authority of either of the ſaid Lords and Kings, to the prejudice of the other, the dammages ſhall be preſently repaired, and things put again in the ſame ſtate, as they were in upon the eighth day of *May* aforeſaid,

aforeſaid, when the ſaid ſuſpenſion of Arms was agreed on and ſubſcribed, the tenor whereof ought to be obſerved until the publication of the Peace.

III. And for hindering leſt the differences, that might hereafter happen betwixt any Princes or Potentates in Alliance with the ſaid Lords and Kings, be able to alter the good correſpondency and amity between their Majeſties, which every one of them is deſirous to make ſo ſure and laſting, that no accident may diſturb the ſame, it hath been concluded and agreed, that in caſe hereafter any difference ſhould ariſe betwixt their Allies, which might carry them to an open breach between themſelves, neither of the ſaid Lords and Kings ſhall aſſault or diſturb by his Arms, the Ally of the other; or ſhall give an aſſiſtance, publick or private, againſt the ſaid Ally, without firſt, and afore all things, treating in the Court of the other King, by his Ambaſſador, or ſome other particular perſon, about the occaſion of the ſaid difference, hindring as much as in them ſhall lye, and by their authority, the taking up of Arms betwixt their ſaid Allies; until either by the judgment of both the Kings, if their Allies will yield to their deciſion, or by their interpoſition and authority, they might have endeavoured an amicable compoſure of the ſaid difference, ſo that every one of their Allies be ſatisfied with it; ſhunning on both ſides, the taking up of Auxiliary Arms. After which, if the Authority of both the Kings or their Offices and interpoſition, cannot produce the accommodation, and the Allies do at laſt take the way of Arms, every one of the ſaid Lords and Kings ſhall be free to aſſiſt his Allie with his Forces, without incurring thereby any breach betwixt their Majeſties, or any alteration of their Amity: Each of the two Kings even promiſing in that caſe, that he will not ſuffer that his Arms, nor the Arms of his Allie ſhould enter into any of the Dominions of the other King, there to commit any hoſtility; but that the quarrel ſhall be ended within the limits of the Dominion or Dominions of the Allies, that ſhall fight together; ſo that no warlike action, or any other done in that conformity, ſhall be deemed a breach of this preſent Treaty of Peace.

As likewiſe, whenſoever any Prince or State in Alliance with either of the ſaid Lords and Kings, ſhall be directly or indirectly aſſaulted by the Forces of the other King, in what he ſhall hold and be poſſeſſed of at the ſubſcribing of the preſent Treaty, or what he ought to poſſeſs in conſequence of it, it ſhall be lawful to the other King, to help or aſſiſt the aſſaulted Prince or State; and yet whatſoever ſhall be done in conformity to the preſent Article, by the Auxiliary Forces, whilſt they ſhall be in the ſervice of the aſſaulted Prince or State, ſhall not be deemed a breach of the preſent Treaty. And in caſe it ſhould happen that either of the two Lords and Kings ſhould be firſt aſſaulted, in what he now is poſſeſſed of, or ought to poſſeſs by virtue of the preſent Treaty, by any other Prince or State whatſoever, or by many Princes and States in League together, the other King ſhall not join his Forces to the ſaid aſſaulting Prince or State, though otherwiſe his Ally, nor to the ſaid League of the likewiſe aſſaulting Princes or States, as aforeſaid, nor ſhall give to the ſaid Prince and State, or to the ſaid League, any aſſiſtance of Men, Money or Victuals, nor paſſage or retreat in his Dominions, to their Perſons or Forces.

As for the Kingdoms, Princes and States, that are now in War with either of the ſaid Lords and Kings, and could not be comprehended in the preſent Treaty of Peace; or that having been comprehended therein, would not accept of it, it hath been concluded and agreed, that the other King ſhall not have power, after the publication of the ſaid Treaty, to give them, directly or indirectly, any manner of aſſiſtance, of Men, Victuals or Money; much leſs to the Subjects that might hereafter riſe or revolt againſt either of the ſaid Lords and Kings.

IV. All occaſions of ennuity or miſunderſtanding, ſhall remain extinguiſhed and for ever aboliſhed: and whatſoever hath been done, or hath hapned, upon occaſion of the preſent Wars, or during the ſame, ſhall be put into perpetual oblivion: ſo that for the future, of neither ſide, neither directly nor indirectly, ſhall any inquiry be made for the ſame, by Juſtice, or otherwiſe, under any pretence whatſoever: nor ſhall their Majeſties, or their Subjects, Servants, or Adherents, of either ſide, ſhew any manner of remembrance of any offences or damages ſuffered during the War.

V. By means of this Peace and ſtrict amity the Subjects of both ſides, whatſoever, ſhall have liberty, they obſerving the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, to go to and fro, to dwell, trade and return into one anothers Country, Merchandiſing or as they ſhall think beſt, both by Land and by Sea, or any other Freſh-waters, to treat and trade together: and the Subjects of the one ſhall be maintained and protected in the others Countreys, as their own Subjects, paying reaſonably the Duties in all accuſtomed places, and ſuch others, as by their Majeſties and their Succeſſors ſhall be impoſed.

VI. The Towns, Subjects, Merchants, and Inhabitants of the Kingdoms, Dominions, Provinces, and Countreys belonging to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall enjoy the ſame Priviledges, Franchiſes, Liberties, and Sureties, in the Kingdom of *Spain*, and other Kingdoms and Dominions belonging to the Catholick King, as the *Engliſh* have by right enjoyed, by the laſt Treaties made between the two Crowns of *Spain* and *England*; and no greater Duties or Impoſitions ſhall be exacted of the *French* and other of the moſt Chriſtian Kings Subjects, either in *Spain*, or any where elſe, within the Lands or other places of the Catholick Kings obedience, than have been paid by the *Engliſh* before the breach, or than are paid at this time, by the Inhabitants of the United Provinces of the *Neatherlands*, or any other ſtrangers that ſhall be there the more favourably intreated. The ſame ſhall be done, within the whole extent of the obedience of the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, unto all the Subjects of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, of what Country or Nation ſoever they be.

VII. In conſequence of this, if the *French*, or any other of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties Subjects, are found in the ſaid Kingdoms of *Spain*, or upon the Coaſts thereof, to have ſhipped, or cauſed to be ſhipped upon their Veſſels, in what manner ſoever it may be, any prohibited goods, to tranſport them out of the ſaid Kingdoms, the penalty ſhall not extend further than hath been heretofore practiſed, in ſuch caſes, towards the *Engliſh*; or than it is, at this time practiſed towards the *Hollanders*, in conſequence of the Treaties made with *England* or the United Provinces: and all Inquiries or Proceſſes hitherto made, about the ſame, ſhall remain null and be extinguiſhed. The ſame ſhall be obſerved towards the Towns, Subjects and Inhabi-

tants

tants of the Kingdoms and Islands belonging to the said Lord the Catholick King, who shall enjoy the same priviledges, Franchises, and Liberties, throughout all the Dominions of the said Lord the most Christian King.

VIII. All the French and other Subjects of the said Lord, the most Christian King, shall have liberty, freely and without any hindrance, to transport out of the said Kingdoms and Countries of the said Lord, the Catholick King, the proceed of the sale by them made of Corn within the said Kingdoms and Countries, after the same manner as they wonted to do afore the War: And the same shall be observed in *France* towards the Subjects of the said Lord, the Catholick King.

IX. Of neither side, shall the Merchants, Masters of Ships, Pilots, or Mariners, nor their Ships, Merchandises, Commodities or other Goods to them belonging, be arrested or seised on, either by vertue of any general or particular Mandate, or for any cause whatsoever of War, or otherwise; nor even under pretence of using them for the preservation and defence of the Country: And generally, nothing shall be taken from the Subjects of the said Lords and Kings, within the Lands of the obedience of the other, but with the consent of those to whom such things shall belong, and paying ready money what shall be desired of them. Yet it is not understood that therein should be comprehended such Seisures and Arrests of Justice, by the ordinary ways, because of Debts, Obligations, and valid Contracts of those, upon whom such Seisures shall be made; whereunto it shall be proceeded, as it is wonted, according to Right and Reason,

X. All the Subjects of the most Christian King, shall, with all security and liberty, sail and trade in all the Kingdoms, Countries and dominions, that are or shall be at peace, amity, or neutrality with *France*, (except *Portugal* only, with their Conquests and adjacent Countrys, whereof it is otherwise disposed by an Article of the present Treaty) and shall not be troubled or molested in that Liberty, by the Ships, Galleys, Frigots, Barks, or any other Sea-Buildings, belonging to the Catholick King, or any of his Subjects, because of the Hostilities that are or might be hereafter between the said Lord the Catholick King, and the aforesaid Kingdoms, Countries, and Dominions, or any of them, that are or shall be at Peace, Amity or Neutrality with *France*: Provided, that the exception made of *Portugal*, in this and following Articles, concerning the Commerce, shall only be in force, during the time the said *Portugal* shall remain in the condition it is at present: And that if it should happen that the said *Portugal* should be reduced under the obedience of his Catholick Majesty, the same should be then observed; as to the Commerce in the said Kingdom of *Portugal*, in regard of the *French*, as in other Dominions now possessed by his said Catholick Majesty, according to the contents of the present and following Articles.

XI. That transportation and that Traffick shall extend to all kinds of Merchandizes and Commodities, which were wonted freely and securely to be transported into the said Kingdoms, Countries and Dominions, afore they were in war with *Spain*: Provided yet, that during the said War, the most Christian Kings Subjects shall abstain from carrying thither any Merchandizes of the growth of the Catholick Kings Dominions, such as may be serviceable against him and his Dominions; much less shall they carry thither any Contrabanda-Goods.

XII.

XII. By that kind of Contrebanda-Goods, are only underſtood all ſorts of Fire-Arms, and all things belonging to them; as Canons Muſquets, Mortar-pieces, Petards, Bombes, Granadoes, Saucidges, Pitchd-circles, Carriages, Forks, Bandaliers, Gunpowder, Cords, Saltpeter, Bullets, Pikes, Swords, Caskes, Headpeices, Cuiraſſes, Halberts, Javalins, Horſes, Saddels for Horſes, Holſters for Piſtols, Belts, or any other Warlike Furnitures.

XIII. In that kind of Contrebanda-Goods, ſhall not be comprehended Wheat, Corn, or other Granes, Pulſe, Oyles, Wines, Salt, nor generally any thing belonging to the nouriſhment and ſuſtentation of life; But they ſhall remain free, as all other Merchandizes and Commodities, not comprehended in the aforegoing Article, And the tranſportation of them ſhall be free, even to places in enmity with the Crown of *Spain*, except *Portugal* as aforeſaid, and the Towns and places beſieged, blockt up, or ſurrounded.

XIV. For the execution of the Premiſes, it hath been agreed, that it ſhall be done in the manner following, *viz.* That the Ships and Barks, with the Merchandizes belonging to the Subjects of the Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, being come into any Haven of the Lord Catholick King, where they uſed to come and trade before the preſent War, and being willing from thence, to paſs unto the Ports belonging to the ſaid Enemies, they ſhall only be bound to ſhew to the Officers of the Spaniſh Port, or of any other of the ſaid Lord and Kings Dominions, from whence they are to go, their Paſſes, containing the ſpecification of the lading of their Ships, atteſted and marked with the ordinary hand and ſeal, and acknowledged by the Officers of the Admiralty of the places from whence they came firſt, with the declaration of the place, for which they are bound; the whole in the ordinary and accuſtomed Form. After which exhibiting of their Paſſes, in the form aforeſaid, they ſhall not be diſturbed or moleſted, detained nor retarded in their Voyages, under any pretence whatſoever.

XV. The ſame ſhall be done, as to the French Ships and Barques that ſhall go into any Roads of the Catholick Kings Dominion, where they uſed to trade before the preſent War, and ſhall be unwilling to enter into the Harbours, or being entred there, yet will not unlade or break Bulk; who ſhall not be obliged to give any account of their Lading, but only in caſe of ſuſpicion, that they are carrying any contrebanda-Goods unto the Enemies of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, as aforeſaid.

XVI. And in the ſaid caſe of apparent ſuſpicion, the ſaid Subjects of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall be obliged to ſhow in the Ports, their Paſſes, in the form above ſpecified.

XVII. But if they be entered into the Roads, or be met in open Sea by any of the ſaid Lord the Catholick Kings ſhips, or by private Men of War of his Subjects; the Spaniſh Ships, to avoid all kind of diſorder, ſhall not come nearer to the *French*, than the reach of the Canon, and ſhall have power to ſend their Cock-boat or Shallop abord the ſaid French Ships or Barques, and cauſe two or three of their men only to go into them, to whom ſhall the Paſſes be ſhewed by the Maſter or Patron of the French Ship, in the form aforeſaid, according unto the Form that ſhall be inſerted at the end of the Treaty: whereby it might appear, not only of their Lading, but alſo of the

place of their abode and residence, and of the name both of the Master and Patron, and of the ship it self: That by those two means, it may be known whether they carry any prohibited goods: and that it may sufficiently appear, both of the quality of the said ship, and of its Master and Patron; unto which Passes and Sea Letters, full Faith and Credit shall be given. And to the end their validity might be the better known, and that they might not in any wise be falsified and counterfeited, there shall be given in, certain marks and subscriptions of both the said Lords and Kings.

XVIII. And in case there be found in the said French vessels and barques by the means aforesaid, any Merchandizes and Commodities, before declared to be prohibited and contrebanda, the same shall be unladen, denounced and confiscated before the Judges of the Admiralty of *Spain*, or any other competent Judges; yet for all that, neither the Ship and Barque, nor any other of the lawful and permitted goods, Merchandizes and Commodities found therein, shall in any wise be seised on or confiscated.

XIX. It hath further been agreed and concluded, that whatsoever shall be found to have been laden by the Subjects of his most christian Majesty, aboard any ships belonging to the Enemies of the said Lord and Catholick King, although not contrebanda goods, shal be confiscated, together with all that shall be found in the said ship, without any exception or reservation: But, on the other side, whatsoever shall be found in the ships belonging to the Subjects of the most Christian King, shall be free and freed, although the lading, or part thereof should belong to the Enemies of the said Lord the Catholick King, except the prohibited goods; in regard whereof they shall carry themselves according to what hath been disposed in the aforegoing Articles.

XX. All the Subjects of the said Lord the Catholick King, shall mutually enjoy the same Rights, Liberties and Immunities in their trade and commerce, within the Ports, Roads, Seas and Dominions of his most Christian Majesty. And what hath been aboveſaid, that the Subjects of the said Lord, the most Christian King, shall enjoy in his Catholick Majesties Ports, or in open Sea, ought to be understood, that the equality shall be mutual, in all manner, on both sides; even in case hereafter the said Lord the Catholick King, should happen to be at peace, amity and neutrality with any Kings, Princes and States, that should become the Enemies of the said Lord the most Christian King; each of both the parties being mutually to use the same conditions and restrictions expressed in the Articles of the present Treaty, concerning the Trade and Commerce.

XXI. In case of either side there happens any contravention to the said Articles, touching the Commerce, by the Officers of the Admiralty of either of the two Lords and Kings, or any other person whatsoever, the complaint thereof being addressed by the interessed Parties, unto their Majesties themselves or their Councils for the Navy, their said Majesties shall presently cause the damage to be repaired, and all things to be executed in the manner aforesaid. And in case, in progress of times, any frauds or inconveniences should be discovered touching the said Commerce and Navigation, nor sufficiently provided against by the aforesaid Articles, new ones shall be added thereto, of such other precautions, as shall be thought convenient on both parts: The present Treaty remaining yet, in the mean while, in its force and vigor.

XXII. All Goods and Merchandises arrested in either of the Kingdoms,

XII. By that kind of Contrebanda-Goods, are only underſtood all ſorts of Fire-Arms, and all things belonging to them; as Canons Muſquets, Mortar-pieces, Petards, Bombes, Granadoes, Saucidges, Pitchd-circles, Carriages, Forks, Bandaliers, Gunpowder, Cords, Saltpeter, Bullets, Pikes, Swords, Caskes, Headpeices, Cuiraſſes, Halberts, Javalins, Horſes, Saddels for Horſes, Holſters for Piſtols, Belts, or any other Warlike Furnitures.

XIII. In that kind of Contrebanda-Goods, ſhall not be comprehended, Wheat, Corn, or other Granes, Pulſe, Oyles, Wines, Salt, nor generally any thing belonging to the nouriſhment and ſuſtentation of life; But they ſhall remain free, as all other Merchandizes and Commodities, not comprehended in the aforegoing Article, And the tranſportation of them ſhall be free, even to places in enmity with the Crown of *Spain*, except *Portugal* as aforeſaid, and the Towns and places beſieged, blockt up, or ſurrounded.

XIV. For the execution of the Premiſes, it hath been agreed, that it ſhall be done in the manner following, *viz.* That the Ships and Barks, with the Merchandizes belonging to the Subjects of the Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, being come into any Haven of the Lord Catholick King, where they uſed to come and trade before the preſent War, and being willing from thence, to paſs unto the Ports belonging to the ſaid Enemies, they ſhall only be bound to ſhew to the Officers of the Spaniſh Port, or of any other of the ſaid Lord and Kings Dominions, from whence they are to go, their Paſſes, containing the ſpecification of the lading of their Ships, atteſted and marked with the ordinary hand and ſeal, and acknowledged by the Officers of the Admiralty of the places from whence they came firſt, with the declaration of the place, for which they are bound; the whole in the ordinary and accuſtomed Form. After which exhibiting of their Paſſes, in the form aforeſaid, they ſhall not be diſturbed or moleſted, detained nor retarded in their Voyages, under any pretence whatſoever.

XV. The ſame ſhall be done, as to the French Ships and Barques that ſhall go into any Roads of the Catholick Kings Dominion, where they uſed to trade before the preſent War, and ſhall be unwilling to enter into the Harbours, or being entred there, yet will not unlade or break Bulk; who ſhall not be obliged to give any account of their Lading, but only in caſe of ſuſpicion, that they are carrying any contrebanda-Goods unto the Enemies of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, as aforeſaid.

XVI. And in the ſaid caſe of apparent ſuſpicion, the ſaid Subjects of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall be obliged to ſhow in the Ports, their Paſſes, in the form above ſpecified.

XVII. But if they be entered into the Roads, or be met in open Sea by any of the ſaid Lord the Catholick Kings ſhips, or by private Men of War of his Subjects; the Spaniſh Ships, to avoid all kind of diſorder, ſhall not come nearer to the *French*, than the reach of the Canon, and ſhall have power to ſend their Cock-boat or Shallop abord the ſaid French Ships or Barques, and cauſe two or three of their men only to go into them, to whom ſhall the Paſſes be ſhewed by the Maſter or Patron of the French Ship, in the manner aforeſaid, according unto the Form that ſhall be inſerted at the end of this Treaty: whereby it might appear, not only of their Lading, but alſo of the pla-

place of their abode and reſidence, and of the name both of the Maſter and Patron, and of the ſhip it ſelf: That by thoſe two means, it may be known whether they carry any prohibited goods: and that it may ſufficiently appear, both of the quality of the ſaid ſhip, and of its Maſter and Patron; unto which Paſſes and Sea Letters, full Faith and Credit ſhall be given. And to the end their validity might be the better known, and that they might not in any wiſe be falſified and counterfeited, there ſhall be given in, certain marks and ſubſcriptions of both the ſaid Lords and Kings.

XVIII. And in caſe there be found in the ſaid French veſſels and barques by the means aforeſaid, any Merchandizes and Commodities, before declared to be prohibited and contrebanda, the ſame ſhall be unladen, denounced and confiſcated before the Judges of the Admiralty of *Spain*, or any other competent Judges; yet for all that, neither the Ship and Barque, nor any other of the lawful and permitted goods, Merchandizes and Commodities found therein, ſhall in any wiſe be ſeiſed on or confiſcated.

XIX. It hath further been agreed and concluded, that whatſoever ſhall be found to have been laden by the Subjects of his moſt chriſtian Majeſty, aboard any ſhips belonging to the Enemies of the ſaid Lord and Catholick King, although not contrebanda goods, ſhal be confiſcated, together with all that ſhall be found in the ſaid ſhip, without any exception or reſervation: But, on the other ſide, whatſoever ſhall be found in the ſhips belonging to the Subjects of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall be free and freed, although the lading, or part thereof ſhould belong to the Enemies of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, except the prohibited goods; in regard whereof they ſhall carry themſelves according to what hath been diſpoſed in the aforegoing Articles.

XX. All the Subjects of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, ſhall mutually enjoy the ſame Rights, Liberties and Immunities in their trade and commerce, within the Ports, Roads, Seas and Dominions of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. And what hath been aboveſaid, that the Subjects of the ſaid Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall enjoy in his Catholick Majeſties Ports, or in open Sea, ought to be underſtood, that the equality ſhall be mutual, in all manner, on both ſides, even in caſe hereafter the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, ſhould happen to be at peace, amity and neutrality with any Kings, Princes and States, that ſhould become the Enemies of the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King; each of both the parties being mutually to uſe the ſame conditions and reſtrictions expreſſed in the Articles of the preſent Treaty, concerning the Trade and Commerce.

XXI. In caſe of either ſide there happens any contravention to the ſaid Articles, touching the Commerce, by the Officers of the Admiralty of either of the two Lords and Kings, or any other perſon whatſoever, the complaint thereof being addreſſed by the intereſſed Parties, unto their Majeſties themſelves or their Councils for the Navy, their ſaid Majeſties ſhall preſently cauſe the damage to be repaired, and all things to be executed in the manner aforeſaid. And in caſe, in progreſs of times, any frauds or inconveniences ſhould be diſcovered touching the ſaid Commerce and Navigation, nor ſufficiently provided againſt by the aforeſaid Articles, new ones ſhall be added thereto, of ſuch other precautions, as ſhall be thought convenient on both parts: The preſent Treaty remaining yet, in the mean while, in its force and vigor.

XXII. All Goods and Merchandiſes arreſted in either of the Kingdoms,

upon the Subjects of the ſaid Lords and Kings, at the time of the Declaration of War, ſhall be uprightly, and *bonâ fide* reſtored to the Owners; in caſe they be found *in eſſe*, at the day of the publication of the preſent Treaty. And all Debts contracted before the War, which upon the ſaid day of the publication of the preſent Treaty, ſhall be found not to have been actually paid unto others, by vertue of Judgments given upon Letters of Confiſcation or Repriſal, ſhall be *bonâ fide* acquitted and paid: And upon the demands and purſuits that ſhall be made about them, the ſaid Lords and Kings ſhall give order unto their Officers, to render as good and ſpeedy Juſtice unto the Forreiners, as unto their own Subjects, without any diſtinction of perſons.

XXIII. The actions that have been heretofore, or ſhall hereafter be intented before the Officers of the ſaid Lords and Kings for Priſes, Spoils, and Repriſals againſt ſuch as are not Subjects to the Prince, in whoſe juriſdiction the ſaid actions ſhall have been intented or begun, ſhall, without any difficulty, be returned before the Officers of the Prince, whoſe Subjects the Defendants ſhall be.

XXIV. And the better to ſecure, for the future, the Commerce and Amity between the Subjects of the ſaid Lords and Kings, for the greater advantage and commodity of their Kingdoms, it hath been concluded and agreed, That there hapning hereafter any breach between the two Crowns (which God forbid) ſix months time ſhall alwaies be given to the Subjects on both ſides, to retire and tranſport their perſons and goods, where they ſhall pleaſe: Which they ſhall be permitted to do, with all liberty, without any hinderance; and during that time, there ſhall be no ſeiſure made of their ſaid goods, much leſs their perſons arreſted.

XXV. The Inhabitants and Subjects of either ſide, ſhall every where within the Lands of the obedience of the ſaid Lords and Kings, make uſe of ſuch Advocates, Proctors, Notaries, and Sollicitors as they ſhall pleaſe; whereunto alſo, they ſhall be committed by the ordinary Judges, when need ſhall be, and when the ſaid Judges ſhall be deſired ſo to do. And it ſhall be lawful to the ſaid Subjects and Inhabitants of both ſides, to keep in the places of their abode, the Books of their trade and correſpondence, in ſuch a Language as they ſhall like beſt, either French, Spaniſh, Flemiſh, or any other, without falling thereby into any moleſtation or trouble.

XXVI. The ſaid Lords and Kings ſhall have power, for the commodity of their Subjects trading in one anothers Kingdoms and Dominions, to ſettle ſome Conſuls of the ſame Nation of their ſaid Subjects, who ſhall enjoy the Rights, Liberties, and immunities belonging to their exerciſe and employment: And that the eſtabliſhment ſhall be made in ſuch places, where with a mutual conſent it ſhall be thought neceſſary.

XXVII. All Lettecs of Mart and Repriſals that may have been formerly granted, for what cauſe ſoever, ſhall be ſuſpended; and none ſhall be granted hereafter by either of the ſaid Lords and Kings, to the prejudice of the Subjects of the other, unleſs in caſe of a manifeſt denial of Juſtice onely; whereof, and of the Summons made about the ſame, ſuch as ſhall ſue for the ſaid Letters, ſhall be bound to bring good proofs according to the form and manner required by the Law.

XXVIII. All the Subjects of both ſides, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, ſhall be reſtored to their Goods, Honours and Dignities, and to the enjoyment of

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ſuch Beneficęs as they were inveſted with afore the War, either by Death or Reſignation; either by Way of coadjutorſhip or otherwiſe. In which re-eſtabliſhment into Goods, Honours and Dignities, are namely underſtood to be comprehended all the Napolitan Subjects of the ſaid Lord, the Catholick King, except only the Charges, Offices and Governments, they were poſſeſſed of. And it ſhall not be lawful for either ſide, to refuſe to place, or to hinder the taking of poſſeſſion to any of thoſe who have been inveſted with Prebends, Benefices, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignities afore that time; nor to maintain therein ſuch as have obtained any other Proviſions of the ſame, during the war; unleſs it be for the Curates canonically provided, who ſhall remain in the enjoyment of their Parſonages. Both the one and the other ſhal likewiſe be reſtored to the enjoymeet of all and every one of their Goods, Unmoveables, and Rents, either perpetual, or during life, or to be redeemed, ſeiſed on or taken from them ſince that time, either upon the occaſion of the War, or for following the contrary part; together with all their rights, actions and ſucceſſions to them accruing even ſince the beginning of the War; yet ſo, that they ſhall not demand or pretend any fruits or revenues received ſince the ſeiſures made of the ſaid Goods, Immoveables, Rents and Benefices, until the day of the publication of the preſent Treaty.

XXIX. Nor likewiſe make any demand of ſuch debts, goods and moveables, as have been confiſcated afore the ſaid day: So that the creditors of the ſaid debts, nor the depoſitaries of ſuch goods, nor their Heirs or Aſſigns, ſhall never be admitted to proſecute or pretend the recovery of them. Which re-eſtabliſhments, in the aforeſaid form, ſhall extend to thoſe who have followed the contrary part; ſo that, by means of the preſent Treaty, they ſhall be reſtored to their King and Soveraign Princes Grace, as alſo to their Goods, ſuch as ſhall be found extant upon the concluſion and ſubſcribing of the preſent Treaty.

XXX. And the ſaid re-eſtabliſhment of the ſaid Subjects on both ſides, ſhall be made according to the tenor of the XXVIII Article aforegoing, notwithſtanding any Donations, Conceſſions, Declarations, Confiſcations committed, Sentences preparatory or definitive, given by contumacy in the abſence of the Parties, and without hearing of them: Which Sentences and all Judgments ſhall be void and of none effect, and as not given or hapned, with full & entire liberty to the ſaid Parties, to return into the Countries from whence they had formerly retired themſelves, to enjoy in perſon their goods, unmovables, rents and revenues, or to ſettle their abode out of the ſaid Countries, in ſuch places as they ſhall think beſt, it remainiug in their choice and election; ſo that, in that reſpect, no manner of compulſion ſhall be uſed againſt them. And in caſe they rather chuſe to inhabit elſewhere, they ſhall have power to depute and appoint ſuch perſons, not ſuſpected, as they ſhall think beſt, for the Government and enjoying of their goods, rents and revenues, but not of ſuch Benefices as require a Reſidency, which ought perſonally to be adminiſtred and ſerved. Yet ſo, that the liberty of a perſonal ſojourning mentioned in this Article, ſhall not extend it ſelf to thoſe, of whom it is otherwiſe diſpoſed, by any other Article of the preſent Treaty.

XXXI. Such as ſhall have been provided on either ſide with benefices being of the Collation, Preſentation, or any other diſpoſition of the ſaid Lord,

and Kings, or any other, either Eccleſiaſtical or Lay perſons, or ſuch as ſhall have obtained proviſions from the Pope, of any other Benefices ſituate within the obedience of either of the ſaid Lords and Kings, by whoſe conſent and permiſſion, they ſhall have enjoyed the ſame during the War, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid Benefices during their lives, as being well and duly provided. Yet ſo, that thereby no prejudice is intended for the future, to the right of the lawful Collators, who ſhall enjoy and uſe the ſame, as they were wonted to do afore the War.

XXXII. All Prelates, Abbots, Priors, and other Eccleſiaſtical perſons, that have been nominated to their Benefices, or promoted to the ſame by the ſaid Lords and Kings, before the War, ordering the ſame, and whereunto their Majeſties were in poſſeſſion to provide and nominate, afore the breach between the two Crowns, ſhall be maintained in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid Benefices; and ſhall not be moleſted therein, for any cauſe or pretence whatſoever; as alſo in the free enjoyment of all the Goods that ſhall be found to have belonged to the ſame of old, and in the right of conferring the Benefices depending of the ſame, in what place ſoever the ſaid Goods and Benefices be found ſituate. Provided yet, that the ſaid Benefices be filled with able perſons, having the requiſite Qualifications, according to the Reglements obſerved before the War: And for the future, it ſhall not be lawfull, of either ſide, to ſend any Adminiſtrators to govern the ſaid Benefices, and enjoy the fruits thereof, which ſhall not be received but by the Titulars only, lawfully provided unto the ſame; as alſo all places that have formerly acknowledged the juriſdiction of the ſaid Prelates, Abbots and Priors, in what part ſoever they be ſituate, ſhall likewiſe acknowledg the ſame for the Future. Provided their right appears to have been ſetled of old; although the ſaid places ſhould be found within the extent of the Dominions of the contrary Party, or depending of ſome Chaſtellenies or Bayliwicks belonging to the contrary party.

XXXIII. And to the end, this Peace and Union, Condeferation and good correſpondency, might, as it is deſired, be ſo much the more firm, laſting and undiſſolvable, both the ſaid principal Miniſters, the Cardinal Duke, and the Marquis EarlDuke, by vertue of the ſpecial Power they have had, for that end, of the two Lords and Kings, have concluded and agreed, in their names, the marriage of the moſt Chriſtian King with the Sereniſſime Infanta the Lady *Maria Thereſa*, eldeſt Daughter to the Catholick King, and the ſame day, bearing the date of theſe preſents, have made and ſubſcribed a partcular Treaty, whereupon they refer themſelves, touching the mutual conditions of the ſaid Marriage, and the time of its celebration; which Treaty by it ſelf, and Capitulation of Mariage, are of the ſame force and vigor with the preſent Treaty of Peace, as being the chiefeſt part thereof, and the moſt worthy, as well as the greateſt and the moſt precious earneſt of the ſurety of its duration.

XXXIV, Becauſe the length of time, and the difficulties that would have met in caſe the ſeveral rights and pretentions of the ſaid Lords and Kings, ſhould have been put to a particular diſcuſſion, might have much retarded the concluſion of this Treaty, and put off the good that whole Chriſtendom doth expect and will receive by it; it hath been concluded and agreed, in conſideration of the Peace, touching the retenrion and reſtitution of the Conqueſts made during the preſent War, that all the differences of the ſaid

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Lords and Kings, ſhall be ended and compoſed, after the manner following.

XXXV. *Inprimis*, It hath been concluded and agreed, concerning the Low Countreys, that the Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall remain ſeized, and ſhall effectually enjoy the Places, Towns, Countreys and Caſtles, Dominions, Lands and Lordſhips following,

Firſt, Within the County of *Artois*, the Town and City of *Arras*, and the Government and Bailiwick thereof; *Hesdin* and the Bailiwick thereof; *Bapaume* and the Bailiwick thereof; *Bethune* and the Government or Bailiwick thereof; *Lillers* and the Bailiwick thereof; *Lent* and the Bailiwick thereof; the County of St. *Pol*; *Terroane* and the Bailiwick thereof; *de Pas* and the Bailiwick thereof; as alſo all the other Bailiwicks and Chaſtellenies of the ſaid *Artois*, whatſoever they be, although not here particularly named and mentioned, except only the Towns, Bailiwicks and Chaſtellenies or Governments of *Ayre* and St. *Omer*, with their Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes, which ſhall remain all unto his Catholick Majeſty: as alſo the place of *Renty*, in caſe it be found to be of the ſaid Dependences of *Ayre* or St. *Omer*, and not otherwiſe.

XXXVI. Secondly, within the Province and County of *Flanders*, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall remain ſeized, and ſhall effectually enjoy the places of *Graveling*, the Forts *Philip*, of the Sluce, and *Hannuin Bourbourg* and the Chaſtelleny thereof; and St. *Venant*, whether it belongs to *Flanders*, or to *Artois*, and their Dominions, Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes.

XXXVII. Thirdly, within the Province and County of *Hainaut*, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall remain ſeized, and ſhall effectually enjoy the places of *Landrecy* and *Queſnoy*, and their Bailiwicks, Provoſtſhips, or Chaſtellenies, Dominions, Appurtenances and Dependences.

XXXVIII. Fourthly, within the Province and Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall remain ſeized, and ſhall effectually enjoy the places of *Thionville*, *Montmedy* and *Damvilliers*, their Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes, Provoſtſhips and Lordſhips: the Provoſtſhip of *Ivoy*, *Chavancy*, *Chaſteau* and the Provoſtſhip thereof; and the place and Poſt of *Marville* ſituate upon the ſmall River called *Vezin*, and the Provoſtſhip of the ſaid *Marville*; which place and Provoſtſhip did formerly belong, partly unto the Duke of *Luxembourg*, and partly unto the Dukes of *Bar*.

XXXIX. Fifthly, His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having ſtrongly declared that he could never conſent to the reſtitution of the places of *la Baſſee*, and *Bergh* St. *Wynox*, Chaſtelleny of the ſaid *Bergh*, and the Royal Fort erected upon the Chanel, hard by the Town of *Bergh*; and his Catholick Majeſty having condeſcended that they ſhould remain to the *French*, unleſs an exchange of the ſaid places, with others of the like conſideration and mutual conveniences could be agreed upon, both the ſaid Lords Plenipotentiaries, have at laſt agreed that the ſaid two places of *la Baſſee* and *Bergh-St. Wynox*, the Chaſtelleny and Royal Fort of the ſaid *Bergh*, ſhould be exchanged with the places of *Marienbourg* and *Philippeville*, ſituate on the Rivers *Sambre* and *Maez*. their Appurtenances, Dependences, Annexes and Dominions: And therefore his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty reſtoring, as it will be ſaid hereafter, unto his Catholick Majeſty, the ſaid places of *la Baſſee*

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Bergh-St-Wynox and the Chaſtelleny thereof, and the Royal Fort, with their Appurtenances, Dependances, Annexes and Dominions, his Catholick Majeſty ſhall at the ſame time put into the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the ſaid places of *Marienbourg* and *Philippeville*, his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to remain ſeiſed of them, and effectually enjoy them, and their Appurtenances, Dependences, Annexes, and Dominions, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame rights of poſſeſſion, ſoveraignty, and others which his Majeſty ſhall enjoy, or may enjoy, by the preſent Treaty, in ſuch places, as have been gained by his Arms during the War, and which are to remain unto him by this Peace. And even in caſe hereafter, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould happen to be troubled in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid places of *Marienbourg* and *Philippeville*, by reaſon of the pretenſions of other Princes, his Catholick Majeſty doth bind himſelf to concur to their defence, and to do on his part whatſoever ſhall be neceſſary, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty might peaceably, and without diſpute enjoy the ſaid places, in conſideration of that his Majeſty hath yielded in exchange the ſaid *la Baſſee* and *Bergh-St-Wynox*, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty might have kept and poſſeſſed without trouble, and with all ſecurity.

XL. Sixthly, His Catholick Majeſty, for certain conſiderations hereafter particularly expreſſed in another Article of the preſent Treaty, doth promiſe & oblige himſelf to put into the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the town and place of *Avennes*, ſituate between the *Sambre* and the *Maez*, with the appurtenances, dependences, annexes and dominions thereof, with all the Artillery and warlike ammunitions that are therein now, to remain to his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſeiſed of the ſaid place of *Avennes*, and effectually to enjoy the ſame, and the ſaid appurtenances, dependences, annexes and dominions, after the ſame manner, and with the ſame right of poſſeſſion, ſoveraignty and other things, which his Catholick Majeſty doth now enjoy there. And becauſe it hath been reported, that within the ſaid place of *Avennes*, and the appurtenances, dependences, annexes and dominions thereof, the ordinary juriſdiction, the Rents and other profits do belong to the Prince of *Chimay*, it hath been declared and agreed between the ſaid Lords and Kings, that whatſoever is contained within the walls and fortifications of the ſaid place, ſhall remain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; ſo that the ſaid Prince ſhall have no kind of right, rent, or juriſdiction within the ſaid walls and fortifications; it being only reſerved unto him to keep whatſoever in time paſt did belong to him out of the ſaid place, in the Villages, Countreys and Forreſts of the ſaid dependence of *Avennes* in the ſame manner as he hath hitherto poſſeſſed the ſame, provided alſo, as hath been ſaid before, that the ſoveraignty and the high dominion of the ſaid Villages, Countreys and Forreſts of the ſaid dependence of *Avennes*, ſhall belong and remain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; the ſaid Lord the Catholick King having taken upon himſelf to indamnify the ſaid Prince of *Chimay* for the intereſt he may have in what is taken from him by the preſent Treaty within the precincts of the ſaid place as aforeſaid.

XLI. The ſaid places of *Arras*, *Heſdin*, *Bapaume*, *Bethune*, and the Towns of *Lillers*, *Lens*, County of *St. Pol*, *Teroane Pas*, and their Bailiwicks; as alſo all the other Bailiwicks and Chaſtellenies of *Artois* (except only as aforeſaid the Towns and Bailiwicks of *Ayre* & *St. Omer*, their appurtenances, dependences, annexes and dominions) as alſo *Renty*, in caſe it be not found to be any of the de-

dependences of *Ayre* or of *St. Omer*; together with the places of *Graveling*, and the Forts *Philip*, the *Sluce* and *Hannuin*, *Bourbourgh* and *St. Venant*, in *Flanders*; the places of *Landrecy* and *Quesnoy*, in the *Haynaut*; as also those of *Avennes*, *Marienbourgh* and *Philippeville*, which are to be put in the hands of the most Christian King, as aforesaid: And likewise the places of *Thionville*, *Montmedi*, and *Damvillers*, the Town and Provostship of *Ivoy*, *Chavency*, *Chasteau* and the Provostship thereof, and *Marville*, in *Luxembourgh*, their Bailiwicks, Chastellenies, Governments, Provostships, Territories, Dominions, Lordships, Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes, shall remain, by the present Treaty of Peace, unto the said Lord the most Christian King, and to his Successors and Assigns, irrevocably & for ever; and with the same rights of soveraignty, propriety, regality, patronage, wardianship, jurisdiction, nomination, prerogatives and preeminences upon the Bishopricks, Cathedral Churches, & other Abbeys, Priories, Dignities, Parsonages, or any other Benefices whatsoever, being within the limits of the said Countreys, places & Bailiwicks so yielded, of whatsoever Abbies the said Priories may hold and depend, and all other rights formerly belonging to the said Lord the Catholick King, though not particularly related here. And his most Christian Majesty shall never hereafter be troubled nor molested by any way whatsoever, either of right or of fact, by the said Lord the Catholick King, his Successors, or any Prince of his house, or any other whatsoever, under any pretence or occasion that may happen, in the said soveraignty, propriety, jurisdiction, prerogative, possession and enjoyment of all the said Countreys, Towns, Places, Castles, Lands, Lordships, Provostships, Dominions, Chastellenies and Bailiwicks, and of all the places and other things depending of them. And for that effect, the said Lord the Catholick King, for himself and for his Heirs, Successors and Assigns, doth renounce unto, quit, yield and transport, as his Plenipotentiary in his name by the present irrevocable Treaty of Peace, hath renounced to, quitted, yielded and for ever transported, in the behalf and to the benefit of the said Lord the most Christian King, his Heirs, Successors and Assigns, all the rights, actions, pretensions, regalities, patronage, wardianship, jurisdiction, nomination, prerogatives and preheminences upon the Bishopricks, Cathedral Churches, and other Abbies, Priories, Dignities, Parsonages, and any other Benefices whatsoever within the precincts of the said Countreys, places, and Bailiwicks so yielded, of what Abbies soever the said Priories do hold or depend. And generally, without retaining or reserving any thing, all other rights which the said Lord the Catholick King, or his Heirs and Successors have and pretend, or may have and pretend for what cause & occasion soever, upon the said Countreys, places, Castles, Forts, Lands, Lordships, Dominions, Chastellenies and Bailiwicks, and upon all the places depending of them as aforesaid: Which, together with all the Men, Vassals, Subjects, Boroughs, Villages, Hamlets, Forests, Lands, and other things whatsoever depending of them, without keeping or reserving any thing, the said Lord the Catholick King, both for himself and for his Successors, doth consent to be from this time forth and for ever united and incorporated to the Crown of *France*; all Laws, Customs, Statutes & Constitutions made to the contrary, even such as may have been confirmed by Oath, in any wise notwithstanding: To which, and to all clauses derogatory to former derogatory clauses, it is expresly derogated by the present Treaty, for the effect of the said renuntiations and cessions; which shall be

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valid and ſhall take place, the particular expreſſion or ſpecification not derogating to the general, nor the general to the particular, and excluding for ever all exceptions, upon what right, title, cauſe or pretence ſoever they may be grounded. And the ſaid Lord the Catholick King doth declare, conſent, will and underſtand, that the men, vaſſals and ſubjects of the ſaid countries, towns and lands, yielded to the Crown of *France* as aforeſaid, be and remain quitted and abſolved from henceforth and for ever of the faith, homage, ſervice and oath of fidelity, they, all, or any of them may have done to him; or to his predeceſſors the Catholick Kings; and withall of all obedience, ſubjection and vaſſallage which they for that cauſe might owe unto him. The ſaid Lord the Catholick King willing that the ſaid faith and homage, and oath of fidelity become and remain void and of none effect, as if they had never been taken.

XLII. And as concerning the countries and places taken by the Arms of *France*, during this War towards *Spain*: As it had been formerly agreed by the Negotiation begun in *Madrid*, in the year 1656. upon which this preſent Treaty is grounded, that the Pyrenean Mountains, which antiently had divided the *Gauls* from *Spain*, ſhould alſo make henceforth the diviſion of both the ſaid Kingdoms. It hath been concluded and agreed, that the Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall remain in poſſeſſion, and ſhall effectually enjoy the whole County and Viquery of *Rouſſillon*, and the County and Viquery of *Conflans*, the countries, towns, places, caſtles, burroughs, villages and places, which make up the ſaid Counties and Viqueries of *Rouſſillon* and *Conflans*: And to the Lord, the Catholick King, ſhall remain the County and Viquery of *Cerdana*, and the whole principality of *Catalonia*, with the Viqueries, places, towns, caſtles, burroughs, hamblets, places and countries, that make up the ſaid County of *Cardena*, and the principality of *Catalonia*. Provided, that if there be found any place of the County and *Viquery* of *Conflans* onely, and not of *Rouſſillon*, that be in the ſaid Pyrenean Mountains toward *Spain*, it ſhall likewiſe remain to the Catholick Majeſty: As likewiſe, if any place be found of the ſaid County and *Viquery* of *Cardena* onely, and not of *Catalonia*, that be in the ſaid Pyrenean Mountains towards *France*, it ſhall remain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. And that the ſaid diviſion might be concluded, commiſſioners ſhall be preſently appointed on both ſides, who ſhall together *bonâ fide*, declare which are the Pyrenean Mountains, which according to the tenor of this Article, ought hereafter to divide both Kingdoms, and ſhal mark the limits they ought to have: And the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall meet upon the place at the furtheſt, a month after the ſubſcribing of the preſent Treaty, and within the ſpace of another month after, ought to have concluded the matter, and declared, with common conſent, the premiſes. Provided, that if then they cannot agree among themſelves concerning it, they ſhall preſently ſend the grounds of their opinions to the two Plenipotentiaries of both the Lords and Kings, who taking notice of the difficulties and differences happened thereupon, ſhall conclude the buſineſs betwixt them: So that it ſhall not be ſuffered, that Arms be taken up again about the ſame.

XLIII. The whole County and *Viquery* of *Rouſſillon*, County and *Viquery* of *Conflans*, except the places that ſhall be found to be ſituate in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*, in the manner aforeſaid, according to the Declara-

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tion and Agreement of the Commiſſioners that are to be appointed for that purpoſe; as alſo that part of the county of *Cerdana*, that ſhall be found ſituate in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *France*, according unto the ſame Declaration of the commiſſioners, the countries, towns, places, caſtles, that make up the Viguries of *Rouſſillon* and *Conflans*, and part of the county of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid, Appurtenances, Dependences, and Annexes, with all the Men, Vaſſals, Subjects, Borroughs, Villages, Hamblets, Foreſts, Rivers, Lands, and any other things whatſoever depending of them, ſhall remain irrevocably, and for ever, by the preſent Treaty, united and incorporated to the crown of *France*, to enjoy the ſame by the ſaid Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, his Heirs, Succeſſors and Aſſigns, with the ſame Rights of Soveraignty, Propriety, Regalities, Patronage, Juriſdiction, Nomination, Prerogatives, and Preheminences, upon the Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, and other Abbeys, Priories, Dignities, Parſonages, or any other Benefices whatſoever, being within the limits of the ſaid county of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the county of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid (except, as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*) of whatſoever Abbeys the ſaid Priories be holding and depending; and all ſuch other Rights formerly belonging to the ſaid Lord, the Catholick King, thongh not here particularly mentioned: And that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall never, hereafter, be troubled or moleſted by any way whatſoever, either of Right or of Fact, by the ſaid Lord, the Catholick King, his Succeſſors, or any Prince of his Houſe, or by any other whoſoever, or under any pretence or occaſion that might happen in the ſaid Soveraignty, Propriety, Juriſdiction, Power, poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all the ſaid countries, towns, places, caſtles, lands, Lordſhips, Dominions and Bailiwicks: And withal, of all the places and other things whatſoever, depending of the ſaid county of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the county of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid (except, as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*.) And for that end, the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, both for Himſelf, and his Heirs, Succeſſors, and Aſſigns, doth renounce unto, quit, yield and tranſport, as his Plenipotentiaries, in his name by the preſent Treaty of Peace, irrevocable, hath renounced to, quitted, yielded and tranſported, perpetually, and for ever, in the behalf, and to the benefit of the ſaid Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, his Heirs, Succeſſors, and Aſſigns, all the Rights, Actions, Pretenſions, Regalities, Patronage, Juriſdiction, Nomination, Prerogatives, and Preheminences upon the Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, and other Abbeys, Priories, Dignities, Parſonages, or any Benefices whatſoever, being within the limits of the ſaid County of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the county of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid (except as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*) of what Abbeys ſoever the ſaid Priories be depending: And generally all other Rights, without keeping or reſerving any thing, which the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, or his ſaid Heirs and Succeſſors, have and pretend, or may have and pretend, for what cauſe and occaſion ſoever, upon the ſaid county of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the county of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid, (except as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*) and upon all the places depending of them as aforeſaid; which together with the Men, Vaſſals,

Subjects, Burroughs, Villages, Hamblets, Foreſts, Rivers, Lands and other things whatſoever depending of them, without keeping or reſerving any thing, the ſaid Lord, the Catholick King, both for himſelf, and for his Succeſſors, doth from henceforth and for ever conſent, to be united and incorporated to the Crown of *France*; All Laws, Cuſtoms, Statutes, Conſtitutions, and Conventions made contrary thereunto, even ſuch as may have been confirmed by Oath, in any wiſe notwithſtanding: To which, and to the Clauſes derogatory of any other derogatory Clauſes, it is expreſly derogated by the preſent Treaty, for the effect of the ſaid renounciations and ceſſions, which ſhall be valid, and ſhall take place, the particular expreſſion or ſpecification not derogating to the general, nor the general to the particular: Excluding for ever, all exceptions, upon what Rights and Titles, cauſes, or pretences ſoever the ſame may be grounded; and namely, that that might hereafter be pretended, that the ſeparation of the County of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the County of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid, (except as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*) and of their Appurtenances and Dependences, ſhould be againſt the Conſtitutions of the Principality of *Catalonia*; and that therefore the ſaid ſeparation cannot have been reſolved nor concluded, without the expreſs conſent of all the people aſſembled in their General Eſtates: And the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, doth declare, will and intend, that the ſaid Men, Vaſſals, Subjects of the ſaid County of *Rouſſillon*, Viguery of *Conflans*, and part of the County of *Cerdana*, in the manner aforeſaid, (except as to *Conflans*, what ſhall be found to be in the Pyrenean Mountains towards *Spain*) their Appurtenances and Dependences, be and remain quitted and abſolved, from henceforth and for ever, of the Faith, Homages, Service, and Oath of Fidelity, all and every of them, may have made unto him, and to his Predeceſſors the Catholick Kings; and withal of all obedience, ſubjection, and vaſſalage, which therefore they might owe unto him: Willing that the ſaid Faith, Homage, and Oath of Fidelity, remain void and of none effect, as if they had never been done or taken.

XLIV. The ſaid Lord the Catholick King, ſhall re-enter into the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the County of *Carrolois*, to enjoy it by him and his Succeſſors, fully and peaceably, and hold the ſame under the Soveraignty of the moſt Chriſtian King, as he held it afore the preſent War.

XLV. The ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall reſtore to the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, in the Low-Countries, the Towns and Places of *Ypren*, *Oudenaerd*, *Dixmude*, *Furnes*, with the fortified Poſts of *La Fintelle*, and *La Quenoque*, *Merville* upon the River of *Lys*, *Menene*, and *Comines*, their Appurtenances Dependences, and Annexes. As alſo his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall put again into the hands of his Catholick Majeſty, the places of *Bergh*, St. *Wynox*, and its Royal Fort, and the place of *La Baſſee*, by way of exchange for the places of *Marienburgh* and *Philippeville*, as hath been ſaid in the XXXIX Article.

XLVI. Secondly, The ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall reſtore in *Italy*, unto the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, the places of *Valance* upon the *Po*, and of *Mortara*, their Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes.

XLVII. Thirdly, In the County of *Burgundy*, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall reſtore unto the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, the Places and

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Forts of St. *Amour*, *Bleveram* and *Joux*, and their appurtenances, dependences and annexes, and all the other Posts, fortified or not fortified, which the Armies of his most Christian Majesty have taken in the said County of *Burgundy*, without keeping or reserving any thing.

XLVIII. Fourthly, towards *Spain*, the said Lord the most Christian King, shall restore to the Catholick King, the places and Ports of *Roses*, the Fort of the Trinity, *Cap-de Quers*, *La Seau d' Urgel*, *Toxen*, the Castle of *La Bastide*, the Town and place of *Buga*, the Town and place of *Ripol*, and the County of *Cerdana*, wherein are *Belver*, *Puicerda*, *Carol*, and the Castle of *Cerdana*, in such a condition as they be now, with all the Castles, Ports, fortified or not fortified Towns, Boroughs, Villages, and other places, appurtenances, dependences and annexes, belonging to the said places of *Roses*, *Cap-de Quers*, *Seau d' Urgel*, and County of *Cerdana*, although not named nor specified here: Provided, that if any of the said Posts, Towns, places and Castles aforenamed, should be found to be in the Viguery of *Cerdana*, in the *Pyrenæan* Mountains towards *France*, they shall remain to his most Christian Majesty; according unto, and by vertue of the 42 Article of the present Treaty, any thing in the present Article contained, notwithstanding & whereunto in that case, and in that respect it is derogated.

XLIX. The the said Lord the Catholick King, shall restore unto the Lord the most Christian King, the Towns and places of *Rocroy*, *Le Catelet*, and *Linchamp*, with their appurtenances, dependences and annexes; so that for any reason, cause, or excuse whatsoever, foreseen or not foreseen, even this, that the said places of *Rocroy*, *Le Catelet*, and *Linchamp*, are at this present in the power, and in other hands, than of his Catholick Majesty, he shall not be dispensed of the said restitution of those three places, to the said Lord the most Christian King; His said Catholick Majesty ingaging and taking upon himself the real and faithful execution of the present Article.

L. The respective restitution of the said places, as it is aforesaid in the five next foregoing Articles, shall be made by the said Lords and Kings, or by their Ministers, really and *bona fide*, without any delay or difficulty, for what cause or occasion soever, unto such as shall be appointed by the said Lords and Kings respectively, within the time, and in the manner that shall be hereunder appointed, and in such condition, as the said places are at this time, without demolishing, weakening, imbezzeling, diminishing or damnifying any thing therein, in any wise; and without pretending or demanding any reimbursement for the fortifications made in the said places, nor for the payment of what might be due to the Soldiers and Garisons that are in them.

LI. The said Lords and Kings, in restoring of the said places respectively, shall have liberty to take and carry away all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets, Victuals or other warlike Ammunitions, that shall be in the said places, at the time of the restitution. Likewise, the Officers, Soldiers and others, that shall go out of the said places, shall have liberty to take and carry away the moveable goods, to them belonging; but it shall not be lawful to them, or exact any thing of the Inhabitants of the said places, nor of the Country people, nor to wrong their Houses, or carry away any thing belonging to the Inhabitants: As also the said Lords and Kings, shall be bound to pay unto the said Inhabitants of the places, from whence they shall withdraw their Arms, and

which they ſhall reſtore, all what may be juſtly due unto them by the ſaid Lords and Kings, for things taken by the Governors of the ſaid places, or other Miniſters of the ſaid Lords and Kings, to be employed to their ſervices, whereof they ſhall have given Receipts or Bonds, to ſuch as have furniſhed them with the ſame. As alſo the Officers and Soldiers of the ſaid Garriſons ſhall be obliged to pay what they lawfully owe to the Inhabitants upon their Receipts or Bonds; Provided, that for the performing of that ſatisfaction to the Inhabitants, the yielding and reſtoring the ſaid places be not retarded; but that the ſame be done by the time and day that ſhall be agreed on and preſcribed hereafter, in the other Articles of the preſent Treaty. The Creditors, in that caſe remaining in all the right of the juſt pretenſions they may have.

LII. As the place of *Hesdin* and the Bailiwick thereof, ought, by the preſent Treaty of Peace, to remain to the moſt Chriſtian King, as before hath been expreſſed, it hath been concluded and agreed, in conſideration of the Offices of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, who had taken under his protection the Officers of War, or the Soldiers of the Garriſon of the ſaid *Heſdin*, who had revolted in that place, and had drawn themſelves from the obedience of the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, ſince the death of the Governor of the ſaid place, that in conformity to the Articles, whereby the ſaid Lords and Kings do pardon each of them, all ſuch as have followed the contrary party, provided they be not found guilty of any other crimes, and do promiſe to ſettle them again in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of their goods: His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe his Letters of Amniſty and Pardon to be diſpatched, in good form, in the behalf of the ſaid Officers of War, and Soldiers of the Garriſon of the ſaid *Heſdin*; which Letters being offered and put into the hands of the Commander of the place, upon the day deſigned and appointed between their Majeſties, for the reſtitution of the ſaid place, into the power of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter upon the ſame day, and at the ſame time, the ſaid Commander, Officers and Soldiers, ſhall be bound to go out of the ſaid place, without any delay or excuſe, under what pretence ſoever, foreſeen or not foreſeen, and to ſurrender the ſaid place, in the ſame condition it was when they revolted, to the power of ſuch as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall commit for to receive it in his name; and that without altering, weakning, imbezzeling, demoliſhing or damnifying any thing, in any ſort or manner whatſoever, in the ſaid place: And in caſe the ſaid Letters of Amniſty and Pardon, being offered to the ſaid Commander himſelf, or the other Officers and Soldiers of the ſaid Garriſon of *Hesdin* ſhould refuſe or delay, under what cauſe or pretence ſoever, to ſurrender the ſaid place in the ſaid condition, into the power of ſuch as his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall have appointed to receive it in his name; the ſaid Commander, Officers and Soldiers ſhall forfeit the grace of Amniſty and Pardon procured unto them by his Catholick Majeſty, and his ſaid Majeſty ſhall make no further inſtance in their behalf: and in the ſame caſe his ſaid Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe, upon the word of a King, not to give, directly or indirectly, unto the ſaid Commander, Officers and Souldiers, nor ſuffer to be given them, by any in his Dominions, any aſſiſtance of Men, Arms, Victuals, Warlike Ammunitions or Money: But to the contrary, ſhall aſſiſt with his Forces, in caſe he be deſired, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, for the aſſaulting of the ſaid place, that it might

might the ſooner be reduced to his obedience, and the preſent Treaty may the ſooner have its full effect.

LIII. As the three places of *Avennes*, *Philippeville* and *Marienbourg*, with their Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes, are yielded by the preſent Treaty, as aforeſaid, unto the Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, to be united and incorporated to the Crown of *France*; it hath been concluded and agreed, that in caſe between the ſaid places and *France*, there be found any Boroughs, Villages, places or Lands, which not being of the ſaid Appurtenances, Dependences or Annexes, ought to remain in the propriety and ſoveraignty of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, neither his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, nor the Kings his ſucceſſors, ſhall have power at any time to fortifie the ſaid Boroughs, Villages, Poſts, or Countries, nor to make any new fortifications between the ſaid places of *Avennes*, *Philippeville*, and *Marienbourg*, by means of which fortifications, the ſaid places or any of them, might be cut off from *France*, or the communication between them diſturbed: as likewiſe it hath been concluded and agreed, that in caſe the place of *Renty* in *Artois* remain to his Catholick Majeſty, as it ought to remain to him, in caſe it be found to be of the Dependences of *Ayre* or St. *Omer*, neither his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, nor the Kings his ſucceſſors ſhall have power, at any time to fortifie the ſ id *Renty*.

LIV. All Papers, Letters and Documents, concerning the Countreys, Lands and Lordſhips that are to remain to the Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, by the preſent Treaty of Peace, ſhall be furniſhed and delivered him, *bonâ fide*, within three months after the exchanging of the Rat fications.

LV. By vertue of the preſent Treaty, all the *Catalonians* and other Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, as well Prelates, Eccleſiaſtical perſons, Religious perſons, Lords, Gentlemen, and Burgeſſes, as other Inhabitants, both of the Towns and of the Country, none excepted, ſhall have power to re-enter, and ſhall effectually re-enter, and be left and eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion and peaceable enjoyment of all their goods, Honours, Dignities, Priviledges, Franchiſes, Rights, Immunities, Conſtitutions, and Liberties, and ſhall never be proſecuted, troubled, or moleſted, either in general, or in particular, upon any cauſe or pretence whatſoever, for any thing done ſince the beginning of the preſent War. And for that end, his Catholick Majeſty ſhall grant and cauſe to be publiſhed, in good form, his Declarations of Amniſty and Pardon, in the behalf of the ſaid *Catalonians*, which publication ſhall be made upon the ſame day, as the publication of the Peace; in conſequence of which Declarations, it ſhall be permitted to all and any of them in particular, either perſonally to return to their houſes, and to the enjoyment of their goods; or in caſe they be willing to ſettle their habitation any where elſe out of *Catalonia*, they ſhall have liberty to do it, and to ſend into the ſaid Country of *Catalonia*, their Agents and Attorneys, to take in their names, and for them, the poſſeſſions of the ſaid goods, to improve and adminiſter the ſame, receive the fruits and revenues, and tranſport the ſame whether they ſhall pleaſe; ſo that they ſhall not be obliged perſonally to go and do homage for the Lands and Manors, whereunto their Attorneys ſhall have power to ſatisfie in their name: And their abſence ſhall not hinder their free poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid goods; which they ſhall

have

have alſo liberty and all faculty to exchange, or alienate, by ſale, gift, or otherwiſe. . Yet upon that condition, that thoſe they ſhall ſo commit for the management and improvement of their ſaid eſtates, be not ſuſpected to the Governours or Magiſtrates, of the places where ſuch Eſtates are ſcituated; in which caſe, the owners ſhall appoint other perſons, that be acceptable and no way ſuſpected. Yet it remaining at the will and power of his Catholick Majeſty to preſcribe the place of the abode to ſuch of the ſaid *Catalonians* whoſe return into the County ſhall not be acceptable to his Majeſty. Yet ſo that the other liberties and priviledges granted unto them, and which they enjoyed, ſhall not be repealed nor altered. As alſo it ſhall remain at the will and power of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to preſcribe the place of abode to ſuch of the County of *Rouſſillon*, Appurtenances and Dependences, who have retired themſelves into *Spain*, whoſe return into the ſaid County, ſhall not be acceptable to his Majeſty. Yet ſo, that the other liberties and priviledges granted to the ſaid perſons, ſhall not be repealed nor altered.

LVI. The Teſtamentary Succeſſions, or any other Donations whatſoever between living perſons or others of the Inhabitants of *Catalonia*, and of the County of *Rouſſillon*, mutually made to one another, ſhall remain equally permitted and inviolable; and in caſe about the ſaid Succeſſions, Donations, or other acts and contracts, there ſhould happen betwixt them any differences whereby they ſhould be obliged to plead and go to Law, Juſtice ſhall be done on both ſides with equality and *bonâ fide*, although they be under the obedience of the other party.

LVII. The Biſhops, Abbots, Prelates, and others, who have been promoted during the War, to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, with approbation of our holy Father the Pope, and by Apoſtolical authority, dwelling in the lands of either of the parties, ſhall enjoy the fruits, rents and revenues of the ſaid Benefices, which ſhall be found to be within the limits of the lands of the other party, without any trouble or moleſtation, upon what cauſes, reaſon, or pretence ſoever: And for that end they ſhall have power to appoint, for the ſaid enjoyment and receiving of the ſaid fruits, ſuch perſons as are not ſuſpected, having firſt obtained the good liking of the King, or of his Officers and Magiſtrates, under whoſe nomination the ſaid fruits, rents and revenues ſhall be found to be ſcituated.

LVIII. Such Inhabitants of the principality of *Catalonia*, or of the County of *Rouſſillon*, who ſhall have enjoyed, by donation or confiſcation granted by either of the two Kings, ſuch goods or eſtates as were belonging to any perſons of the contrary party, ſhall not be bound to make any reſtitution to the owners of the ſaid eſtates, of the fruits by them received by vertue of the ſaid donations or confiſcations, during the preſent War. Provided that the effect of the ſaid donations or confiſcations do ceaſe from the day of the publication of the Peace.

LIX. Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on both ſides, two months after the publication of the preſent Treaty, who ſhall meet at ſuch a place as ſhall be reſpectively agreed on, there to end in an amicable way all ſuch differences as might be yet betwixt both parties: which Commiſſioners ſhall have care to ſee the ſubjects on both ſides to be equally and well intreated, and ſhall not ſuffer the one to re-enter into the poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, but at the ſame time

time when the other ſhall alſo re-enter into the poſſeſſion of theirs: As alſo the ſaid Commiſſioners, if it be ſo judged fit, ſhall be injoined to make a juſt valuation on both ſides of the eſtates of ſuch as ſhall not be willing to return into the Country they have forſaken, or of ſuch as the two Kings ſhall not be willing to receive, having preſcribed unto them their abode ſomewhere elſe, as aforeſaid; that the ſaid valuation being made, the ſame Commiſſioners might manage in all equity the exchanges and compenſations of the ſaid eſtates for the greater conveniency, and with equal advantage to the intereſſed parties, being careful that none be wronged. And in a word, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall regulate all things concerning the commerce and the mutual frequentation of the Subjects on both parts, and all ſuch things as they ſhall think the moſt conducible to the publick utility, and to the ſtrengthening of the Peace. And whatſoever hath been ſaid in the four immediately foregoing Articles, and in this concerning the County of *Rouſſillon* and the Inhabitants thereof, ought in the ſame manner to be underſtood of the Viguery of *Conflans*, and that part of the Country of *Cerdana*, that may or ought by the preſent Treaty to remain in the propriety of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by the Declaration of the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, and of the Inhabitants of the Viguery of *Conflans*, and the aforeſaid part of the County of *Cerdana*: As alſo it ought reciprocally to be underſtood of the County of *Cerdana*, and of the part of the Viguery of *Canflans*, that may or ought to remain to his Catholick Majeſty, by the preſent Treaty, and the Declaration of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

IX. Although his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath never been willing to engage himſelf, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances made to him heretofore, backed even with very conſiderable offers, not to make the Peace without the excluſion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, becauſe his Majeſty hath foreſeen and feared leaſt ſuch an Engagement might be an unſurmountable obſtruction to the concluſion of the Peace, and might, conſequently reduce the two Kings to the neceſſity of a perpetual War; Yet his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, wiſhing, with an extream paſſion, to ſee the Kingdom of *Portugal* enjoy the ſame quietneſs, which ſo many Chriſtian States ſhall get, by the preſent Treaty, hath for that end, propoſed a good number of parties and expedients, ſuch as his Majeſty thought might be ſatisfactory to his Catholick Majeſty; among which, though as aforeſaid his Majeſty was no way ingaged in that Affair, his Majeſty hath even gone ſo far herein, as to be willing to deprive himſelf of the principal fruit of the happineſs and ſucceſs his Arms have had, during the courſe of a long War, offering, beſides the places his Majeſty doth now reſtore by the preſent Treaty unto his Catholick Majeſty, to reſtore yet unto him all the reſt of the Conqueſts generally made by his Arms during this War, and wholly to reſtore the Prince of *Condæ* provided, and upon that condition that the affairs of the Kingdom of *Portugal* ſhould be left as they are now: which his Catholick Majeſty having refuſed to accept, but only offering that in conſideration of the mighty Offices of the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, he would give his conſent for ſetting all things in the ſaid Kingdom of *Portugal*, in the ſame ſtate they were afore the change arived there the Month of *December*, in the year 1640, pardoning and giving a general Amnesty for all what is paſt, and granting the re-eſtabliſhment into all Eſtates, Honours, and Dignities, to all ſuch, without diſtinction of perſons, as returning

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under the obedience of his Catholick Maiesty, shall put themselves again in posture to enjoy the effect of the present peace, At length, in consideration of the peace, and considering the absolute neeessity his said most Christian Majesty hath been in, to perpetuate the War by breaking off the presen Treaty, which his Majesty found to be unavoidable, in case he would have any longer insisted upon the obtaining, upon that affair of his Catholick Majesty, other conditions than such as he offered, as aforesaid: And his said most Christian Majesty willing to prefer, as it ought to be, and is most just, the general quietness of Christendom, to the particular interest of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, for whose advantage, and in whose behalf, his said Majesty hath never omitted any thing of what depended of him, and did lie in his power, even to the making of such great offers as aforesaid, it hath been at length concluded and agreed between the said Lords and Kings, that it shall be granted unto his said most Christian Majesty, a space of three months time, to begin from the day of the exchanging of the Ratifications of thepresent Treaty, during which his said Majesty may send into the said Kingdom of *Portugal*, to endeavour so to dispose things there, and to reduce and compose that affair, that his Catholick Majesty may remain fully satisfied. Which three months being expired, if his said most Christian Majesties cares and offices have not had the defired effect, his said Majesty will no further meddle with that affair, and doth oblige and engage himself and promise *upon his Honour, and in the word of a King*, for himself and his Successors, not to give unto the said Kingdom of *Portugal*, either in general, or to any person or persons in particular, of what dignity, state, condition, or quality soever they be, now or hereafter, any help or assistance, publick or secret, directly or indirectly, of Men, Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Ships, or Mony, upon any pretence, nor any other thing whatsoever, by Sea or Land, nor in any other manner. As also, not to suffer any levies to be made in any parts of his Kingdom and Dominions; nor to grant passage to any that might come from other States, to the assistance of the said Kingdom of *Portugal*.

LXI. His Catholick Majesty doth renounce by this Treaty, both in his Name, and of his Heirs, Successors and Assigns, unto all the Rights and Pretensions, without keeping or reserving any thing, which his Majesty may, or might hereafter have upon the Upper and Lower *Alsatia*, the *Zuntgaw*, the County of *Ferrete*, *Brisac*, and Dependences thereof, and upon all the Countries, places, and rights left and yielded to his most Cristian Majesty by the Treaty made at *Munster*, the 14 of *October*, 1648. to be united and incorporated to the Crown of *France*: His Catholick Majesty approving, for the effect of the said Renuntiation, the Contents of the said Treaty of *Munster*, and not any other thing of the said Treaty, as not having intervened therein. In consideration of which present renuntiation, his most Christian Majesty do offer to satisfie to the payment of Three Millions of Livers, his Majesty is obliged to pay, by the said Treaty, to the Archdukes of *Inspruck*.

LXII. The Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine*, having shewed much sorrow for his conduct towards the Lord the most Christian King, and to have a firm intention to give him more satisfaction for the future, both of himself and of his actions, than the time past, and the occasions have formerly enabled him to do, his most Christian Majesty, in consideration of the mighty offices of his Catholick

Catholick Majeſty, doth from this time receive the ſaid Duke into his good Grace, and in contemplation of the Peace, without looking to the Rights his Majeſty may have acquired, by ſeveral Treaties made by the late King his Father, with the ſaid Duke, after the demoliſhing, which ſhall be firſt made, of all the Fortifications of both the Towns of *Nancy*, which he ſhall not have power to raiſe again, and the drawing and carrying away of all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets, Arms, and Ammunitions of War, that are at preſent in the Magazines of the ſaid *Nancy*, ſhall put again the ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain* into the poſſeſſion of the Dukedom of *Lorrain*, and even of the Towns, Places and Countries, by him formerly poſſeſſed, depending of the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul* and *Verdun*, except firſt, *Moyenvie*, which though within the Marches of *Lorrain*, yet belonged to the Empire, and hath been yielded to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by the Treaty made at *Munſter*, the 21 of *October*, 1648.

LXIII. Secondly, Except the whole Dukedom of *Bar*, Countries, Towns, and places, making up the ſame, as well that part thereof as doth hold from the Crown of *France*, as that which might be pretended not to hold of it.

LXIV. Thirdly, Except the County of *Clermont*, and the Dominion thereof, and the places, Provoſtſhips, and Lands of *Stenay*, *Dun* and *Jametz*, with the whole Revenue thereof, and the Territories belonging to them. Which *Moyenvie*, Dukedom of *Bar*, therein comprehended the part of the place and Provoſtſhip of *Merville*, which part, as it hath been ſaid before, did belong to the Duke of *Bar*, Places, County, Provoſtſhip, Lands, and Dominions of *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Dun* and *Jametz*, with their Appurtenances, Dependencies, and Annexes, ſhall remain for ever united and incorporated to the Crown of *France*.

LXV. The ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, afore his re-eſtabliſhment into the Dominions aforeſaid, and afore any place be reſtored unto him, ſhall give his conſent to the tenour of the three immediately foregoing Articles: And to that effect, ſhall deliver to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in the moſt valid and authentick form his Majeſty might deſire, the Acts of his renunciation and ceſſion of the ſaid *Moyenvie*, Dukedom of *Bar*, therein comprehended the part of *Merville*, both the part holding and pretended not to hold of the Crown of *France*, *Stenay*, *Dun*, *Jametz*, the County of *Clermont*, and the Dominion thereof, Appurtenances, Dependencies and Annexes. And the ſaid Duke, nor his ſucceſſours, either now or ever hereafter, ſhall pretend or demand any thing of the price the late King *Lewis* XIII. of glorious memory, had bound himſelf to pay unto the ſaid Duke, for the ſaid Dominion of the County of *Clermont*, by the Treaty made at *Liverdun*, in the Month of *June*, 1632. becauſe the Article containing the ſaid Obligation hath been annullated by the ſubſequent Treaties, and again afreſh, in as much as need might be, is wholly annullated by this preſent Treaty.

LXVI. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in reſtoring unto the ſaid Duke *Charles*, the places of his Dominions as aforeſaid, ſhall leave therein, except only in ſuch as are agreed to be demoliſhed, all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets, Arms, Victuals, and Ammunitions of War, that are in the Magazines of the ſaid places, without imbezling, weakning, and damnifying the ſame in any manner whatſoever.

LXVII. Neither the ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, nor any other Prince of his Houſe, or of his adherents and dependents ſhall have power to remain in Arms, but both the ſaid Duke, and the other aforeſaid, ſhall be bound to disband their Forces at the Publication of the ſaid Peace.

LXVIII. The ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, afore his re-eſtabliſhment into his Dominions, ſhall likewiſe prepare an Act in good form, unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he doth deſiſt and give over all Intelligences, Leagues, Aſſociations and practiſes, he hath or may have, with any Prince, State, and Potentate whatſoever, to the prejudice of his Majeſty and the Crown of *France*: And that for the future, he will give no retreat into his Dominions to his enemies, Rebels, or ſuſpected Subjects, and will not permit any Levies there, nor gathering of Souldiers againſt his Service.

LXIX. The ſaid Duke *Charles* ſhall likewiſe give, afore his re-eſtabliſhment, an Act in good form unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, whereby he ſhall bind himſelf, both for himſelf and all the Dukes of *Lorrain* his Succeſſours, to grant at all times, without any difficulty, under what pretence ſoever the ſame might be grounded, free paſſage upon his Dominions, both to ſuch perſons and forces, Horſe and Foot, whom his ſaid Majeſty and the Kings of *France* his Succeſſours, ſhall have occaſion to ſend into *Alſatia*, or to *Briſac* and *Philipsbourg*, as often as he ſhall be deſired of it by his ſaid Majeſty, and his ſaid Succeſſours; and to cauſe Victuals, Lodgings and other neceſſaries to be afforded unto the ſaid forces in his ſaid Dominions, by way of Eſtap, the ſaid forces paying their expences at the ordinary rate of the Country. Provided, they be but meer paſſages, at regular marches and reaſonable journeys, without ſojourning in the ſaid Dominions of *Lorrain*.

LXX. The ſaid Duke *Charles* afore his re-eſtabliſhment into his Dominions, ſhall put into the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, an Act in good form, and ſatisfactory to his Majeſty, whereby the ſaid Duke ſhall oblige himſelf for himſelf, and for all his Succeſſours, to cauſe the Farmers and Adminiſtrators of the Salt-pits of *Roſieres*, *Chaſteau-Salins*, *Dieuze*, and *Marſal*, which his Majeſty doth reſtore unto him, by the preſent Treaty, to afford unto his Majeſty, all ſuch quantity of Meaſures of Salt, as ſhall be neceſſary for furniſhing all the Salt Store-houſes, that ought to be filled for the uſe and ordinary conſumption of his Majeſties Subjects, within the three Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, Dukedom of *Bar*, and County of *Clermont*, *Stenay*, *Jametz*, and *Dun*, at the ſame rate for each meaſure of Salt, as the ſaid Duke *Charles* was wonted to afford it to the Store-houſes of the Biſhoprick of *Metz*, in time of Peace, during the laſt year of the ſaid Dukes poſſeſſing his whole Dominions; and neither he, nor his Succeſſours ſhall have power to raiſe the price of the ſaid meaſures of Salt.

LXXI. And becauſe ſince the time the late moſt Chriſtian King of glorious memory, hath conquered *Lorrain* by his Arms, a great number of the Subjects of that Dukedom have ſerved their Majeſties, in conſequence of the Oaths of Fidelity their Majeſties have deſired of them, it hath been agreed, That the ſaid Duke ſhall not like them, nor uſe them the worſe for it, but ſhall conſider and uſe them as his good and faithful Subjects, and ſhall pay them off ſuch Debts and Rents, whereof his Dominions may be charged: Which his Majeſty doth ſo particularly deſire, that had it not been for the aſſurance his Majeſty takes of the Faith the ſaid Duke will engage to him for that purpoſe, his

his Majeſty would have never granted him ſo much as he doth by the preſent Treaty.

LXXII. It hath been farther agreed, that the ſaid Duke ſhall not have power to alter any thing in the Proviſions of the Benefices granted by the ſaid Lords and Kings, untill the day of the preſent Treaty; and that ſuch as have been provided, ſhall remain in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid Benefices; wherein the ſaid Duke ſhall not diſturb or moleſt them, nor have power to turn them out of their poſſeſſion.

LXXIII. It hath been further agreed, that the Confiſcations given by his Majeſty, and his Father the late King, of the Eſtates of ſuch as were in armes againſt him, ſhall be of force, as to the enjoyment of the ſaid Eſtates, untill the day of the date of the preſent Treaty; and ſuch as have enjoyed the ſame, by vertue of the ſaid Gifts, ſhall not be troubled, nor moleſted for the ſame, in any wiſe, and for no cauſe whatſoever.

LXXIV. It hath been further agreed, that all Proceedings, Judgments and Arreſts, iſſued by the Council, Judges and other Officers of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, upon any differences and proceſſes, proſecuted both by the Subjects of the ſaid Dukedoms of *Lorrain* and *Bar*, and others, whileſt the ſaid Dominions were under the obedience of the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, and of the late King his Father, ſhall ſtand and ſhall have their full and intire effect as if the ſaid Lord and King ſhould remain Lord and Poſſeſſor of the ſaid Country: And the ſaid Judgments and Arreſts ſhall not be called to any queſtion, nor recalled, nor the execution of them any way retarded or hindered. Yet it ſhall be lawful to the Parties, to ſue a Reviſion of the Cauſe, according to the order and diſpoſition of the Laws and Ordinances; the ſaid Judgments remaining in the mean while, in their force and vertue.

LXXV. Moreover it hath been further agreed, that all other gifts, graces, remiſſions and alienations, made by the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, and the late King his Father, during the ſaid time of things eſcheated and accrued unto them, or adjudged to them either by confiſcation for crime or offence, (other than of War, for having followed the ſaid Duke) or by reverſion of Lands, or for want of lawful Succeſſors or otherwiſe, ſhall be and ſhall remain good and valid, and ſhall not be recalled; nor ſhall thoſe, to whom the ſaid gifts, graces, and alienations have been made, be diſturbed or moleſted, in the enjoyment of them, in any wiſe, and for any cauſe whatſoever.

LXXVI. As alſo that ſuch as, during the ſaid time, have been received to faith and homage, by the ſaid Lords and Kings, or their impowred Officers, becauſe of the ſaid Lands and Lordſhips, held and depending of the Towns, Caſtles or places, poſſeſſed by the ſaid Lords and Kings, in the ſaid country, and have paid for the ſame the Rights and Duties belonging to the Lord, or have obtained a gift and remiſſion of the ſame, ſhall not be troubled nor moleſted, by reaſon of the ſaid Rights and Duties, but ſhall remain acquitted, and ſhall be lyable to no demand about the ſame.

LXXVII. In caſe the ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, be not willing to accept and ratifie what hath been agreed by the two Lords and Kings, concerning his Intereſts, in the manner aforeſaid; or having accepted of the ſame, he ſhould happen hereafter to fail in the execution and performance of the Tenor of the preſent Treaty, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in the firſt caſe of non-

accepting of the Treaty by the ſaid Duke, ſhall not be bound to execute on his part, any of the Articles of the ſaid Treaty; and yet he ſhall not be deemed, for this cauſe, to have in any thing infringed the ſame: As alſo in the ſecond caſe, that the ſaid Duke having accepted of the aforeſaid conditions ſhould hereafter happen to fail on his part, in the execution thereof, his ſaid Majeſty hath reſerved and doth reſerve unto himſelf all the rights he had acquired upon the ſaid Dominions of *Lorrain*, by ſeveral Treaties made, between the late King his Father of happy memory, and the ſaid Duke, to proſecute the ſaid rights in ſuch manner as he ſhall think beſt.

LXXVIII. His Catholick Majeſty doth conſent that his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty be not obliged to the foreſaid re-eſtabliſhment, unto the ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, but after the Emperor ſhall have approved and ratified by an authentick Act, which ſhall be delivered to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, all the Articles ſtipulated as to the ſaid Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, in the preſent Treaty, none excepted: And his ſaid Catholick Majeſty doth oblige himſelf to procure of the Emperor, the ſpeedy expedition and delivery of the ſaid Act: As alſo in caſe it be found that of the Dominions, Countrys, Towns, Lands or Lordſhips, remaining to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in propriety, by the preſent Treaty, of ſuch as formerly belonged to the Dukes of *Lorrain*, there be any Fief held of the Empire, for reaſon whereof his Majeſty had need and ſhould deſire to be inveſted with the ſame, his Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe, ſincerely and *bonâ fide*, to ſollicite the Emperor for the obtaining of the ſaid inveſtitures, in the behalf of the ſaid Lord moſt Chriſtian King, without delay or difficulty.

LXXIX. The Prince of *Conde* having let Cardinal *Mazarin* the Plenipotentiary of the moſt Chriſtian King his Soveraign Lord to underſtand, that he might acquaint his ſaid Majeſty with it, how extreamly ſorrowfull he was to have ſome years ſince followed a courſe diſpleaſing to his Majeſty; that he wiſhed he could redeem with the beſt part of his blood, all the hoſtilities he hath committed within and without the Kingdom of *France*; whereunto he proteſteth that his ſole unhappineſs, rather than any evil intention againſt his Majeſties ſervice, hath engaged him: And that if his Majeſty be pleaſed to have ſo much generoſity as to uſe towards him his Royal bounty, forgetting what is paſt, and keeping him in honor of the his good graces, he will endeavor as long as he ſhall live to acknowledge that benefit, by an invioable fidelity, and to repair what is paſt by a full obedience to all his commands: And that in the interim, to begin and ſhew by the deeds that might be preſently in his power with how great a paſſion he deſired to recover the honour of his Majeſties benevolence, he pretends nothing in the concluſion of that Peace, for all the intereſts he may have therein, but from the meer bounty, and of the own motion of the ſaid Lord the King his Soveraign Lord; and doth even deſire his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed fully to diſpoſe, and according to his good pleaſure, in ſuch a manner as he ſhall pleaſe, of all the indamnifyings, the Lord the Catholick King ſhall be pleaſed to grant him, and which he hath already offered him either in eſtates or lands, or in places or money, which he ſubmits all to his Majeſties feet: And beſides that he is ready to disband all his Forces, and to put in his Majeſties power the places of *Rocroy*, *le Chaſtelet* and *Linchamp*, whereof the two firſt were remitted to him by his ſaid Catholick Majeſty: And that as ſoon as he may have obtained leave, he will ſend an Expreſs to the

ſaid Lord the King, his Soveraign Lord, to proteſt yet more expreſly of all the ſame intentions, and of the truth of his ſubmiſſions, and to deliver unto his Majeſty ſuch Act or Writing ſubſcribed by him, as his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to preſcribe for aſſurance that he renounceth to all Leagues, Treaties and Aſſociations he might have made heretofore with his Catholick Majeſty: And that for the future he will not take nor receive any eſtabliſhment, penſion, nor benefit of any Foreign King or Potentate: And finally, for all the intereſts he may have, in what thing ſoever they may conſiſt, he wholly remitteth them to the good pleaſure and diſpoſition of his Majeſty, without any pretenſion. His ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being informed of all the premiſſes by his ſaid Plenipotentiary, and being ſenſible of the ſaid Princes proceeding and ſubmiſſion, hath deſired and conſented that his intereſts ſhould be regulated in this Treaty, after the manner following, granted and agreed on between the two Lords the Kings.

LXXX. Firſt, That the Prince ſhall lay down arms at the furtheſt within eight weeks, reckoning from the day of the ſubſcribing of the preſent Treaty, and ſhall effectively disband all his forces both horſe and foot, French and Foreigners, who make up the body of the Army he commands in the *Low-countries*; and that after ſuch manner as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to preſcribe; except the Gariſons of *Rocroy*, *le Chaſtelet* and *Linchamp*, which ſhall be disbanded at the time appointed for the reſtitution of the ſaid three places. And the ſaid laying down of arms and disbanding ſhall be made by the ſaid Prince really and *bona fide*, without tranſporting, lending or ſelling either really or feignedly, unto any other Princes or Potentates whatſoever, either friends or foes, or either Allies of *France*.

LXXXI. Secondly, that the ſaid Prince, ſending an Expreſs to his Majeſty to confirm more particularly unto him all the things aforeſaid in his name, ſhall deliver unto his Majeſty an Act ſubſcribed by him, whereby he ſhall ſubmit to the execution of what hath been concluded between the two Lords and Kings as to his perſon and intereſts, and as to the perſons and intereſts of thoſe that have followed him. And in conſequence thereof, he ſhall declare that he ſincerely departeth from, and *bona fide* renounceth to all Leagues, Intelligences and Treaties of Aſſociation or Protection he may have made and contracted with his Catholick Majeſty, or any other Kings, Potentates or Foreign Princes whatſoevet, or any other perſons within or without the Kingdom of *France*; with promiſe never to take or receive at any time hereafter of the ſaid Foreign Kings or Potentates, any Penſions, eſtabliſhments, or Benefits, that may oblige him to a dependance of them, or to any tie to any other Kings or Potentates, but to his ſaid Majeſty his Soveraign Lord; upon the penalty, in caſe of breach of the ſaid Writing, to forfeit from that time the reſtoring and reeſtabliſhing granted to him by the preſent Treaty, and to return to the ſame condition he was in about the latter end of *March* in this preſent year.

LXXXII. Thirdly that the ſaid Prince, in execution of what hath been before concluded and agreed between the ſaid two Lords and Kings, ſhall really and indeed put into the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the places of *Rocroy*, *le Chaſtelet* and *Linchamp*, upon the time and day appointed by another Article of this ſame Treaty.

LXXXIII. Provided that what is aboveſaid be executed, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in contemplation of the Peace and in conſideration of the offices of

his

his Catholick Majeſty, uſing his Royal clemency, ſhall ſincerely and with a good heart receive the ſaid Prince into his grace, will pardon him, and with the ſame ſincerity will forget all what for the time paſt he hath done and undertaken againſt his ſervice, within or without the Kingdom; and will like his return into *France*, even where his Majeſties Court ſhall be. In conſequence whereof his ſaid Majeſty ſhall reſtore and re-eſtabliſh the ſaid Prince really and indeed into the free poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all his Eſtates, Honors, Dignities and Priviledges of firſt Prince of his blood: Yet ſo, that as to the ſaid Eſtates and Goods, of what nature ſoever, the ſaid Prince ſhall never pretend any thing, for the time paſt, for reſtitution of the fruits of the ſaid Eſtates, by whomſoever they may have been enjoyed by order of his Majeſty, nor for payment and reſtitution of his Penſions, Salaries, or any other Rents and Revenues he had upon Domaines, Farms, or General Receipts of the ſaid Lord the King, nor by reaſon, or under pretence of what he might pretend to be due unto him by his Majeſty, afore his going out of the Kingdom; nor for demolitions, degradations, or damages made by his Majeſties orders or otherwiſe, in what manner ſoever, upon the Eſtates, Towns, places fortified or not fortified, Lordſhips, Chaſtellenies, lands and houſes of the ſaid Prince.

LXXXIV. And concerning the Charges and Governments of Provinces or places, whereof the ſaid Prince was provided, and which he poſſeſſed afore his going out of *France*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath for a long time conſtantly refuſed to reſtore him thereunto, until being ſenſibly affected with the proceeding and the ſubmiſſion aforeſaid of the ſaid Prince, when he wholly referred to his good pleaſure and diſpoſition all his intereſts without any pretenſion, and whatſoever was offered to him by his Catholick Majeſty for his indamnifying, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath at length inclined to grant him what followeth, upon certain conditions hereafter ſpecified, concluded and agreed on by the ſaid Lords and Kings, *viz.* That in caſe the Lord the Catholick King, on his part, inſtead of what he intended to give to the ſaid Prince towards the indamnifying of him, will draw out the Spaniſh Gariſon that is in the Town, place and Cittadel of *Juliers*, and leave the ſaid place and Cittadel free of the ſaid Gariſon unto the Duke of *Newburgh*, upon the conditions, and in the manner that ſhall be hereafter more particularly ſpecified in another Article of this preſent Treaty: As alſo if his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, beſides the drawing out of the Town and Cittadel of *Juliers*, the aforeſaid Spaniſh Gariſon, doth put in the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Town and place of *Avennes*, ſituate between the Rivers of *Sambre* and *Maez*, with the Appurtenances, Dependances, Annexes, and Dominions, after the manner his ſaid Catholick Majeſty hath above obliged himſelf to do, by an Article of this preſent Treaty, (which place of *Avennes* his ſaid Majeſty intended alſo to have given among other things, unto the ſaid Prince.) Provided, his Majeſty doth perform the premiſſes as aforeſaid, that is to ſay, by way of compenſation for the ſaid remitting and yielding of one of the ſaid places to the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, to be for ever united and incorporated to the crown of *France*; and of the going of the Spaniſh Gariſon out of the other, in the behalf of a Prince, who is a friend and an Ally of his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, whom his Majeſty hath deſired to oblige, by vertue of the Treaty of the ſaid Alliance: His ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, for all things generally whatſoever that may concern the charges and Governments formerly

merly poſſeſſed by the ſaid Prince, or which any of thoſe that belong to him had ground to hope, none excepted, will give unto the ſaid Prince the Government of the Province of *Burgundy* and *Breſcia*, wherein are underſtood to be comprehended the Countries of *Bugey*, *Gex*, and *Veromey*: As alſo will give him the particular Governments of the Caſtle of *Dijon*, and of the Town of St. *John de Laune*; and to the Duke of *Enguien* his ſon, the charge of Grand-maſter of *France*, and of his Houſhold; with Briefs or Declarations of Aſſurance unto the ſaid Prince to ſecure it, in caſe the ſaid Duke of *Enguien* ſhould die before him.

LXXXV. His ſaid Majeſty ſhall cauſe his Letters Patents of Amneſty to be diſpatched, in good form, for whatſoever the ſaid Prince, his Kindred, Servants, Friends, Adherents, and Domeſticks, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, have or may have done or undertaken, heretofore, againſt his ſervice; ſo that neither he, nor they ſhall ever be prejudiced or ſuffer for it, at any time, nor their Heirs, Succeſſours and Aſſigns, as if thoſe things had never happened. And his ſaid Majeſty ſhall never at any time, make any inquiſition againſt the ſaid Prince, nor his, nor againſt his Servants, Friends, Adherents, or Domeſticks, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, for any moneys he or they have taken out of the general or particular Receipts, or out of his Cuſtoms and Farms. And his Majeſty ſhall not oblige them to any reſtitution of the ſaid moneys, nor of all the Levies, of contributions, impoſitions, exactions upon the people, and acts of hoſtility committed in *France*, in what manner ſoever it might be: The which ſhall be more particularly expreſſed in the ſaid Letters of Amneſty, for the entire ſecurity of the ſaid Prince and of thoſe who have followed him, that they ſhall never be proſecuted, troubled, nor moleſted for the ſame.

LXXXVI. After the ſaid Prince of *Conde* hath on his part ſatisfied unto the contents of the three Articles, 80, 81, 82. of the preſent Treaty, all Dutchies, Counties, Lands, Lordſhips, and Dominions, even thoſe of *Clermont*, *Stenay* and *Dun*, as he had them afore his going out of *France*, as alſo that of *Jamets*, in caſe he had it then, which formerly belonged to the ſaid Prince; together with all his other Eſtates and Goods, real or perſonal, of what quality ſoever, in the manner aforeſaid, ſhall be reſtored unto him really and indeed, or to ſuch as the ſaid Prince, being in *France*, ſhall commit and appoint, to take in his name the poſſeſſion of the ſaid Goods, and to ſerve him in their Adminiſtration: As alſo ſhall be reſtored unto him, and to his ſaid Deputies, all Titles, Documents and other writings left, at the time of his going out of the Kingdom, in the houſes belonging to his ſaid Lands and Lordſhips, or elſewhere. And the ſaid Princes ſhall be re-integrated into the true and real poſſeſſions of all the ſaid Dutchies, Counties, Lands, Lordſhips and Dominions, with ſuch Rights, Authorities, Juſtice, Chancery, Royal Caſes, Garners or Salt Store-houſes, Preſentations and Collations of Benefices, Graces and Preheminences, which he or his Predeceſſours have enjoyed, and as he enjoyed afore his going out of the Kingdom, provided that he ſhall leave *Bellegarde* and *Montrond* in the ſtate they are at preſent. Whereupon ſhall be diſpatched unto him, in as good form as he ſhall deſire it, all Letters Patents of his Majeſty neceſſary thereunto; and he ſhall not be troubled, proſecuted, nor moleſted in the ſaid poſſeſſion and injoyment by the ſaid Lord the King, nor by his Heirs, Succeſſours or Officers, directly nor indirectly, not-

notwithſtanding any Donations, Unions, or incorporations that might have been made of the ſaid Dutchys, Counties, Lands, Lordſhips and Dominions, Eſtates, Honours, Dignities, and Prerogatives of firſt Prince of the blood, and any derogatory Clauſes, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances contrary thereunto. As alſo neither the ſaid Prince, nor any of his Heirs and Succeſſours by reaſon of things that he may have done, either in *France* afore his going out, or out of the Kingdom, after his ſaid going out, nor for any Treaties, or Intelligences whatſoever, by him had or made with any Princes and perſons whatſoever, of what condition and quality they be, ſhall not be moleſted, troubled, nor proſecuted: But all kinds of Proceedings, Arreſts, even that of the Parliament of *Paris*, of the 27 of *March*, 1654. Judgements, Sentences, and other Acts, that may already have been made and iſſued againſt the ſaid Prince, both in Civil and Criminal matters, unleſs in the Civil matter he hath voluntarily debated it, ſhall remain void and of none effect, and no purſuit ſhall ever be made concerning the ſame, as if thoſe things had never happened. And in reſpect of the Dominion of *Albres*, which the ſaid Prince injoyed afore his going out of *France*, and whereof his Majeſty hath ſince otherwiſe diſpoſed, his Majeſty ſhall give unto the ſaid Prince the Dominion of *Bourbonois*, upon the ſame conditions upon which the exchange of thoſe two Dominions had already been agreed, afore the ſaid Prince went out of the Kingdom.

LXXXVII. As to the Kindred, Friends, Servants, Adherents and Domeſticks of the ſaid Prince, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, who have followed his party, they ſhall have liberty, in Conſequence of the Pardon and Amneſty in a foregoing Article mentioned, to return into *France*, with the ſaid Prince, and ſettle their abode in ſuch place as they ſhall think beſt; and they ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, as the other ſubjects of the two Lords and Kings, into the peaceable poſſeſſion and injoyment of their Eſtates, Honours and Dignities, except the Charges, Offices and Governments which they were poſſeſſed of, afore their going out of the Kingdom, to injoy by them the ſaid Eſtates, Honours and Dignities, as they held and poſſeſſed them. Yet they ſhall not pretend any reſtitution for the enjoyments of the time paſt, either from ſuch to whom his Majeſty had given the ſame, or in any other manner whatſoever. As likewiſe they ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed into their Rights, Names, Reaſons, Actions, Succeſſions and Inheritances to them accrued, or to the Children and Widdows of ſuch as are deceaſed, during their abſence out of the Kingdom; as alſo ſuch moveables by them left, ſhall be reſtored unto them if they be found *in eſſe*: and his Majeſty, in contemplation of the Peace, doth declare null and of none effect, (except as to their ſaid Charges, Offices and Governments) all Proceedings, Arreſts, even that of the Parliament of *Paris* of the 27 of *March*, 1654. Sentences, Judgements, Adjudications, Donations, Incorporations, and other Acts, that may have been made againſt them or their Heirs, for having followed the ſaid Princes party; and that both in Civil and Criminal matters, unleſs in the Civil matters they have voluntarily debated; and neither they nor their Heirs ſhall ever be proſecuted, troubled or moleſted for the ſame. Upon all which things aforeſaid, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be diſpatched both unto the ſaid Prince, and to his Kindred, Servants, Friends, Adherents and Domeſticks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, all the neceſſary Letters Patents, con-

containing the premiſes, in good form: which Letters Patents ſhall be delivered unto them, when the ſaid Prince ſhall have performed on his part the contents in the three Articles 80, 81 and 82, of the preſent Treaty.

LXXXVIII. In conformity to what is contained in the 84. Article of the preſent Treaty, whereby his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty doth oblige himſelf to give unto the ſaid Prince of *Conde*, and unto the ſaid Duke of *Enguian*, his ſon, the Governments and the Charge therein mentioned, his Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe and oblige himſelf, of his part, and in the word of a King, to draw out of the Town, Citadel or Caſtle of *Fuliers*, the Spaniſh Garriſon that is in the ſaid Town, Citadel or Caſtle, and all ſuch other Forces as might have lately gone into the ſame, or might yet go in to reinforce the Garriſon thereof, leaving in the ſaid Town and Citadel all the Artillery marked with the Coat of Arms of the Houſe of *Cleveland* or of *Fuliers*, or that hath belonged to them: And as to the reſt of the ſaid Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, and Inſtruments of War, which his Majeſty hath in the ſaid Town and Caſtle of *Fuliers*, delivering them unto the Duke of *Nubourgh*, or ſuch as ſhall be appointed by him to receive the ſame, in the ſame quality he hath the poſſeſſion of the Eſtate of *Fuliers*: the ſaid Duke delivering before into the hands of his Catholick Majeſty a Writing in good form ſigned with his hand, ſatisfactory to his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, whereby he ſhall engage not to ſell, alienate nor pawn the ſaid Town, Citadel or Caſtle to any Princes, or any other private perſons; and that he ſhall not put therein, nor ſettle there any other Garriſon but of his own Forces: As alſo to grant unto his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, whenſoever he ſhall have need of it, the paſſage for his Forces, either through the ſaid Town, or through the State of *Fuliers*: his ſaid Majeſty paying at his own charges the expence of the paſſage of the ſaid Forces, which ſhall be regulated journeys and reaſonable marches, and ſhall not ſojourn in the Land; the ſaid Duke taking, in ſuch occaſions, the neceſſary precautions for the ſafety of the ſaid Town and Citadel. And in caſe the ſaid Duke ſhould fail in the performance of what he ſhall oblige himſelf unto, as well of not alienating the ſame, as not of putting any other Garriſon in the ſaid place and Citadel, but what is his own, or that he refuſeth to give paſſage to his Catholick Majeſties Forces, in paying their expences, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King doth promiſe in the word of a King, not to aſſiſt the ſaid Duke with Money or Soldiers, nor in any other manner, by himſelf, or by interpoſed perſons, to uphold the ſaid contravention; but to the contrary he will lend his own Forces, if need be, for the accompliſhing of the Premiſes.

LXXXIX. It hath been expreſly concluded and agreed between the ſaid Plenipotentiaries, That the Reſervations contained in the 21 and 22 Articles of the Treaty of *Vervins*, ſhall have their full and entire effect; and no explication contrary to their meaning ſhall be uſed: And that in conſequence thereof to the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King of *France* and *Navarre*, his Succeſſors and Aſſigns are reſerved, notwithſtanding any preſcription or ſpace of time that might be alledged to the contrary, all the rights, actions and pretenſions he conceives to belong unto him, becauſe of the ſaid Kingdoms, Countries and Lordſhips, or any where elſe, for any cauſe whatſoever, whereunto it hath ever been, either by himſelf, or by his predeceſſors, expreſly renounced, to profecute the ſame by an amicable way and of Juſtice, and not by Arms.

LXXXX. Likewiſe ſhall be reſerved unto the ſaid Lord the Catholick King of *Spain*, his Succeſſors and Aſſigns, notwithſtanding any preſcription or ſpace of time that might be alledged to the contrary, all the rights, actions and pretenſions he conceives to belong unto him, becauſe of the ſaid Kingdoms, Countries and Lordſhips, or any where elſe, for any cauſe whatſoever, whereunto it hath never been, either by himſelf or by the King's his predeceſſors, expreſly renounced, likewiſe to proſecute the ſame by an amicable way and of Juſtice, and not by Arms.

LXXXXI. Whereas the ſaid Cardinal *Mazarin*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties Plenipotentiary, hath repreſented, that for the better obtaining of a good Peace, it is neceſſary that the Duke of *Savoy*, who hath intermedled in this War, joyning his Arms to thoſe of the Crown of *France*, whoſe Ally he is, ſhould be comprehended in the preſent Treaty: His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty loving the welfare and preſervation of the ſaid Duke, as much as his own, becauſe of the propinquity of blood and alliance whereby they are related; and his Catholick Majeſty finding it reaſonable that the ſaid Duke be comprehended in that Peace: upon the inſtances and by the interpoſition of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; It hath been concluded and agreed, that for the future there ſhall be a ceſſation of all manner of acts of hoſtility, as well by Sea and other waters, as by Land, between his Catholick Majeſty and the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, their Children, Heirs and Succeſſors, born or to be born, their States, Dominions and Lordſhips, a reſtabliſhment of Amity, Navigation and Commerce, and good correſpondency between the Subjects of his ſaid Majeſty and the ſaid Duke, without diſtinction of places or of perſons: And the ſaid Subjects ſhall be reſtabliſhed, without difficulty or delay, into the free and peaceable poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all their Goods, rights, names, reaſons, penſions, actions, immunities and priviledges of what nature ſoever; which they poſſeſſed in the Dominions one of the other, afore the preſent War; or that might have eſcheated to them during the ſame, and which by reaſon of it may have been ſeized on: Yet ſo that they ſhall not pretend or demand any reſtitution for the enjoying of the ſame for the time paſt, during the War.

LXXXXII. In conſequence of the ſaid Peace, and in conſideration of the Offices of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the ſaid Lord the Catholick King ſhall reſtore unto the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, really and indeed, the Town, place and Caſtle of *Verceil*, and all the Territories thereof, Appurtenances, Dependences and Annexes: And ſhall therein demoliſh nothing, nor damnifie the Fortifications that have been made there; but ſhall reſtore it in the ſame condition, as to the Artillery, Ammunitions of War, Victuals, and any other things, as it was when the ſaid *Verceil* was taken by his Catholick Majeſties Arms. And as to the place of *Cencio* in the *Langs*, it ſhall likewiſe be reſtored to the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, in the ſame ſtate it is now in, with the Dependences, and Annexes.

LXXXXIII. As for the Dower of the late *Sereniſſima Infanta Catharina*, about which there hath been ſome difference betwixt the Houſes of *Savoy* and of *Modena*, his Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe and engage, to ſee effectively paid unto the Duke of *Savoy*, the Arrears that may be due to his Houſe, ſince the ſaid Dower was appointed, until the 17 of *December*, in the year 1620. At which time the late Duke *Charles Emanuel* of *Savoy* gave in Appanage the ſaid Dower, to the late Prince *Philbert* his Son, as it ſhall be verified by the date

date, out of the Books of the Royal Chamber of the Kingdom of *Naples*. And for the payment, for the future, of the current of the ſaid Dower, and other Arrears, what is further diſpoſed about it, hereafter, by another Article of the preſent Treaty, ſhall be followed.

LXXXXIV. And becauſe the Diviſions, or contrary pretenſions of the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, have ſeveral times cauſed ſome troubles in *Italy*, becauſe of the aſſiſtances the ſaid Lords and Kings have at divers times given, each of them to his Ally; that for the future, no ſubject or pretence may be left, that might afreſh after the good intelligence and amity of their Majeſties; It hath been concluded and agreed, for the good of the Peace, that the Treaties made at *Queraſque*, in the year 1632. about the differences of the ſaid Houſes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, ſhall be executed according to their form and tenor. And his Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe and engage his Royal Word, never to oppoſe, nor in any wiſe to do any thing contrary unto the ſaid Treaty, nor to the execution thereof, for any reaſon, action, or pretence whatſoever, and not to give any aſſiſtance or favour, directly nor indirectly, in any manner whatſoever, to any Prince that ſhall offer to infringe the ſaid Treaties of *Queraſque*; whereof his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall have power to maintain the obſervation and execution of it, by his authority, and if need be, with his Arms. And his moſt Catholick Majeſty ſhall not have power to make uſe of his own to hinder it; any thing of the third Article of the preſent Treaty (whereunto it is expreſly derogated this preſent Article, only for that regard) contrary thereunto, notwithſtanding.

LXXXXV. Whereas the difference remaining betwixt the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, about the Dower of the late Princeſs *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Grand-mother to the ſaid Duke of *Mantua*, could not be compoſed in ſeveral conferences had by the Commiſſioners of the ſaid Dukes about the ſame, both in *Italy* and in this place, before the Plenipotentiaries of their Majeſties, becauſe of the too great diſtance of the one, and the exceptions of the other: So that they could not agree afore the concluſion of the ſaid Peace, which ought not to have been retarded, becauſe of that intereſt onely: It hath been concluded and agreed, that the ſaid Dukes ſhall cauſe their Commiſſioners to meet in *Italy*, within thirty days after the ſubſcribing of this Treaty, and ſooner, if it may be, at ſuch a place as ſhall be agreed on between the Duke of *Navailles*, and in his abſence, between the Ambaſſador of the moſt Chriſtian King reſiding in *Piedmont*, and the Count of *Fuenſaldana*, or in ſuch manner as they ſhall think it moſt fit; to the end, that with the intervention of the Miniſters of both the Lords and Kings, which may happen to contribute much for facilitating and carrying on of that accommodation, they might attend the compoſure of that difference; ſo that within other forty days, after their firſt meeting, the ſaid accommodatoin may be concluded, and the parties may agree about the ſum that is due. And in caſe that new conference do not produce the intended effect, afore the Spring, then both the Plenipotentiaries of the two Lords and Kings ſhall meet again together, upon this ſame Frontier of both the Kingdoms. And then their Majeſties, having been acquainted by their Miniſters of the reaſons on both ſides, and of the expedients propounded unto them ſhall make choice of that which they ſhall judge to be juſt and reaſonable, to mediate the accommodation of that buſineſs in an amicable way; ſo that the ſaid Dukes might and be

obliged to remain ſatisfied on both ſides. And their ſaid Majeſties ſhall concur afterwards, unanimouſly to procure that their determinations may be executed, ſo that nothing might remain that may alter the publick tranquility of *Italy*.

LXXXXVI. And becauſe, ſince the death of the Duke of *Modena* hapned in *Piedmont*, the laſt year 1658. his Catholick Majeſty hath been informed by his Miniſters in *Italy*, that the Duke of *Modena* his Succeſſor hath ſhewed his pleaſure for the things hapned during this War, and to have a firm intention to give ſatisfaction to his ſaid Majeſty concerning his perſon and his actions, and to merit by his conduct his Royal good will, the ſaid Duke having made for that end, divers offices to the Count of *Fuenſaldana*, Governor and Captain-General in the State of *Milan*. Upon this conſideration, and of the Lord the moſt Chriſtian Kings interpoſition, his Catholick Majeſty doth from henceforth receive into his Grace, the perſon and the houſe of the ſaid Duke, who ſhall for the future live and proceed in a good and free neutrality with the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and his Subjects ſhall have power to have and to hold a Free-commerce within the Dominions of both the Crowns: And the ſaid Duke and his Subjects ſhall enjoy ſuch Rents and Graces, as they have obtained, or hereafter may obtain of their Majeſties, as they wonted to enjoy them, without difficulty, afore the taking up of Arms.

LXXXXVII. Likewiſe his Catholick Majeſty hath conſented and granted never to ſend any more into the place of *Correggio*, the Garriſon he uſed to have there, for the time paſt: So that the poſſeſſion of the ſaid place of *Correggio* ſhall remain free of the ſaid Garriſon, And even for a greater ſecurity and advantage of the ſaid Duke, his Catholick Majeſty doth promiſe to make moſt preſſing offices towards the Emperor, that he may be pleaſed to grant unto the ſaid Duke, to his ſatisfaction, the inveſtiture of the aforeſaid Dominion of *Correggio*, as the Princes of the ſaid *Correggio* formerly had it.

LXXXXVIII. As to the Dower of the Sereniſſima Infanta *Catharina*, aſſigned upon the Cuſtoms of *Foja* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, of 48000 Duckets of yearly revenue, or ſuch other quantity as ſhall appear by the Books of the Royal Chamber of that Kingdom; about which Dower, there is ſome difference betwixt the Duke of *Savoy* and the Duke of *Modena*, his Catholick Majeſty acknowledging without any difficulty, that he oweth the ſame, and having intention to pay it to any of the ſaid Dukes, to whom the propriety of the ſaid Dower ſhall be adjudged by Juſtice, or by any particular convention or agreement made between them, it hath been concluded and agreed, That his ſaid Catholick Majeſty ſhall forthwith ſettle all things concerning the ſaid Dower, in the ſame ſtate they were, when the payment of the ſaid Dower began to ceaſe to be paid, upon the occaſion of the taking up of Arms; That is to ſay, if at that time, the Monies of the ſaid Dower were ſequeſtred, they ſhall continue ſo ſtill for the future until the differences betwixt the ſaid Dukes be ended, either by a definitive Judgment of Juſtice, or by a mutual agreement between them: And if at the aforeſaid time, the late Duke of *Modena* was in poſſeſſion of enjoying the ſame Dower, and the Monies thereof not ſequeſtred, his Majeſty ſhall continue from this time, to pay unto the Duke of *Modena* his Son, both the Arrears that ſhall be found to be due for

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the time paſt, and what ſhall run for the future, of the revenew of the ſaid Dower, yet defalking upon the Arrears all the enjoyment of it during the time the Houſe of *Modena* hath been in Arms againſt the State of *Milan*. In that laſt caſe, ſhall, in the mean while, remain to the ſaid Duke of *Savoy*, all reaſons, actions and rights to proſecute the ſame in Juſtice, and cauſe it to be declared, to whom doth the propriety of the ſaid Dower belong. After which Judgment or particular Convention, that may intervene between the ſaid Dukes, his Catholick Majeſty ſhall pay, without difficulty, the revenew of the ſaid Dower, to ſuch of them to whom the ſame ſhall be found to belong by a definitive ſentence of Juſtice, or by an accommodation made between the ſaid Dukes of *Savoy* and *Modena*.

LXXXXIX. And becauſe the ſaid Lords and Kings have conſidered, that the differences of the other Princes their Friends and Adherents, have often drawn them, againſt their Wills, and the Kings their Predeceſſors, of glorious memory, to the taking up of Armes: Their Majeſties deſiring, as much as in them lies, to remove, by the preſent Peace, in all places, the leaſt occaſions of diſſention, the better to ſecure the continuation thereof, and chiefly to ſettle the tranquility of *Italy* ſo often troubled by the particular differences happened between the Princes, who do poſſeſs any Dominions there; The two Lords and Kings have concluded and agreed, that they will jointly interpoſe, ſincerely and preſſingly, their Offices and Supplications towards our Holy Father the Pope, until they may have obtained of his Holineſs that he might be pleaſed to cauſe the difference to be ended without delay, either by an agreement or by Juſtice, which the Duke of *Modena* hath had ſo long ſince, with the Apoſtolicall Chamber, touching the Propriety and Poſſeſſion of the Valleys of *Comachio*: The ſaid Kings and Lords hoping of the Soveraigne Equity of his Holineſs, that he will not refuſe the juſt ſatisfaction that ſhall be due to a Prince, whoſe Anceſtors have ſo well deſerved of the holy See, and who, in a moſt conſiderable Intereſt, hath hitherto conſented to take even his own Adverſary's parties for Judges.

C. The two Lords and Kings, upon the like conſideration of plucking up the ſeeds of all differences, that might trouble the peace of *Italy*, have alſo concluded that they will jointly interpoſe, ſincerely and preſſingly, their Officers and Supplications towards our Holy Father the Pope, untill they may have obtained of his Holineſs, the grace which their Majeſties have ſo often demanded of him ſingly, in the behalf of the Duke of *Parma*, that he may have power to diſcharge, at ſeveral convenient intervals of time, the debt he hath contracted to the Apoſtolical Chamber by like intervals; and that by that means, and with the engaging or alienating of part of his Dominions of *Caſtro* and *Roneiglione*, he may find ſuch monies as are neceſſary unto him for the preſervation of the reſt of his Dominions. The which their Majeſties do hope of the goodneſs of his Holineſs; no leſs by the deſire he will have to prevent all occaſions of diſcord in *Chriſtendom*, then by his diſpoſition to favor a Houſe ſo well meriting of the Holy Apoſtolical See.

CI. The ſaid Lords and Kings judging that they can not better acknowledg towards God, the grace they have received of his meer Soveraigne bounty, who hath inſpired them the deſire, and opened them the means of reconciling themſelves, and granting Peace unto their people, then by applying themſelves, and endeavouring, with all their power, to procure and preſerve the like tranquility unto all other Chriſtian States, whoſe peace is either troubled,

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or like to be suddenly altered; Their Majesties seeing, with a great grief, the present disposition of *Germany*, and of other Northern Countries, where the War is kindled, and may yet inflame the Empire, by the division of the Princes and States thereof, have concluded, agreed and resolved, to send without delay, their Ambassadors, or cause those they have already in the Empire, jointly to act for the managing, in their name, and by their interposition, a good and speedy accommodation, both of all differences that may trouble the Peace of the Empire, and of such, as some years since, have caused the War in the other parts of the North.

CII. And because informations have been had, that notwithstanding the accommodation made some years since, of the divisions happened then betwixt the *Cantons* of the Leagues of *Switzerland* Catholicks and Protestants, there remains yet under the ashes, some sparks of that fire, that might if not wholly quenched, take fire again, and cause new troubles and dissentions betwixt those people allyed with both the Crowns; the two Lords and Kings have judged it necessary to apply themselves, on this part to the prevention of that danger, as much as in them shall lye, afore things grow worse: And therefore it hath been agreed and concluded between their Majesties, that they shall send, upon that occasion, some particular Ministers every one of them to the *Cantons* of his Alliance (unless they judge those they have there in ordinary to be sufficient for the end they have proposed unto themselves,) with orders, when they have exactly informed themselves of the motives and causes which have occasioned the misunderstanding and disunion of the said Nation, to meet and endeavor, joyntly and uniformly, to procure there a good concord, and cause all things there to return to the Peace, quietness and Fraternity, wherewith the said *Cantons* were wonted to live formerly: acquainting their Superiors with the satisfaction their Majesties will receive of it, because of the affection they bear to their States, and how much that establishment of union will be pleasing to them, because of the great desire they have for their welfare and publick tranquility.

CIII. The differences hapned in the Countries of the *Grisons*, about the *Valtoline*, having several times obliged both the Kings and several other Princes to take up Arms; To avoid, lest for the future, they might alter the good intelligence of their Majesties, it hath been agreed, that within six months after the publication of the present Treaty, and after information had, on both sides, of the intention of the *Grisons*, touching the observation of the Treaties heretofore made, it shall be agreed, in an amicable way, between the two Crowns, of all the Interests they have in that affair: And that for that end each of the said Lords and Kings shall give sufficient power to treat of it, to such Ambassadors as he will send to the Court of the other after the publication of the Peace.

CIV. The Prince of *Monaco* shall be restored, without delay, into the peaceable possession of all the Goods, Rights and Revenues belonging unto him, and which he injoyed afore the War, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, Dutchy of *Milan*, and other places of the obedience of his Catholick Majesty: with liberty to alienate the same as he shall please, by sale, donation, or otherwise: and shall not be troubled nor molested in the injoyment thereof, for having put himself under the protection of the Crown of *France*, nor for any other subject or pretence whatsoever.

CV. I

CV. It hath been likewiſe agreed and concluded, that his Catholick Majeſty ſhall pay ready money to the Lady Dutcheſs of *Cheureuſe* the ſum of 55000 *Philippuſes*, each of ten Reals, amounting to 165000 Livers *French* money: And that for the price of the Lands and Lordſhips of *Kerpin* and *Lommerſein*, with the Aids and Dependences of the ſaid Lands, the ſaid Dutcheſs had purchaſed of his Catholick Majeſty, according to his ſaid Majeſties Letters Patents of the ſecond of *June* 1646. Out of which Lands and Lordſhips, the ſaid Lady hath ſince been turned by his Catholick Majeſties Miniſters, becauſe of the preſent War? And his ſaid Majeſty hath diſpoſed of them in the behalf of the Elector of *Cologne*: And ſhall the ſaid Payment of 55000 *Philippuſes*, each of ten Realls, be made by his ſaid Catholick Majeſty, unto the ſaid Lady of *Cheureuſe*, by the two Terms, the firſt within ſix months from the day and date of theſe Preſents; and the reſt ſix months after; ſo that in a years time they may have received the whole ſum.

CVI. All Priſoners of War, of what Nation or condition ſoever, being detained on either ſide, ſhall be ſet at liberty, in paying their expences, and what they may otherwiſe owe; but without paying any ranſom, unleſs they have agreed before otherwiſe? in which caſe the Treaties made by them afore this day, ſhall be executed according to their form and ſenſe.

CVII. All other Priſoners and Subjects of the ſaid Lords and Kings, who by the calamity of the Wars might happen to be detained in their Majeſties Gallies, ſhall be ſpeedily delivered and ſet at liberty, without any delay, for any cauſe or occaſion whatſoever, and without demanding any thing for their Ranſom, or for their Expences. As alſo, ſhall be ſet at liberty, after the ſame manner, all *French* Soldiers that ſhall be found to be detained priſoners in the places held by his Catholick Majeſty upon the Coaſts of *Africa*, without demanding of them, as aforeſaid, any thing for their Ranſom or Expences.

CVIII. Provided all the Premiſes be duly obſerved, it hath been concluded and agreed, That the Treaty made at *Vervins* in the Year 1568, is again confirmed and approved by the ſaid Plenipotentiaries, in all its Points, as if the ſame was here inſerted word for word, and without innovating any thing therein, nor in any of the other former Treaties, which ſhall remain in their full force, in whatſoever it is not derogated unto by this preſent Treaty.

CIX. And as touching the things contained in the aforeſaid Treaty of 1598, and in a former made in the Year 1559. which have not been executed according to the tenor of the ſaid Treaties, the execution ſhall be made and performed, in ſuch things as are yet unperformed: And for that end Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on both ſides, within two months, with ſufficient power to agree together; within the ſpace that ſhall be mutually agreed on, concerning all things to be yet executed, either touching intereſts of of the ſaid Lords and Kings, or the intereſts of the Commonalties and private perſons, their Subjects, who ſhall have any thing to demand, or complaint to make on either ſide.

CX. The ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall likewiſe have care, by virtue of their powers, to regulate the limits, as well between the Dominions and Countries that of old have belonged to the ſaid Lords and Kings, about which there have been

been ſome debates, as between the Dominions and Lordſhips that are to remain to each of them, by the preſent Treaty, in the *Low Countries*. And particularly a ſeparation ſhall be made by the ſaid Commiſſioners of the Chaſtellenies and other Lands and Lordſhips that are to remain to the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, from ſuch Chaſtellenies, Lands and Lordſhips as are to remain to the ſaid Lord the Catholick King; ſo that hereafter there may ariſe no diſpute about the ſame, and that the Inhabitants and Subjects on both ſides might not be diſturbed. And in caſe they cannot agree touching the contents of the preſent Article, and of the next foregoing, Arbitrators ſhall be appointed by common conſent, who ſhall take conuſance of whatſoever ſhall remain undecided between the ſaid Commiſſioners; And the Judgments that ſhall be rendred by the ſaid Arbitrators, ſhall be executed on both ſides without any delay or difficulty.

CXI. For the ſatisfaction and payment of what may be due on both ſides for the ranſom of the priſoners of war, and for ſuch expences as they may have made during their priſon, ſince the beginning of the war until the day of the preſent Peace, in conformity to the Treaties made for the exchanging of the ſaid priſoners, and namely that of 1646. made at *Soiſſons*, the Marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo* being Governor of the Low Countries, it hath been concluded and agreed, that the expences of ſuch priſoners as have been already releaſed, or are to be releaſed without ranſom by virtue of the preſent Peace, ſhall be preſently paid, ready money on both ſides; and that as to the other priſoners that have been releaſed by virtue of the particular Treaties of Exchange made during the War, and afore the preſent Treaty, Commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on both ſides, within a Month of the Exchange of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, who ſhall meet at ſuch place as ſhall be agreed on, towards *Flanders*, whither alſo the Accounts concerning the priſoners made in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and their dependences in the State of *Milan* and in *Piedmont*, in the Principality of *Catalonia*, and in the Counties of *Rouſtillon* and *Cerdina*, and other places of *Spain*, beſides what concerns the Frontiers between *France* and the *Low-Countries*, ſhall be carried; and the ſaid Accounts being ſtated by them, both for their expences for Diet, and for this ranſom, after the manner practiſed upon other Treaties of that nature, the Lord and King who ſhall be found Debtor to the other, by the ſtating of the ſaid Accounts, doth oblige himſelf to pay ready monies, *bonâ fide*, and without delay, unto the other of the ſaid Lords and Kings, the ſums of money whereof he ſhall remain debtor to him, for the expences and ranſoms of the ſaid priſoners at War.

CXII. As it might well happen that the particular perſons intereſted on both ſides, in the reſtitution of the goods, into the propriety and enjoyment whereof they ought to re-enter, by virtue of the preſent Treaty, ſhould find under divers pretences, difficulties and reſiſtance in their re-eſtabliſhment by ſuch as are now in poſſeſſion of the ſaid goods; or that any other obſtructions ſhould ariſe in the full execution of the Premiſes, it hath been concluded and agreed, that the ſaid Lords and Kings ſhall appoint each of them one of their Miniſters to repair to the Court of the other, and other places, if need be, to the end that hearing jointly, at the place where the ſaid Miniſters ſhall meet, ſuch perſons as ſhall apply themſelves unto them about thoſe affairs, and taking conuſance of the contents of the Articles of the Treaty, and of what

the ſaid Parties ſhall offer unto them, they might Declare together unanimouſly, briefly and ſummarily, without any other formality of Juſtice, what ought to be executed, iſſuing thereupon the neceſſary Act and Inſtrument of their Declaration, which Act ſhall be performed without admitting or leaving any room to any contradiction or reply.

CXIII. The execution of the preſent Peace, in what regardeth the reſtitution and ſurrendring of the places which the ſaid Lords and Kings are to reſtore and put in the hands one of the other reſpectively, or of their Allies, by virtue of, and in conformity to this Treaty, ſhall be made at the time, and after the following manner.

CXIV. Firſt, without ſtaying for the exchange of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, to the end the Forces which make up the Army of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Garriſons of the places he holdeth in *Italy*, might repaſs the *Alpes* afore the Ice doth ſhut up the paſſages, both the ſaid Plenipotentiaries have concluded and agreed, That they take upon themſelves to have the Orders of their Majeſties reſpectively, forthwith ſent by Expreſſes unto the Duke of *Navailles*, & the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*; as alſo to the Marquis of *Caracene*, for what concerneth him, to make, upon the 30*th*. of the inſtant *November*, the following Reſtitutions, *viz*. Upon that day ſhall be reſtored by the Lord the moſt Chriſtian King unto his Catholick Majeſty, the places of *Valence* upon the *Po*, and of *Mortara* in the State of *Milan*: As likewiſe upon the ſame 30*th*. day of *November*, ſhall be reſtored by the Lord the Catholick King unto the Duke of *Savoy*, the place and Cittadel of *Verceil* in *Piedmont*; and towards the low Countries, unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the place of *Caſtelet*; the ſaid Lords and Plenipotentiaries having taken upon themſelves, by vertue of the particular Orders they have of their Majeſties for that purpoſe, the punctual execution of that Article, afore the exchange of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, as aforeſaid.

CXV. The exchange of the Ratifications being made within the day that hereafter ſhall be named, on the 27*th*. day of *December*, of this preſent year, ſhall be reſtored, by the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, unto his Catholick Majeſty the places of *Oudenard*, *Marville*, *Menenc*, and *Comine* upon the River *Lys*, *Dixmude* and *Furne*, with the Poſts of *La Finelle* and *La Quenoque*. As alſo, upon the ſame 27*th*. day of *December*, ſhall be reſtored by the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the places of *Rocroy* and *Linchamp*.

CXVI. Eight days after, which will be the 4*th*. of *January*, of the next year 1660. ſhall be reſtored by the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King, unto his Catholick Majeſty, the places of *Ipre*, *La Baſſee*, *Bergh St. Wynox*, and the Fort Royal thereof; and all the Poſts, Towns, and Caſtles, taken by the French Arms in the Principality of *Catalonia*, except *Roſes*, Fort of the *Trinity*, and Cape *De Quiers*: As likewiſe upon the ſame 4*th* day of *January*, ſhall be reſtored by the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, and put into the hands and in the power of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the places of *Heſdin*, *Philippeville*, and *Marienbourg*.

CXVII. After the Prince of *Conde* hath rendred his reſpects to the moſt Chriſtian King, his Soveraign Lord, and is ſetled again into the Honours of his Grace, the places of *Avennes* and *Fulier*; ſhall be by the Lord the Catholick King, put into the hands and in the power of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and of the Duke of *Newbourg*. And the ſame day, the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore unto his Catholick Majeſty, the Poſts, Towns, Forts, and Caſtles taken by the

French in the County of *Burgundy*, after the manner, and at the time more particularly agreed upon by their ſaid Majeſties.

CXVIII. Upon ſuppoſition and condition that the ſaid Commiſſioners, that are to be appointed to declare the places that ought to belong to each of the ſaid Lords and Kings, in the Counties and Vigueries of *Conflans* and *Cerdana*, ſhall have before concluded and unanimouſly made the declaration that is to regulate for the future the Limits of both Kingdoms: As alſo, when all the aforeſaid reſtitutions are made and punctually performed, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore upon the 5*th.* of *May* of the next year 1660 unto his Catholick Majeſty, the places and Poſts of *Roſes*, the Fort of the *Trinity* and *Cape de Quiers*, upon the conditions more particularly agreed on by their Majeſties.

CXIX. It hath likewiſe been concluded and agreed, that in the Exchange that ſhall be made of *La Baſſée* and *Berg St. Winox*, and its Royal Fort, with *Philippeville* and *Marienbourg*, there ſhall be left in the ſaid places as much Artillery, both in number, and of the ſame weight and quality, as well in the one as in the other; as alſo as much Ammunition of War of all ſorts, and Victuals, as the Commiſſioners appointed on both ſides ſhall agree *bona fide*, and ſhall ſee it performed: So that what ſhall be found over and above, as well in the one as in the other, may be taken out of the ſaid places, and tranſported any where elſe, where the Lord and King ſhall pleaſe, to whom that greater quantity of the things aforeſaid ſhall be found to belong.

CXX. Their ſaid Majeſties have likewiſe concluded, agreed, reſolved and promiſed, upon their Royal Word, to ſend, each on their part, their Orders to the Generals of their Armies, or Governors of their Arms and Countries, to have them give their aſſiſtance for the execution of the ſaid reſpective Reſtitutions of places upon the certain days before prefixed, adviſing together, *bona fide*, about the means and all other things that may regard the faithful execution of what hath been promiſed and agreed between their ſaid Majeſties, after the manner, and at the time aforeſaid.

CXXI. The Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain* accepting, as to what concerns him, this preſent Peace, upon the conditions afore ſtipulated between the ſaid Lords and Kings, and not otherwiſe, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall re-eſtabliſh within four months, from the day of exchanging of the Ratifications of the preſent Treaty, the ſaid Duke into the Dominions, Lands and places expreſſed before, except ſuch as are to remain to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in Propriety and Soveraignty, by the ſaid preſent Treaty; Provided, the ſaid Duke, afore his re-eſtabliſhment, beſides his accepting of the Conditions that concern him in the preſent Peace, doth furniſh unto his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and at his ſatisfaction, all the ſeveral Acts and Obligations, he is to put into his hands, according to this Treaty, and after the manner ſpecified and ſtipulated before.

CXXII. Beſides the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Modena*, and the Prince of *Monaco*, who, as Allies of *France*, are of the chiefeſt Contractors in this Treaty, as aforeſaid, by the common conſent of the ſaid Lords the moſt Chriſtian & Catholick, ſhall be comprehended in this Peace and Alliance, if they will be comprehended therein, on his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties part, firſt, Our Holy Father the Pope, the Holy Apoſtolical See, the Electors & other Princes of the Empire, Allies and Confederates with his Majeſty for the maintaining of the Peace of *Munſter*, viz. the three Electors of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Newburg*, the Dukes *Auguſte Chriſtiane*, *Lewis* and *George*

William

William of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburge*, the Landgrave of *Heſſen-Caſſel*, and the Landgrave of *Darmſtat*, the Duke and the Seigniory of *Venice*, and the Thirteen Cantons of the League of *Switzerland*, and their Allies and Confederates, & all other Kings, Potentates, Princes and States, Towns and particular perſons, to whom his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, upon a decent requiſition made by them for it, will grant on his part, to be comprehended in this Treaty, and will name them, within a year after the publication of the Peace, unto his Catholick Majeſty by a particular Declaration, to enjoy the benefit of the ſaid Peace, both by the aforenamed, and by ſuch as his Majeſty ſhall name within the ſaid time. Their Majeſties giving their Declaratory and Obligatory Letters, required in ſuch caſe reſpectively; and the whole with an expreſs Declaration, that the ſaid Catholick King ſhall not have power, directly, nor indirectly to moleſt, by himſelf, or by others, any of thoſe who on the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian Kings part, have been above, or hereafter ſhall be comprehended by a particular Declaration; And that if the Lord the Catholick King hath any pretenſions againſt him, he ſhall only have power to proſecute him by right, before competent Judges, and not by force, in what manner ſoever it may be.

CXXIII. And on the ſaid Lord the Catholick Kings part, ſhall be comprehended in this Treaty (if they will therein be comprehended) our holy Father the Pope, the Apoſtolical See, the Emperor of the Romans, all the Archdukes of *Auſtria*, and all the Kings, Princes, Republicks, States and particular Perſons, who, as Allies of this Crown, were named in the Treaty of Peace made at *Vervins*, 1598. and who ſhall have preſerved, and do at this day preſerve themſelves in that Alliance. To whom are added now the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and the Duke of *Guaſtale*; as alſo, ſhall be comprehended all ſuch others, as by common conſent of the ſaid Lords and Kings, ſhall be named within a year after the Publication of the preſent Treaty, to whom, as alſo to the aforenamed, if they deſire it in particular, Letters of Nomination reſpectively Obligatory ſhall be given to enjoy the benefit of the ſaid Peace, & with expreſs Declaration, *That the ſaid Lord, the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall not have Power directly nor indirectly, by himſelf, or by others, to moleſt any of them: And if he hath any pretentions againſt them, he ſhall have power only to proſecute them by Right before competent Judges, and not by Force.*

CXXIV. And for greater ſecurity of this Treaty of Peace, and of all the points and Articles therein contayned; the ſaid Treaty ſhall be Publiſhed, Verified and Regiſtred in the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, and in all the other Parliaments of the Kingdom of *France*, and in the Chamber of Accounts in the ſaid *Paris*. As likewiſe the ſaid Treaty ſhall be Verified, Publiſhed and Regiſtred as well in the Grand Council, and other Councils, and chambers of Accounts of the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, in the Low Countries, as in the other Councils of the Crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, according unto, and after the manner contained in the Treaty of *Vervins*, of the year 1598. whereof the Expeditions ſhall be delivered on both ſides within three Moneths after the Publication of the preſent Treaty.

Which Points and Articles before ſet down, together with the whole Contents of any of them, have been Treated, Granted, Paſſed and Stipulated between the aforeſaid Plenipotentiaries of the ſaid Lords, the moſt Chriſtian and Catholick King, in the name of their Majeſties. Which Plenipotentiaries, by virtue of their Power, the Copies whereof are inſerted at the bottom of this preſent

Treaty, have promiſed and do promiſe under the Obligation of all and ev[ery] the Goods and Eſtates, preſent or to come of the Kings their Majeſties, T[hat] the ſame ſhall be by their Majeſties Inviolably obſerved and performed, and [to] cauſe them to Ratifie the ſame meerly and ſingly, without adding any thing thereunto, and to give and deliver Reciprocally one to the other, Authentical and ſealed Letters, wherein the whole preſent Treaty ſhall be word for word inſerted; and that within 30 days, from the day and date of theſe preſents, [or] ſooner if it may be. Beſides, the ſaid Plenipotentiaries have promi[ſed] promiſe, in the Names aforeſaid, That the ſaid Letters of Ratification, being exchanged and furniſhed, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, as ſoon as it may [be] and in the preſence of ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſaid Lord the Catholick King ſhall be pleaſed to appoint, ſhall Solemnly Swear upon the Croſs, the holy Evangeliſts, the Canons of the Maſs, and upon his Honour, to obſerve and perform Fully, Really, and *Bona fide*, the whole Contents of the Articles of the preſent Treaty. And the like ſhall be done alſo, as ſoon as poſſibly may be, by the ſaid Lord the Catholick King, in the preſence of ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſaid Lord the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be pleaſed to appoint. In Witneſs whereof the ſaid Plenipotentiaries have ſubſcribed the preſent Treaty with their Names, and ſet the Seals of their Coat of Arms thereunto.

We, having the aforeſaid Treaty acceptable, in all and every the Points, and Articles therein contained and declared, have, both for us, and for our Heirs, Succeſſors, Kingdoms, Countries, Lands, Lordſhips and Subjects; Accepted, Approved, Ratified and Confirmed, and do Accept, Approve, Ratifie and Confirm the ſame; and do promiſe, in the Faith and Word of a King, and under the Obligation and Engagement of all and every our goods, preſent and to come, Inviolably to Keep, Obſerve, and Maintain the whole, without ever doing any thing contrary thereunto, Directly, nor Indirectly, in what ſort or manner ſoever. In Witneſs whereof, We have ſigned theſe Preſents with our Hand, and thereunto cauſed our Seal to be ſet and appoſed. Given at [the] the four and twentieth of *November*, 1659. and of our Reign the Seventeenth.

FINIS.

7

AN ADDRESS TO THE FREE-MEN AND FREE-HOLDERS OF THE NATION.

LONDON:

Printed for *George Wells*, in S. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1682.

THE

Author to the Reader.

I may possibly be thought that the Itch of writing in this scribling Age, hath call'd me out of my safe retirement, to speak my mind at a time when I might with more security have kept my thoughts to my self.

But I do assure my Reader it is nothing so, for having many years since from the Course of things conjectured what would be the Event of them, I yet abstained from troubling the World, believing that nothing I could say would be regarded for the Publick Good, tho it might to my private damage, it being more easie and usual to revenge a supposed Injury than to acknowledg a kindness.

I have also observed that others who have stept forth before me on the same Charitable Account have met with worse than bad Language; and I thought it better to be warned by their harms than to wish I had.

But finding the disturbers of our Peace every d more insolent, and not only to whisper the poyson their disloyal Principles in corners, but publickly o them in the face of the Sun, and seeing also that t Success was above what they had any reason to expe I thought it was a mighty reproach to us, that th should venture more for the ruin of the Governme than I and others durst for its preservation.

So trusting on the Providence of God and the Pr tection of my Prince, I resolved to do the best I co to stop that inundation of Misery which will certai ly follow if not timely prevented, from those ill Me and ill Principles; which have formerly imbroyl'd by the same Ways and Means, tho not upon the sam Occasions.

The following Discourse then is designed only t that End, and if it may have that effect, I shal desire no more than my share in that blessing wit the rest of the Nation.

The Persons for whom I intend it, are not the Grea and Learned for they know these things better than I do, but my Country Neighbours, who being other- wise employed have not had the leisure that was ne- cessary to reflect upon these things; and what would be the Event of them, but being hurried on by a great zeal against Popery and Arbitrary Government, and believing those men that seemed most to declaim against them

n, were the most likely to secure the Nation
m those two dreadful things, have before they
e aware of it, beyond their designs or inten-
s, set us not only within the reach of these
series, but indangered the bringing them on
a Civil War, *to the utter Ruin of the Na-*
n.

In the interim I wish they would consider, That
uld either Popery *or* Arbitrary-Government *be*
empted to be imposed on us, whilst we stood Stoutly
d Loyaly to the Religion Establish'd *and the*
onarchy, *the Design would certainly miscarry to-*
ther with the Author. But on the other side, if
should be shatter'd into Factions in Religion *as*
were in the Late Rebellion, and every man per-
itted not only to Follow but Teach his own Phan-
es and Modes of Religious Worship, the Jesuits
ould under the disguises of such men instill what
Principles they pleased into the Common People, and
heedle them into Popery again before they knew
here they were, or put them upon other things that
ere full as bad as Popery.

And if we shall likewise pursue the Old Design
f Changing this Antient Monarchy *into a* Com-
mon-Wealth, *as it is madness to think it can ever*
e done without a sharp Destructive War, so the
Event of that is the most uncertain thing in the

W'orld

World; but we are certain if ever it happen, M
ries enough will attend it, and there are many Li
that remember what they ſuffered in the laſt.
then it is Ten Thouſand to One if it ends
in an Arbitrary Government, *and that*
Monarchy *too; for as no* War *can be mana*
without a General, ſo it will not be poſſible w
he hath Conquered others to make him and
his Aſſiſtants ſubmit to them that Employed h
and them. And ſo we may change our pro
Monarchy *for another* Oliver Cromwell *w*
was as Abſolute *as the King of* France. *B*
what ſhall we get by that? And again, ſu
poſe we could ſet up a Parliament without
King, would not this be an Arbitrary-Gover
ment? *Are not the Gentlemen of* Venice *a*
Arbitrary *in their way as the* Grand Seigneur
and the People as much Slaves there as under th
moſt Abſolute *Prince in the World: Who ſhoul*
then Protect us from the Injury of a Pote
Parliament man? Who ſhould hinder them fro
Levying what Moneys they pleaſed upon us, an
then dividing it amongſt themſelves, as they did
in the Late Times? can any man imagine they
would not Divide all the Places of Truſt and
Profit amongſt themſelves and their Relations, and
then perpetuate their own being as a Parliament,
and

and ſecure all Elections to themſelves and their Friends, and ſo make all the reſt of the Nation truckle under them in Poverty and Slavery? what hath been may be, and, which is more, will be if this ſhould happen.

But on the other ſide, ſhould we enter another War with our King and he get the Victory, what ſhould hinder him from giving us what Laws he pleaſed? and we have no reaſon to think he durſt if he would, reſtore us to that Liberty *we now have, and muſt then be ſuppoſed to have abuſed. And let no man deceive you ſo far as to perſuade you this is improbable, for thô his Majeſties Father did not begin the laſt War, till he had loſt all the means of a War, yet he reduced the Parliament to thoſe Streights that they had no other way to ſave themſelves then, but to call in the* Scots, *and yet* Ireland *was imbroyled by the* Papiſts, *and* Scotland *but juſt quieted after a Rebellion: So that neither of thoſe Nations lent him the leaſt Aſſiſtance, and is there any reaſon to believe all theſe Accidents will happen together again.*

But ſuppoſe now a Forainer ſhould ſtrike in to help the Weaker ſide and Conquer both, what think

you of Arbitrary-Government *and* Popery, *then ?*

For my part I have thought of it as Seriouſly as any man, and I cannot ſee how Popery *can ever be ſet up again in this* Nation *by any other way? it being one of the ſmalleſt Factions in the Nation and moſt hated, and the late Plotters were not ſuch Fools as to hope to introduce it by any other means; for though a* Toleration *may poſſibly do it, yet it will take ſo much time, and be lyable to ſo many Diſappointments, That I heartily believe their Patience would never have held out till it could have been brought about that way, but this of a forein Conqueſt will work the feat quickly and ſiſtibly.*

Suppoſe now in the laſt place, after another War, we ſhould ſettle as now we are, what recompence ſhould we have for all the Blood and Treaſure it would coſt us? What hath the Nation got by all that was ſpent in the laſt but Exciſe *and* Chimney-money? *And a neceſſity of maintaining the Expence of the Government to the End of the World out of our private Eſtates, now all the Crown-Lands are gone.*

But you will ſay, Who intends to Rebel or begin a War? I Anſwer, Every one that endeavours to make the preſent Government uneaſie, ſuſpected, impracticable. Without a Government we cannot be, nor that without Laws and Supplies, and he that hinders theſe two from having their due courſe, will introduce a War Forein or Domeſtick, whether he intends it or no. It is ſuppoſed generally the King cannot long ſubſiſt without Money, (how truly I will not diſpute) that is, he cannot maintain the Government; then this muſt be had in a legal or an illegal way, or the Government will be ruin'd for want of it. If in an illegal way then Arbitrary-*Government comes in, if it be ſubmitted to, and a War if it be not: So you ſee here is no way to avoid it, but by opening the Legal ways which perhaps the Folly of ſome Men and the Knavery of others would foreclоſe.*

But we are not only in danger of a Domeſtick but a Forein War too, the King of France *takes in* Flanders *apace, and all the World knows he had been Maſter of it before now, but that his Majeſty interpoſed. Now ſuppoſe he ſhould Conquer it and his Majeſty not be able to hinder it for want of Money, what ſhall hinder him then from invading*

us in the next place, and if we be divided and jealous each of other and of our King too, What can prevent our Ruin?

But you will say, his Majesty may have Supplies if he will comply with his Parliament, and I say if you will Choose him such a Parliament as you ought, he will certainly comply with it; but if you Choose him such men as Ruin'd his Father by complying with them, and they will not supply him but upon such Terms as he cannot Grant, without Ruining the Monarchy *and himself too, or (which is all one) which he believes will have that Effect, he will certainly run any Hazard rather than De-*throne *himself by his own Act, because that is the worst thing that can happen to him, by a Forein or Domestick Enemy as his Father found by sad Experience.*

So then I must conclude, whoever shall bring the Government into these Difficulties, design a War, in which Case if speedy Care be not taken, an Arbitrary Government *or a War must follow, and it may be both.*

But you will say, if the King will but consent to disinherit the Duke of York, *the quarrel is at an End.*

End. *I say* No, *but if the Duke were dead, the King would be in the same Condition, for besides disinheriting of the Duke of* York, *we must have none in any Office but* Sober Protestants, *Enemies to* Popery *and* Arbitrary Government ; *and of this they must be Judges who call the* Religion *Established* Popery, *and the* Monarchy, *an* Arbitrary-Government. *And when this is Granted, the King must have no* Guards, *no* Privy-Councellors, *no* Judges, *but what they please. And a Parliament to sit till they have done the business of the Nation, and Secured the* Protestant Religion *from all possibility of being* Destroyed, *or* Changed: *that is, to the End of the World. And when he hath Granted all this, he will have nothing more to part with but his Life, and long he will not be able to keep that neither.*

So *I conclude, he neither can nor will ever Grant these things, and I am morally assured that such a Parliament as will not be contented with less, will infallibly bring on a Change of the* Government, *or a War in a short time either Forein or Domestick, and whoever hath a hand in sending up such a Parliament, must be accountable to God and Man for the Consequences.*

But

But on the contrary, would you (when his Ma-
jesty permits it) Chooſe honeſt Country Gentlemen
that Love neither the Diſſenters *nor the* Papiſts
they would ſecure you and the Nation from Popery
Arbitrary Government, *another* War, *and*
Change of the Government, *and* England *ſhould*
once more become the Ballance of Chriſtendom,
the Terror of France, *the Bulwark of the Re-*
formed Religion, *the Joy and Paradiſe of the whole*
Earth.

The Deſign of the following Diſcourſe, (*how*
well or ill ſoever done) *is to ſhew you how, and*
by whoſe means we were brought into this Condi-
tion. Not to Augment your Fears and Jealouſies
but your Sagacity and Prudence, to which the other
two are the greateſt Enemies in the World, eſpeci-
ally when they are not reaſonable, or are preten-
ded by others to deceive. It is or was, a Cuſtom
amongſt Huntſmen *to hang a long Line full of*
Painted Feathers, and then with that Line to en-
compaſs a feeding Deer, the poor Animal being
equally afraid of the Hunters and the wagging Fea-
thers, runs in a round and is ruin'd by her own
Fears *and* Jealouſies, *where there is no Cauſe more*
than by the Real Dangers, *which ſhe would eaſily*
otherwiſe

therwiſe have Eſcaped. I ſhall not need to make he Application.

That the God of Heaven would be pleaſed to bleſs he Work that it may contribute ſomething to the qui- ting of the Nation, is all I ſhall add, and ſo

Farewell.

FINIS.

TO MY DEAR COUNTRY-MEN, AND ALL *That Seek the Prosperity* OF ENGLAND.

THO the great and holy God hath lockt up the knowledg of all future and contingent Events in the sacred Cabinet of his own Breast, in a Light that is unapprochable, in a Silence that is never to be opened, in a Recess that is impenetrable, and unsearchable to the greatest and most illustrious Angel in Heaven, and much more to the pore-blind Sons of Lapsed *Adam*: yet besides that, he himself is sometimes pleased to give Mankind a general confused Notion of what is coming upon them, to the intent they may prepare themselves by Repentance to divert, or mitigate his Judgments, or by Patience and a generous and Christian Fortitude, to bear the Chastisements of this great and holy God for the Sins of the World. Besides this, he in his Providence hath endowed Mankind with an excellent discursive faculty, which grounding upon what is past, and observing the

tempers of Men and the State of things that are preſent, and comparing them together, the unlearned as far as their own memory will reach, or the diſcourſes of others of greater Age or Learning may inform them, may with much probability conjecture what is coming; and altho theſe foreſights in the *many*, are very obſcure; yet if they would conſult their Reaſons at the ſame time, and call upon God for his Aſſiſtance to direct them, they might be of great uſe to them and to the World, and prove as they are deſigned to be; great Bleſſings.

And had God done no more than this for mankind, their Obligations had been great and they could only have blamed their own wickedneſs or folly, if a Domeſtick Calamity, ſuch as a Civil War or Rebellion had overtaken them unawares and without ſome ſort of foreſight of it. But then his Providence hath provided much better for us: he hath given us the Story of the World from its creation to the fall of the *Jewiſh* State, the truth of which is indiſputable and commonly known. And when thoſe inſpired Pen-men ceaſed, he provided others in other Countries to continue down the relations of his Providence through every Age to that in which we live; and they that have made it their buſineſs to ſearch into theſe Repoſitories of paſt events, and have by their Converſation with the better ſort of men been able alſo to take a particular Account of their own times, are thereby qualified to paſs a far more certain judgment, and ought as far as they appear honeſt and diſintereſſed, to be truſted by the unlearned, and for thar End God hath raiſed them up, aud given them thoſe means of Knowledge, and at their hands he will require the blood of thoſe poor harmleſs Sheep they are ſet over, if they do miſ-lead or not fore-warn them.

Tho I may much better be numbred amongſt the middle ſort of Men than with the Learned, and have lived

lived ſo obſcure a Life as not to be able to make a cloſe reflection upon the perſons and things that are now upon the Stage, and ſo do not look upon my ſelf to be indiſputably obliged to become a publick monitor, at a time when I can expect little but Reproach, if I be not known, and muſt run the hazard of Ruining my ſelf and family, if I be. Yet I cannot prevail upon my ſelf to ſit ſtill and take patiently the Lot ſhall fall to my ſhare amongſt the reſt, till I have made one publick Attempt to reſcue my dear Country-men (if it may be) out of out of their deluſion and danger.

But becauſe the Counſel of Strangers, and ſuch I deſire to be to my Reader, is and ought to be ſuſpected, till the Deſign of the giver is known. I will tell my Reader what, though not who I am: I was bred a Diſſenter from the Religion now Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, a great admirer of Parliaments, and taught betimes to fear Monarchy and Arbitrary Government: and as for Popery, I have ſo great an averſion for it, that I never willingly converſed with one of that Religion, and, if God permits me to chooſe my Company never will. But I muſt confeſs, I have ſeen great reaſon to alter in part from what I was; for I have heartily embraced the Religion Eſtabliſhed, not out of any worldly Conſideration, but purely for its goodneſs. I prefer our Monarchy too before all the Governments that now are, or ever have been extant in the World; ſo far as I can know them. And I think Parliaments well Choſen and Acting prudently, are one of the beſt human Conſtitutions that ever the Sun ſhed his beams upon. In fine, if God would give me liberty to chooſe the utmoſt that I would wiſh; it ſhould be to leave things to my Poſterity as they were ſetled upon his Majeſties Return: and greater happineſs than this can never betide this Nation, as time will ſhew. So that if my Reader finds any thing in theſe Papers that

doth not agree with this, he is desired to look upon it as an Error, and to reject and abhor it rather than approve of it.

That the People of *England* are at this day in as great a ferment as ever any People were in, that were not actually ingaged in an Inteſtine War, is a truth ſo apparent, that I think I may boldly ſpeak it. That this ſtate of things is uneaſie, uncomfortable, unſafe, I believe will not be denyed by any but thoſe who hope for more advantage from it, than I do expect from the beſt ſtate of things in this world that can happen, and thoſe I have nothing to ſay to. For the welfare of the reſt I will enquire into the Cauſes of theſe Diſtempers, and this will lead them and me to the cure better than any projects without it.

I ſay the firſt and great Cauſe of them (next our ſins againſt God) is the diverſity of Religions now profeſſed in *England*, from whence proceeds ſidings and part-making and taking, ill-will, hatred, contention, diſlike of what is preſent, jealouſie of what may come, one party hoping to riſe, another fearing it may be ſo, and pulling it down or endeavouring to keep it under: and this is common to all.

A ſecond Cauſe is our late Recovery out of a ſtate of things quite contrary to what we now are in, and ſo our preſent diſtemper may truly enough be ſaid to be but the reliques of our former Malady; which have not had that due purgation they ought to have had, and have been working in the Nation theſe twenty years, tho in great part ſuppreſt by his Majeſties Prudence, and the Loyalty of his firſt and ſecond Parliament.

A third Cauſe is the Luxury and Prodigality of the preſent Age, which have brought many men into want who can ill endure it, and therefore hope to mend their Fortunes by the Ruin of their opulent Neighbours, and

this

this is ſo obvious, I wonder 'tis no more taken notice of. This alone brought on the Civil Wars of *Rome*, which turn'd that State topſey turvey and went near to bring it to a final Ruin.

As for the *Popiſh Plot*, the uncertainty of his *R. H.* his Religion: the want of Lawful Iſſue to inherit after his Majeſty, and the like; I look upon them as things that occaſion rather than cauſe our Sickneſs, and as ſuch I will conſider them in due time.

The firſt of theſe cauſes, the diverſity of Religions is ſo apparent, That Forainers are well acquainted with it, and, wiſe men ſay, make uſe of it to ſerve their ends upon us, nay ſome ſay by Arts, Penſions, Emiſſaries, and ſuch like means attend and increaſe them. But before we can conſider of a Remedy, we muſt conſider the Cauſe, and whence it proceeds, and whither it tends, and what will be the Event. And alſo what number of contending parties there is, or diviſions.

The Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed is the ſame for ſubſtance that was ſettled in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, by the Univerſal Conſent of this Nation, both in Synods and Parliaments, and which being ſuſpended during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was re-eſtabliſh'd by Q. *Eizabeth*, under whom and her Succeſſors it became ſo radicated in the Hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation, that after twenty years endeavour to ruin it *Root* and *Branch*, by Fire and Sword, it revived upon his Majeſties Reſtauration and was Reſetled again with more Honour and Zeal than ever, tho its Enemies had done their utmoſt to oblige the whole Nation to Abjure it in the *Solemn League and Covenant*: which as they are Arguments of the goodneſs of it, and of God's particular Care for its Preſervation, ſo are they undeniable Proofs that it is backed by a ſtrong Party of reſolute, wiſe and ſober men, and in it ſelf agreeable to the temper and humor of the *Engliſh* People,

as

as far as it is fit Religion ſhould be ſo, which is to r
and govern us, and not to be ruled by us only.

All that I ſhall infer from hence is, That whoever
be that Attempts the Ruin of it, muſt Act contra
firſt to the known Laws of the Land, to which eve
man hath given his Conſent by his Repreſentatives
Parliament, and under the profeſſion of which he or h
Anceſtors may have received the greateſt Bleſſings th
World affords. Secondly, That it never can be erad
cated but by Blood and Violence, nor by them neith
in likelihood without the total ruin not only of the G
vernment, but Nation and People that profeſs it. Whi
are things of that Nature, as every *Engliſh* man ought
think of with the ſeriouſneſs of a dying man, how muc
ſoever he may diſlike this Religion: if he doth not,
will be his Sin, and bid fair for his Ruin here and he
after. And as to the Friends of it, I ſhall ſay but thi
Be Conſtant and of a good Courage, and let not th
badneſs of your Lives ſlander that Excellent Churc
whoſe Children you are, or profeſs to be, and the Lo
himſelf will fight for you as he hath hitherto done, t
the Amazement of your Enemies, if they would Co
ſider it.

The next contending party are the *Papiſts*, which 'a
firſt, nothing in proportion to the *Proteſtants*. Secondl
Univerſally ſuſpected, and hated by all that differ fro
them with ſuch a natural Averſion, That the Quarr
is become National, and never to be extinguiſhed in on
Age, if it can ever be effected, which I much doub
Thirdly, Nor is this without Reaſon, it being a Religio
deſtructive of the Intereſt, Honour, Sovereignty, an
Wealth of the *Engliſh* Nation, who therefore finally for
ſook it, as well as for the Badneſs and Imperiouſneſs, th
Covetouſneſs and Tyranny, the Falſhood and Treacher
of it and the Diſciples of it: And further I am not at pr
ſent concerned with it.

An

And to them that profeſs it, their Intereſt is to be as uiet as they can, and never to Attempt that which can ever be effected, but by the Ruin of their Country, and heir own too, and if nothing elſe will do, it is bet-er to forſake than deſtroy their Native Land; and to his the Generoſity of ſome Heathens have arrived: nd if I were of that Religion, I ſhould be aſhamed to e out-done by them. But I do not expect what I ſhall ay will have any weight with them, and therefore I ill ſay the leſs.

As to them of the Church of *England*, I would adviſe hem to conſult their own Intereſt ſo far, as to have othing to do with their *Popiſh* Neighbours, nor any Converſation with them, which if it were duly obſerved ight be a better means to reduce them in time, than ll the Laws that were ever yet made againſt them, nd would however give the common people who can-ot diſtinguiſh betwixt kindneſs to the Men and to their Religion, great ſatisfaction, and prevent ſome of the grounds of thoſe Reproaches that are oftentimes falſely enough caſt at them by the Diſſenters, who watch this familiarity, and thereby blaſt the Reputation of good Men with the Multitude, and too often feign it is where it is not. But this Counſel is particularly fit for Women, to prevent perverting; for Clergymen, Gentlemen and Magiſtrates to preſerve their Integrity and Reputation with the People: Tradeſmen, Tenants, and the like, may do it, as far as the Neceſſity of their Callings re-quire, and no further if they be wiſe: but then this is intended only for my private Opinion, and I will not Condemn thoſe who take it not, nor can I excuſe thoſe People whoſe prejudices have made this Advice ſeem neceſſary, for many have have hated *Popery* the more for Converſing with *Papiſts*.

Secondly,

Secondly, I humbly conceive it is neceſſary that th Laws againſt the Recuſants ſhould be conſtantly an equally put in execution: and I think King *James* co mitted a great Error in Politicks (though it was an A of great goodneſs) when he ſtopped the Execution o all Laws againſt them upon his coming to the Crow of *England*, hoping to win them by gentle means, th contrary of which he had like to have found in the Gun powder-Plot, to his Coſt. And it will ever be looke upon with Jealouſie by the common People, to ſee th Diſſenters puniſhed and the Papiſts ſpared, and there fore the policy of ballancing thoſe two Factions, is ju curing a Lethargy by a Feaver, whereas perfect healt is only to be found in the abſence of both. And I coul wiſh we had ſome gentler Law than that of twenty pound a Month, ſo made, that it might not be in the power o any man to ſtop it, the penalty being aſſigned to the re pairing of Bridges, or ſome other ſuch like Charitable Uſe, and to be levied and diſpoſed of in the County where their Lands lye, and a Treaſurer for that purpoſe appointed.

The beſt Advice I can give the Diſſenters in this Caſe is, That they would put an End to their old Legerdemain of calling all thoſe perſons Papiſts that are not of their Religions, becauſe it gives the Papiſts great Advantages by making their Party ſeem much greater than it is, and conſequently confirms them in their way to all our da mages. 2. It tends to introduce jealouſies and diſtruſts amongſt the common people, which may occaſion ano ther War, as it did the laſt; and which is the only way that Popery ever can be ſetled again in *England*, and ſo is impolitick and fooliſh as well as falſe, but becauſe this is the only end for which they do it, I muſt expect no attention from them: but thoſe men that have not that deſign are they for whom it is intended.

And

And now I will in the third place consider the Dissenters themselves, which though they are expressed by one word, yet if they be asked, What their proper Name is? they must Answer with the Demonaick in the Gospel, **Legion**, because we are many: and which is more, have mortal feuds amongst themselves, and can no more agree one with another than with the Church of *England*, or the Recusants, if they should once attain what they unite for, the Ruin of the Religion and Government Established; and yet I must add more to them, *First*, A considerable part of those that may be found within the Walls of our Churches, who have Conformed to prevent the Penalties of the Law; though they hate the Religion they profess, or prefer that they do not. *Secondly*, All those good men who take the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, to qualifie them for Places of Trust and Preferment, which when they have once gained, they imploy them to the Ruin of that Church. *Thirdly*, All those that are discontented or ambitious, and hope to rise by opposition to the present Government; or at least to be revenged on them that stand in their way. *Fourthly*, All the Semi-conforming Clergy, who to keep their Livings, have comply'd with the Religion Establish'd, tho in their hearts they hate it, and by their actions endeavour to Ruin it as far as they durst. All which are just such friends to the Church of *England*, as *Joab* was to *Abner* when he took him friendly by the Beard and kissed him. And to these I will add another sort who have been deluded by the zealous pretences of these men for the preserving the Protestant Religion, and extirpating Popery, many of which are of their Party by Accident, and hate them as heartily as any that oppose them most of all, and yet through Ignorance and Incogitancy, promote their designs. If the unfolding all these parties

take ſome time, I muſt beſpeak the Reader's patience, for here our greateſt danger lies, and as we ſucceed or fail, here the Event will follow.

My Reader muſt not expect from me here an Hiſtorical Account of the Origine, Differences, or Diviſions that are among theſe Diſſenters, much leſs a Confutation of their Tenets; that is no part of my buſineſs. I conſider them as a State-Faction, and with reference to the Peace and Government of *England*, and if I can demonſtrate that their Uniting, as they have ever ſince *Sixty*, to embroyl us in another War; will certainly at one time or other have ill effects, though it is likely quite contrary to what they intend: I ſhall then conclude that all men that love themſelves will be ſo wiſe as to oppoſe them, and even that thoſe amongſt them who truly Fear God and Love their Country, will deſiſt from driving on the Deſigns of the Ambitious, and Bloody Party any further, and not pretend the ſecond time, That they did not think ſuch godly men had cheriſhed ſuch ungodly thoughts; as they ſaid when they ſaw his Majeſties Father Murdered by them before.

Amongſt theſe Diſſenters two parties are to be more eſpecially conſidered, the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*, all the reſt are not worth our taking any notice of, but as they joyn with theſe and ſo make up the number.

Presbytery was hatched in Rebellion and a popular State and fitted for it, and the whole Scheme of it is adapted to thoſe Ends, and is totally inconſiſtent with Monarchy, and the Freedoms and Liberties of any People that are the Friends but will not be the Slaves of their Clergy: and accordingly where ever this Religion hath ſet its foot into the Territories of any Monarch, Rebellion hath ever followed, as Dr. *Heylin* hath proved at large; and this is not ſo much the deſtiny of *Presbytery*, as a neceſſary effect of its ill principles, which are

are the ſame with thoſe of *Popery*, only the one ends in an Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy, of which the Pope as Chriſt's Vicar here on Earth and Succeſſor to S. *Peter*, is the Head. And the other in a Conſiſtory or Synod, made up of a mixture of Clergy-men and Lay-Elders. But they are both accountable to none but God, free from all Subjection to Princes in matters of Religion, and which is yet worſe, pretend a Charter from Heaven to compel the Kings of the Earth to become the Executioners of their Decrees whether they like them or not, upon pain of Excommunication and Depoſition. And both of them have ſet the People above their Princes, and pretend, That the Powers that are, are not Ordained of God, but introduced by force or ſubtilty, or the conſent and pacts of their people, and accordingly are accountable and puniſhable upon Mal-Adminiſtration; of which the Pope on the one hand, and the Conſiſtory or Synod on the other are the Judges. And the conſequences of theſe things are not difficult to foreſee or at leaſt will quickly be found by experience, and then, though Popery aroſe by degrees in a dark and diſtracted Age, and ſo was received; it is no wonder if this young upſtart which ſprang up ſo lately in the Vallies of *Geneva*, meets with leſs welcom from Crowned Heads, and the *Scotch* man was not much out when he ſaid all Kings were *infenſiſſimi Evangelii hoſtes*, the irreconcileable Enemies of the Goſpel, by which laſt term he only meant the *Presbyterian Diſcipline*: and ſuch they muſt continue as long as they mean to be Maſters of their Power, and free from the Cenſures of their own Subjects.

But *Presbytery* is not only troubleſome to Princes, but to Subjects too, if they value their own Liberty; for when this Scepter is once received as by *Divine Right*, it proves a Rod of Iron. For every little Vicar with

the assistance of a Grave *Shoe-maker*, and a Reverend *Taylor* or *Weaver*, that can neither write nor read, it may be; but to be sure, that are unacquainted with the *Language of the Beast*, shall then convent before them the best Gentleman or Gentlewoman, Knight, Lord or Lady that lives in the Parish, and with much Authority and little Law or Civility, proceed against them for Dancing, suing a more godly Brother, or any such like unchristian wickedness, and this being duely considered by the *long Parliament Gentlemen*, tho they had sworn to do the feat, when they had need of the *Scots*, yet they desire to be excused, when the *Assembly of Divines* press'd them to settle it as of *Divine Institution*, and clapt so many restrictions and qualifications on their *darling Discipline*, as they were never able to digest, by which means it miscarried then, and I believe it is never likely again to come so near a settlement as it was then.

So that I may safely assure any man it is morally impossible now, ever to settle *Presbytery* in *England*; which must pull down the Monarchy and the Church of *England* in the first place, and then Conquer all the other Factions that were too strong for it before, and *Popery* too, before ever it can hope to be setled as I said here. And when these great things are to be brought about, or by which ways, I am not concern'd to enquire.

Independency sprung out of the former as a luxuriant sucker from the root of a Tree, and giving more liberty both to Princes and private men, who were at their choice, whether they would list themselves in their Congregations or no; and not pretending to rival the Parliament or the General by a National performance: every holder forth desiring only to head his own Congregation, and to order all things by the Vote of the major part of the Assembly; soon over-topped good Sir *John Presbyter*, brought him under, and treated him and his

his Assistants in the same manner as they two in conjunction had treated the Bishops and the Loyal Party, then call'd *Malignants* before. And so advancing the Banner of a general Toleration to all the Heresies and Schisms that could possibly be introduced or invented, and punishing no sort of men whatsoever, but Church of *England* men and *Papists*: and under this all the rest had their full swinge, till Foraigners took notice, there was above 140 several Factions and Heresies, besides a standing Army of 30000 men: Arbitrary Tyranny, Moneys levied without Parliaments, Princes and private men murder'd by *High Courts of Justice*, against Law and Reason, and finally all that Confusion, Opression and Disorder, that a sinful Nation had deserved by a prosperous Rebellion. Till in short the meanest persons in the Nation saw that nothing could prevent their Ruin but the recalling of their King, and the resetling that Religion which these godly Rebels had sworn to root up. And so *Independency* and *Presbytery* fell both of them again under Monarchy and Episcopacy.

Thus ended the last Rebellion, in the Year 1660. to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the *English* Nation, the Authors of it, after all the Villanies and Treasons they had been guilty of, and perpetrated in the preceeding twenty Years, having gained nothing but the detestation of the People, and a dreadful expectation of his Majesties Revenge for the Blood of his Father and all his Loyal Subjects, which had been spilt in that abominable War. But this Prince returned with other thoughts, and contradicted the Old Observation,

Suet. Tiber. cap. 59.

——*Regnabit sanguine multo*
Ad regnum quisquis, venit ab Exitio.

He that once Exil'd comes to Reign
With too much Blood his times will stain.

This

This they had reaſon to fear, becauſe they had ſo much deſerved it, and this they did actually dread as much as ever men did, but his Majeſty was in as much pain as they, till an Act of *Oblivion* and *Indemnity* was not only offerd, but in ſome ſort preſt upon the Parliament, and paſſed to his Majeſties great Satisfaction, and their great Security. And who now could have expected but that being thus reinſtated in their Lives and Fortunes, they ſhould have been the moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects in the World, and by that have made ſome amends for their former Crimes? But tho the King had forgiven them, they could not find in their hearts to forgive either him or his Friends, as I ſhall preſently ſhew you. When in the mean time that Parliament having finiſhed the great Work they met about, and reſtored the King to his Right, the three Nations to their Peace and Antient Liberties and Immunities, was at laſt diſſolved by his Majeſty, that another might be called by the King's Writ, in a more regular and legal manner; which was impoſſible when this met, the King being then in Exile.

In the Interim his Majeſty had reduced the Liturgy of the Church into Uſe in his own Royal Chappel, and as for the reſt of the Nation, the old Sequeſtred Clergy being onely reſtored to their rightful Livings, and the Vacancies of the dignified Clergy filled up, his Majeſty left all men to their liberty of doing as they pleaſed. So that the Service of the Church war performed according to the particular will and humors of the People or Prieſt, in ſome places the whole Liturgy being uſed, and in others a part, and in others none: Yet for all that, theſe godly men could not reſt, though they had then as perfect a *Liberty of Conſcience* as could be deſired. I was then a Child, and did not make thoſe Obſervations that I have ſince, yet I remember this happen'd in the place where I then lived, There were

two

wo Churches in that Town, and the Church of *England* Party had one and the Diſſenters had the other by agreement, but preſently after they repenting, got the Key of the other Church on a Sunday morning, and would not have permitted the Church-Party to have had any Service at all; which might have ended ill enough, if ſome Gentlemen of good prudence had not interpoſed, and by their Authority taught theſe meek Diſſenters more Modeſty. By which you may ſee what they would have done, if the Power had ſtill been in their hands, and what we might have expected from them, and how unjuſt all their after-Clamours againſt the Biſhops and Government for ſettling Religion as it now ſtands, are: and by this little Story, the Truth of which hundreds yet living can atteſt, you may clearly ſee what would have followed, if this Liberty had been continued but a few years more.

In the interim the whole Nation was employed in making Elections to ſerve in the next Parliament, and ſo great was every bodies ſatisfaction in the proceedings of theſe Loyal Gentlemen in the former Parliament, and the Reputation of the Diſſenters at ſo low an Ebb with all the World, that however induſtrious they were to recommend their old confiding men, the Choice fell generally upon the Kings Friends, the Members of the former Parliament. And it was well for *England* that it did ſo, for the King was ſcarce well ſettled in his Throne, and the diſcontented Diſſenters having at laſt recovered out of the Amazement the Change had caſt them into, were hard at work under-hand, to rally up their ſcattered Forces, and revive their drooping Spirits; to this end, the Murderers of the Late King were recommended to the People as Martyrs, after they had ſuffered as Traytors; and not contented with the Liberty of the Churches, private Conventicles were

kept

kept in Houſes, and great numbers of People Aſſe
bled on that Account, and ſad Stories were told of t
badneſs of the times, and whole Books of Prophe
and Prodigies printed to make the People more compli
ant with them, and averſe to their Governors.

Dr. *Spencer's* Book of Prodigies. *Preface.*

So that had this Parliament given them the leaſt en
couragement, we had certainly returned into our forme
State of Hoſtility, and the King been brought to figh
with his own Subjects for the Crown, for from that day
the King quitted the old ſcores by a Pardon, they plo
ted to ruin him that had ſaved them. And not lon
after ſet afoot the obligation of the *Solemn Leagne and Covenant*, as the likelieſt Inſtrument to effect this *Great*, this *Good End.* So impoſſible it is for theſe *Sober Proteſtants* to be obliged by any Act of Grace a Prince can do for them; and ſo impoſſible it is they ſhould be quiet.

In *May*, 1661. the *Long Loyal Parliament* met, about which time his Majeſty ordered a Conference betwixt ſome of the Epiſcopal Divines and the Diſſenters, to Review the Liturgy, and to make ſuch alterations as ſhould be thought neceſſary, and to make ſuch additional forms alſo as were ſuitable to the ſeveral parts of Worſhip. And in the mean time deſired that they would uſe as much of the Old Book as they had no Exception againſt; and declared, That in compaſſion to divers of his good Subjects, who ſcrupled the Uſe of it as then it was; none ſhould be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it, untill it was reviewed and effectually reformed. Inſtead of which the Diſſenters publiſhed a *New-Liturgy* conſiſting of 76 *Quarto* Pages, with a lamentable Petition, appealing thereby from the King and Biſhops to the People. So that the King and Parliament ſeeing no good was to be done with them, made an Act for Uniformity to commence from S. *Bartholomew*, 1662. and publiſhed the Liturgy as it now

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ſtands. Upon which they began a formal Schiſm, ſet up Teacher againſt Teacher, Congregation againſt Congregation; and by all the Arts imaginable, endeavoured to lay the foundations of another War. And herein the Diſſenters joyned with the Papiſts in the Houſe of Lords, and mutually attempted to hinder the Settlement.

But becauſe all theſe little Arts were likely to be of ſmall force without hands to back them, they began to ſollicit the Soldiery which was then a foot, many of which began to apprehend the Trade was then going down, and the Nation might be ſettled ſo as there might be no further uſe of them. But the Miniſters of State ſenting this Deſign betimes, put the Houſe of Commons the 21 of *November*, 1661. upon a Vote, *To deſire the Lords concurrence in a Petition to his Majeſty to iſſue out a Proclamation for diſarming the disbanded and caſhier'd Officers and Soldiers, and to Command them to depart from, and not to approach within twenty miles of this City, for ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould think fit.* To which the Lords Aſſented, and named *Six*, as the Commons did *Twelve* of their Members to attend his Majeſty for that purpoſe: But the *Eighteenth* of *December*, the *Cold-Streamers* and other Soldiers, that ſerved under the Lord General *Monk* at his coming out of *Scotland* into *England*, deſired the Commons Opinon, *Whether in their Vote and Addreſs to his Majeſty* (before mentioned) *they were included?* To which they agreed to Reply, *They were not*: and deſired the Concurrence of the Lords. But at a Conference held the next day with the Upper Houſe, the Lords replyed, *They could not concur.* 1. *His Majeſty having granted his Licenſe to thoſe who had been recommended by the General,* **and there being ſome who were not to be truſted.** 2. And the Lord Chancellor further declared, *That the ſame did concern things of a high*

and dangerous nature, and that there had been a Real Design which had been forming ever since March *last, to disturb the Union and Peace of the Kingdom*, and named ſeveral of the parties engaged, with the manner and contrivance of their Traiterous Deſign, and the progreſs they had from time to time made therein: and although their Deſigns were at preſent diſordered, as to the effecting of them in the Town, to which End they had made a general invitation of disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and other diſaffected perſons to reſort hither, about the *Eleventh* of this Month; yet they were ſtill practiſing to put the ſame in execution in the Countrey. And hereupon the Lords appointed a Committee of *Twelve* of their own houſe, and deſired an anſwerable number of the Commons to be joyned with them, who might (during the receſs) examine the ſaid Trayterous Deſigns and report it to the Houſe, with ſuch Expedients as they ſhould find neceſſary for preventing and ſuppreſſing thereof, and ſecuring the Peace of the Nation in this juncture of Affairs. To which the Commons agreed, and appointed *Twenty four* of their Members to be joyned to the Committee appointed by the Lords.

And when this failed, in the Year 1662. they wrought ſo much upon his Majeſties Compaſſion, as to diſpoſe him very much to have granted them a Toleration the ſecond time, which being perceived by the Parliament, they tendred ſuch Reaſons to the contrary, as made the Deſign for that time miſcarry, and ſo all things went according to the Act of Uniformity.

The Preſſes in this time alſo were peſtered (as now they are) with ſuch numerous ſwarms of Libels, that his Majeſties Life and Reputation, Authority and Government, were much endangered: and I remember in that time a Pamphlet was ſtopped at the Preſs, which recom-

recommended to the People the Example of *Ehud* who ſtab'd the King of *Moab*, as an heroick attempt. To prevent which inconveniencies, this Loyal Parliament paſſed an Act, the Preface of which being ſhort is as followeth:

WHereas the Well Government and Regulating of Printers and Printing Preſſes is matter of publick Care, and of great Concernment, eſpecially conſidering, that by the general Licentiouſneſs of the late times, many evil diſpoſed perſons have been encouraged to Print and Sell Heretical, Schiſmatical, Blaſphemous, Seditious and Treaſonable Books, Pamphlets and Papers; And ſtill do continue ſuch their Unlawful and Exorbitant Practices (mark theſe words) *to the high Diſhonour of Almighty God, the endangering the Peace of the Kingdom, and raiſing a diſaffection to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty and his Government.*

For prevention whereof, no ſurer means can be deviſed, than by reducing and limiting the number of Printing Preſſes, and by Ordering and Settling the ſaid Art or Myſtery of Printing by Act of Parliament: which Act being ſince Expired, all theſe inconveniencies are returned upon the Nation with ſo much the more Violence as the Reſtraint hath inraged the Diſtemper; many of the worſt Books that were Printed in the late Rebellion, being Reprinted as New Books. And to all the Malice of the preſent Times, all that of the intermediate betwixt the Making and Expiring of the ſaid Act being added; and now at once ſent out to infect the Nation.

Whether this be a good way for Diſſenters to expreſs their pretended Love and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and whether the Countenancing this can be intended for any other End but the begetting another Rebellion, let the Reader judge?

The number of Diſſenting Teachers, who were either deprived of their ill-gotten Livings, to reſtore the Rightful Owners who were then living; or had deprived themſelves by refuſing to Subſcribe or take Epiſcopal Orders, was great without doubt: and theſe almoſt all of them forthwith took up the Trade of Conventickling, ſo that the Nation in general, but eſpecially *London* and the great Towns became rarely well ſtocked with that ſort of *Out-Lyers*, who under pretence of *Tender Conſciences*, did at their Meetings contrive Inſurrections as late Experience hath ſhewed, as the Words of the Statute are. To prevent which growing and dangerous practices of Seditious Sectaries, and other Diſloyal Perſons, an Act paſſed in the 16*th*. Year of his Majeſties Reign, for the puniſhing of thoſe Diſorders.

Cap. 4.

And it was high time this Care ſhould be taken, for the next Year, 1665. the Lord Chancellor gave an Account by Letter to the Juſtices of the Peace, of a Plot that was then diſcovered, the Words of which Letter are as followeth:

His Majeſty being well aſſured by the Confeſſion of ſome deſperate perſons lately apprehended, and by other Credible Informations, That notwithſtanding all his Majeſties unparallel'd Lenity and Mercy towards his Subjects for their paſt Offences how great ſoever, there are ſtill amongſt them many Seditious perſons, who inſtead of being ſorry for the ill they have done, are ſtill contriving by all the means they can, to involve the Kingdom in a New Civil War, and in order thereunto have made Choice of a ſmall Number, who under the Title of a Council hold Correſpondence with the Forain Enemies to this Kingdom, and diſtribute their Orders to ſome ſignal men of their Party in the ſeveral Counties, who have provided Arms, and Liſted men to be ready upon any ſhort warning to draw together into

into a Body, by which with the help which they promiſe themſelves from abroad, they preſume to be able to do much Miſchief. And after gives Directions how this ſhould be prevented, amongſt which one was; *To free the Countrey from Seditious and Unlawful Meetings and Conventicles.*

The End of which Meetings is (as the Letter goes on) *as appears by ſeveral Examinations and Confeſſions, to confirm each other in their Malice againſt the Government, and in making Collections for the ſupport of thoſe of their Party, who are Liſted to appear in any deſperate undertaking, the very time whereof they have deſigned,* &c. This Letter bears date the *Thirtieth* of *March*, 1665. By which you may at once ſee how reſtleſs theſe *Burmingham* Proteſtants were then to have involved the Nation in a War again, and what uſe they made of the Conventicle-Meetings, and what the People were there Taught; yet was it not now *Five* Years ſince his Majeſties Return, and moſt Gracious Pardon.

But this Contrivance failing of its expected Event, they plyed their buſineſs diligently in all Corporations that ſend Burgeſſes to Parliament, in which places they diſtilled the poyſonous Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion, into the hearts of his Majeſties Subjects, to the great danger of the Church and Kingdom: As the Preface of the Act made againſt this, expreſſeth it. And there the main deſign was, That as the members of that Parliament ſhould die, they might by the help of theſe Seduced Inhabitants and Free-men, get men Choſen into their places of other Principles, and how they have ſucceeded in this I need ſay nothing. And at the ſame time they induſtriouſly wrought on the Yeomanry and inferior Freeholders of the Counties, blaſting the Reputation of the Loyal Gentry as Men of Arbitrary Principles, and crying up thoſe of their own Party as moderate men, the effects of which were very conſpicuous afterwards tho not much regarded then. Be- 17 *Car.* 2. *c.* 2.

Before I dismiss this Statute I must therein take notice of the Oath they are thereby required to make, which is this:

I A. B. do Swear, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionʼd by him, in pursuance of such Commissions, And that I will not any time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.

Now though this is so easie and reasonable that a man can scarce conceive any Subject of *England* should refuse it, yet I never knew any of this sort of men give the King so much Assurance of their Loyalty as the taking it; which is as plain a Declaration of their Intentions as any man could wish. For he that will not Swear the Unlawfulness of taking Arms against his King, when he is required by Law so to do, doth thereby plainly declare he thinks it Lawful, and then he will never fear to think it Expedient, when he conceives it Safe. He that huggs that Trayterous Position there mentioned, in his bosom, is Loyal because he dares be no otherwise, and ought no more to be endured in any place than a declared Enemy. And what can any Government expect from him that denies that Negative Assurance of *Not endeavouring an Alteration of it?* had these men had no other Designs but that of serving God according to their Consciences, and living quietly under the Government, tho they could not comply with it, they would have rejoyced at an Opportunity of this Nature, to express their Innocency. But the refu-

efuſing it is a plain declaration that neither the Peace of the King or Kingdom, nor the Government in Church or State ſhall continue longer than, till they have got force enough to deſtroy or alter them. And ſhall any man need a greater demonſtration of their Reſolutions to Rebell again when time ſhall ſerve?

In 65. and 66. God Viſited the ſins of this Nation with a dreadful Plague, wherein *London* ſmarted moſt of all, and in *September* 66. God permitted a deſtroying Fire to follow it, which laid a conſiderable part of that populous City in Aſhes; the diſſenting Miniſters (as Mr. *Baxter* acquaints us in his *Laſt Apology*) took the opportunity of theſe two *Signal Judgments*, and the Conſternation the People were then in, to puſh their Deſigns forward, which they might do with the greater ſafety, becauſe of the Confuſion that attended theſe two Calamities, and he ſaith that from that time forward, the People became more addicted to them than before. So that Scourge, which, as far as man can or may judge, was ſent upon them for the Sins of the former Rebellion, was made by them a means of diſpoſing them to commit the ſame Sins over again, when time and opportunity ſhould ſerve. But in the interim things went ſmoother after this; the People attending to rebuild what the Fire had waſted, and to enjoy the fruits of the Peace made with the *Dutch* after a ſharp War.

And now if any man will but reflect upon what I have ſaid, and add to it what he may poſſibly remember of the Times I have thus ſhortly repreſented; He will eaſily ſee that from the Time his Majeſty ſet his Foot upon the *Engliſh* ſhores at his Return; they fell to work to contrive his Ruin, and that nothing hath hitherto prevented it but the Loyalty of the two firſt Parliaments, and the unwillingneſs of the People to ingulph themſelves preſently in thoſe Calamities they had

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ſo lately eſcaped out of; nor hath his Majeſty failed on his part to improve theſe two great advantages, to the ſettling of the Government both in Church and State, and to the repairing thoſe devaſtations which the War, Plague and Fire had made.

I intend not a Hiſtory of all their Proceedings, for which I am no ways qualified, having lived all my Life a private man in the Countrey, and converſed more with Ancient than Modern Books, but a Diſcourſe for the benefit of them who have not reflected ſo much on theſe things as they might and ought to have done; and therefore I ſhall be ſhorter in my Accounts of the following times, and the firſt thing I will take notice of is his Majeſties Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience or a Toleration, which bears date the *Fifteenth of March*, $167\frac{1}{2}$.

The *Pacquet of Advice* to the men of *Shaftsbury*, pag. 19.

This Declaration was promoted chiefly by the Lord *Clifford* who was a *Roman Catholick*, and preſently cloſed with by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and as greedily embraced by the Diſſenters in general as any thing could be, and hath ſince appeared to be as ſubſervient to their Intereſt yet *Coleman*'s Letters, and many of the Informers in the late *Plot*, having opened their Eyes a little, now as the blame is thrown upon the *Papiſts*, and the World made believe as far as men can be perſuaded out of their Senſes, That as the whole Contrivance was *Popiſh*, the Diſſenters ſoon found it was ſo, and therefore the *Presbyterians* eſpecially preſently ſuſpected the kindneſs, and like wiſe men cloſed with the Conformiſts and refuſed the bait however ſpecious it ſeemed, when they ſaw the hook that lay under it, as one of that Party tells us, which Dr. *Stillingfleet* Confutes by quoting paſſages out of their own Books Printed in that time and ſaith, *That he was ſo far from believing that they had cloſed with the Conformiſts, that he dated the* Presbyterian

Preface to the *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation*, pag. 22, 23, 24.

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Separation chiefly from that time. For did they not take out Indulgences (as he goes on) *build Meeting Places, and keep up Separate Congregations ever ſince? and a little after the Ejected Miniſters then reſorted to Cities and Corporations, not to ſupply the neceſſities of thoſe who wanted them, but to gather Churches amongſt them. Ten Non-conforming Miniſters reſorting to one City where there was not above Thirty or Forty Perſons, who refuſed to come to Church.*

This Declaration was ſo ſtoutly oppoſed by the Parliament which met the *Fourth* day of *February* following, that at laſt his Majeſty tho very unwillingly, yielded to cancel it; but notwithſtanding there was ſcarce any Execution of the Laws againſt them, till in *January* or *February* $167\frac{4}{5}$. his Majeſty Commanded the Laws ſhould proceed againſt them, ſo that for *Four* whole Years they had no conſiderable Trouble given them, nor indeed have the Laws been generally at any time ſince Executed againſt them. Now what uſe have they made of this Favour? *Firſt*, They have endeavour'd to perſuade the World, That his Majeſty was drawn on to this by *Popiſh* Counſels, who deſigned thereby the Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion: without ever taking notice of his Majeſties natural Inclination to Pity and Compaſſion. And that one of the Chief Promoters of it the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, neither now is nor ever was reputed a Papiſt, but a great Friend and Favourer of the Diſſenters. *Secondly*, They made it their buſineſs by Perjuries, ſplitting of Free-holds into Atoms for a ſmall time, purchaſing Votes, Threats and Promiſes, to draw in as many as was poſſible to give their Votes for ſuch men as they ſhould recommend to them for Parliament Men. And I need not tell you what ſort of Men they are, but by this means they have made Parliaments almoſt totally impracticable, and at laſt made

that Long-Loyal Parliament to Act ſo much unlike it ſelf, *That his Majeſty who* (to uſe the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Language in his Speech at the opening of the Seſſion of Parliament, the *Fourth* day of *February*, 7$\frac{2}{3}$.) *for many Years Lived with it, with all the Careſſes of a happy Marriage, was yet at length forced to give her a Bill of Divorce after ſhe had loſt that Loyalty and Affection and Dutiful Behaviour which She had before ſhewed towards him*; By the procurement of thoſe Diſſenters, and thoſe they had ſhufled in upon the ſeveral Deaths that happen'd during the many years that Parliament was kept a foot.

Thirdly, By the means of this Toleration they drew off ſo many who before Complyed with the Religion Eſtabliſhed, that they have ever ſince had the confidence to boaſt of their numbers as equal at leaſt, to the Conformiſts. And though this is certainly falſe: yet by the means of it their numbers are really bigger than otherwiſe they would be, for many men obſerving how ſtrangely they had recovered themſelves out of that low Condition they were in when his Majeſty firſt returned, and eaſily conjecturing from thence that poſſibly they may be in a ſhort time able to try their ſtrength with the King in the Field, have joyned with them as far as they might without the danger of Law, to beſpeak their favour in the next Rebellion, who yet keep their Churches in the mean time, and are as hot in their diſcourſes againſt the Diſſenters (if none of them be preſent) as any body elſe need to be. So in the Choice of Parliament men, in Juries and all other occaſions where there is no danger of penalties, they are for the Diſſenters, and in all the reſt they are for the Church of *England*, and in theſe Hypocrites or Knaviſh Politicians, their chief ſtrength doth conſiſt, many of which as they had never been gained over to them without the Toleration, ſo if ever their Affairs ſink, they will ſhe

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them they are of his mind who ſaid he would become part of the prey of the Conqueror: and it will be ten to one if at laſt thoſe Criples be not really hamſtring'd and made to halt in good earneſt, but however the miſeries of another Civil War, if it happens, will revenge the Folly of them that thus promote it. And God grant theſe men may have a double portion of it, if it muſt be. But beſides theſe little Polititians, there is another ſort who tho they have conformed ſome in part, as far as once a month, or the Sermon, with now and then a ſnip of the Book of *Common-Prayer* with it, inſtead of Muſtard and Vinegar, which you know a man would be loth to be always ty'd to. And others by degrees not finding the ſtate of their bodies much damnified by Conformity, and the bodies of their Eſtates better ſecured for the preſent at leaſt, have more intirely ſubmitted, yet neither of theſe out of any ſincere Love to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, but as Mr. *Baxter* tells us, *'Tis a forced Conformity or Hypocriſie, which doth but paint our Churches with the Ornament of mens companies, and that as it profiteth not their Souls* (no be ſure of it as long as there is one threat in all the Goſpel againſt Hypocrites) *So* (as he learnedly goes on) *they are only Inſtruments to undermine us, for forced unwilling Conformiſts will turn againſt us, as ſoon as they have opportunity.* You ſee what is to be expected from ſuch men, and he gives a good reaſon for it, which is, *That if we impriſon men in our Churches they will be ſtill ſeeking to get out. Were not almoſt all the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly Epiſcopal Conformable men* (he means before the War began, and whilſt it was not ſafe to be otherwiſe, that is nnwilling forced Conformiſts, which is Hypocrites in his Opinion) *when they came thither? And did not almoſt all the People of the Land Conform before the Wars? and yet* (as he tells us truly) *they did us never the more Service, nor the leſs diſpleaſure.* And

Apol. for the Non-Con. p. 90.

where is the wonder of all this that they that are falſe to God and their own Souls be falſe to their Prince, and to their Neighbours? But I would entreat Mr. *Baxter* to try his Memory once more, and it may poſſibly inform him that tho the *Presbyterians* hand-faſted theſe Gentlemen by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, yet that would not hold them neither, but ſome of them proved as falſe to the *Covenanters* as they were before to the *Conformiſts*, and that even of the Aſſembly-men: Are not theſe a worthy ſort of People to truſt to? and yet if theſe were taken out of the Poll-Books of the *Nonconformiſts*, the remaining numbers would be much leſs than the *Hearty Conformiſts*. And let him further conſider that which fixed theſe to them in the late Wars, was the Succeſs that attended the *Rebellion*, and that if in another, things ſhould not go after the ſame manner, as no man can ſay they will, theſe *Hypocritical-Conforming-Non-Conformiſts* will certainly leave their more ſincere Brethren, (who now truſt in their Numbers) in the Lurch, and I need not tell Mr. *Baxter* what the Conſequence of that may be; for he remembers very well, how Mr. *Love* fared when theſe Gentlemen betrayed him into the hands of the *more godly Independents*. To conclude, as theſe People run the hazard of being ruin'd which ſide ſoever prevail, ſo I think neither ſide ought to eſteem them theirs, but leave them like Brutes to fall to the Conquerors ſhare, and treat them accordingly: And that they may not be totally ignorant of what they may expect from their dear Brethren, I deſire they would caſt their Eyes in time upon the Declaration of the *Thirtieth* of *January*, 1643. where they will find this ſharp Admonition. *We give now publick Warning to all* Neuters (*i. e.* ſuch Hypocrites as we are talking of) *to reſt no longer upon their* Neutrality, *but that they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the* Covenant, *and*

and joyn with all their Power in the Defence of this Cauſe against the Common Enemy, &c. *Otherwiſe we do declare them to be publick Enemies to their Religion and Countrey; and that they are to be Cenſur'd and Puniſh'd as Profeſſed Adverſaries and Malignants*. That is, Be at your Choice whether you will be damn'd in the next World for reſiſters of Lawful Authority: or be hanged in this for Traytors, if the King, or Malignants, if the Parliament prevail.

But leaving theſe *Neuters* to take their Fortunes, I come to another ſort of Auxiliaries, who have Liſted themſelves in the Diſſenters Service, ſome out of Ambitious Deſigns in hope to be taken off by Preferment; and others out of Diſcontent and Revenge for ſome ſuppoſed Injuries they have received from the Government. As to the firſt of theſe, That there are ſome ſuch at work amongſt us, the Author of the *Seaſonable Addreſs* informs us; and in part hath told the World who they are, but that is no part of my Buſineſs: and firſt, as to theſe Gentlemen, they ſhould do well to conſider their Predeceſſors in the ſame employment, and altho they may find ſome few to have mounted to Preferment by theſe Steps, yet they are fewer that have ſtood long, and ſcarce any which have not finally been ruin'd either by the Court where theſe Intruders are never welcom, or by the Country, who eſteem themſelves betrayed by them. And I might add, That Preferment comes neither from the *Eaſt* nor from the *Weſt*, nor yet from the *South*, but it is God who ſets up one and pulls down another, and moſtly theſe proud men are thoſe he plucks down: But they have of late got an excellent faculty of Ridiculing the Scriptures, and I am not willing to give them too much occaſion to make uſe of it. And as for any Advices that I can give them, I muſt expect they will be taken for Injuries, or opportunities to expoſe my Ruſtick Honeſty.

There-

Therefore leaving them, I would adviſe my dear Country-men to obſerve this ſort of men as the worſt peſts that a People can be plagued by, for they have neither Religion, Conſcience, nor Honeſty. If they ſtiſe they are the worr Maſters that can be, if they do not, they are the worſt Companions; they Careſs and Flatter the People for their own Advantage, and if their Deſigns miſcarry, leave the poor deluded Vulgar to ſmart, and if a War follows, theſe little Folks get the blows, and their Leaders the Prey. And if the Government prevail, they are both as they were, and the People have all the diſquiet for the Reward of their Folly. So that you may ſee nothing is to be got which way ſoever things fall out by theſe ſort of men, and much may be loſt: And if I were in an humor to tell Stories, I could ſhew that all the People in the World that have been free and are not, have been ruin'd by theſe ſorts of men, except thoſe that have been Conquer'd by Forainers. But if any man looks back to the beginning of our late diſtractions, he will need no further Information of what is to be expected from them.

As to the diſcontented, Sirs, I think them the ſillieſt Animals in the World. If the Government hath injur'd me, I ought to take it as the injuries of the weather, and not rage and fret at it, but here the caſe is worſe, the Elements will take their Courſe notwithſtanding (and God be thanked) no man can diſorder them, tho he may himſelf. But Kingdoms and Nations have often been ruin'd by ſuch fools, who have ever pay'd dear for their ſweet Revenge, and been buried in the Ruins they plucked down about their own Ears, and I believe a wiſe man would rather be a dwarf than have *Sampſon's* ſtrength, with his fate to attend it: and be buried not like him with his Enemies, but in a promiſcuous heap with his friends and foes, his honour and eſtate.

But in the mean time they that ſet theſe men up, and that for this Cauſe only; are ſomewhat more to blame, for theſe Malecontents are under the dominion of the ſtrongeſt paſſion to which depraved Nature is ſubject, and ſo are not Maſters of their own Reaſon, which is for the moſt part none of the caſe of them who furniſh them with Fire-brands and Granado's, without which theſe Gentlemen might poſſibly after a little ſullen rage have come into their right Wits again, without hurting themſelves or any body elſe. But when they ſee their paſſions not only pitied or cheriſhed, but applauded too; 'tis ten thouſand to one they never recover out of the diſtemper, and be ſure not till they or the Publick have ſmarted for the folly of thoſe that careſs'd this Deviliſh humor in them: whereas would either of the Parties be wiſe, no ſuch miſchief could follow.

The next ſort are a parcel of ſmall *Levites* commonly called *Semi-Conformiſts*, of theſe Mr. *Baxter* gravely profeſſeth 'That it was his unhappineſs to have ſo bad 'acquaintance before the unhappy Wars (ſurely the man was born under ill Stars) that he knew not one Con-'formable Divine, to the beſt of his Remembrance (and that this is a ſhrewd good one) 'who was of a Reli-'gious Blameleſs Life, (Hypocriſie always excepted) 'and ſeemed ſeriouſly to believe, and ſeek the Life to 'come, and to prefer Heaven before Earth; who did 'not conform onely for Mr. *Sprint*'s Argument of Ne-'ceſſity, and had not rather have been excuſed, and 'would not profeſs that they had far rather that this 'Conformity were not impoſed, and that they did (as 'St. *Paul*, ſubmit to ſome *Jewiſh* Ceremonies) meerly 'that they might not be kept from Preaching (and loſe 'their Livings) and ſo they held Conformity to be Law-'ful, and therefore with the Aſſembly, when they might 'be free, they choſe it rather.

Apol. for the Non Con. p. 90.

And

And is this the happieſt Unity that you can attain to truly if it be all we are to expect from the pretended Union of Proteſtants, I will not give one ſtraw for a Cart-load of it. The Clergy ſhould be the Salt of the Earth, but when they come once to play faſt and looſe with their Oaths and Subſcriptions, to act againſt their Conſciences, that they may have the liberty of Preaching, (for theſe mortified men do not value Livings and Tythes, no, let them but Preach, and let who will take the Revenues) and after all this be thought men of unblameable Life, *&c.* When I ſee this done by them, I will not wonder if their Followers too learn to Cog and Lye, and Diſſemble and Forſwear themſelves, as occaſion ſerves, and the publick or their private Affairs require it, and this is the true ſource of all that Perjury and Falſhood which the World ſtands amazed at. And ſaves *England* the Charge of repairing to *Rome* for Diſpenſations, theſe men having Taught the People That every man hath a Pope in his Belly, as well as the Parſon; which will abſolve him from any Oath, if he can but find a godly pretence to excuſe it: and the Example of S. *Paul*, or rather S. *Peter* will do it.

Gal. 2. 13.

And to conclude this Digreſſion, I can aſſure the Nonconformiſts, That a very conſiderable part of theſe helps (ſuch as they are) have come into their Aid and Aſſiſtance ſince the Toleration, and that whether they will own it or no, if the Papiſt procured the *Toleration*, they are beholden to them for all this good Service, tho I ſuppoſe on this occaſion they had much rather pay their thanks to *Little Anthony*, who it's poſſible might have a Proſpect of all this, and how much it would advance the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Peace of the Nation to have all theſe wild Beaſts let looſe upon the Church and State.

In

In the 25*th.* Year of his Majesties Reign, in the Session of Parliament begun the *Fourth* day of *February*, $7\frac{2}{3}$. All Popish Recusants were disabled from holding any Office, Civil or Military, &c. by obliging all such persons to receive the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, and renounce Transubstantiation, and take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, which at first brought the DUKE of YORK into suspition, he refusing to submit to the same, of which I shall speak more hereafter: Now the main Design of this Act was for the *preventing the Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants, and quieting the minds of his Majesties good Subjects*, but the business hath been so managed, that the quite contrary effects have followed, and we are pretended to be in never the less danger, and are certainly never the quieter, for we are told that some turned over their places to Protestants and had good Allowances out of them, and that others got Dispensations from *Rome*, and took the said Oaths and the Sacrament; and that others were Excused nearer hand by Orders from the Secretaries of State.

As to the first it is a pitiful Cavil, for if the Places be really in Protestant hands, the Act hath its effect, whether they bought them of Recusants or had them from the State, and whether they pay'd the purchase at once or a part of it yearly: So that this ought to disquiet no man but they that have them. And as to the Second, there is no reason that his Majesty and the Government, should be accused because the Pope pretends to give Dispensations to men to take any Oath, the Parliament devised the Remedy and the King admitted it; and if there be another inconvenience which neither he nor they can tell how to prevent, it must be born with, and I doubt this will prove so in the conclusion, if there be any truth in it. We are told that many Papists have

taken the ſaid Teſt and retained their Places, and have been never the leſs Papiſts for that, but they would never do us the Favour to tell us who theſe are, or to give in a Liſt of their Names, which they would certainly have done if they had known who they had been. But on the contrary 'tis poſſible to inſtance in ſome that did enjoy good Offices, who reſigned them rather than to take the Teſt. The Lord Treaſurer *Clifford* reſigned his Place for one, here was a Place worth the keeping, and which would have pay'd the purchaſe of a Diſpenſation, and the charge of Carriage too: but yet for all that his Lordſhip parted with it and kept to his Religion, as I doubt not but many others did who were then in good Places, tho I am not able to tell their Names. As for the third Objection, it never reached further than a few Captains and Lieutenants, and they were preſently diſcharged upon the complaint of the Parliament, and ſo one would have thought there might have been an End of it, and ſo there ſhould, if ſome men did not make a good Trade of retailing and entailing Fears and Jealouſies, not for the good of the Nation, but to ſerve ill Deſigns.

Advic: to the E. of *Shafesbury*. p. 23.

But admitting all this to be true (as it certainly is not) the Diſſenters have no more kindneſs for the Communion of the Church of *England* enjoyned by this Act, as well as renouncing Tranſubſtantiation, than the Recuſants, yet all the World knows ſome of them after twenty years abſtinence from all Communion with us, have yet to qualifie themſelves for ſome places of Truſt and Authority, taken the Sacrament with all the Formality required by the Act. Now this is as contrary to their Principles as it is to the Papiſts, and this with no other intention as appears by their actions, than to put themſelves into a Capacity to ruin that Church they thus communicate with. Where have they their

Diſpen-

Diſpenſations to act thus like *Judas*, who ſmarted for an uncharitable treacherous Communion? Let any man conſider this and then tell me, if they of all men have any reaſon to object this even againſt the Papiſts, much leſs againſt the Government.

But this is not the only inſtance wherein they have offended againſt that Act, many of them have kept Places mentioned in it, and yet have not taken the Sacrament or Oaths according to that Act, and ſome of them I could name if I thought it fit: Is this deſtructive of the Seeurity intended by this Act to be given to his Majeſties Subjects and the Government, or is it not? And who gave them their Licences to contemn the Act more than the Papiſts? And why may not the Papiſts play the Hypocrits as well as the Diſſenters. If they ſay the Act was intended to exclude Papiſts and not Diſſenters, I ſay that might have been done by enjoyning the Oaths to be taken, and Tranſubſtantiation to be renounced, without taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of *England* in ſome publick Church, upon ſome Lords Day commonly called *Sunday*, immediately after Divine Service and Sermon. Why in a Church rather than in a Barn? on a Lords Day rather than a Lecture-day? after Divine Service and Sermon, than a Holding-forth? and according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, rather than of the Presbyterians or Independents? what were all thoſe words put in for nothing? No, the Care was that not only Papiſts but Proteſtants at large ſhould be excluded, that is, all the Diſſenters tag and rag; and therefore they of all men ought not to clamour as they do. But the truth is they would make the People believe (if they could) that all that are not Diſſenters are Papiſts: and that is the thing they drive at in all their outcries againſt Popery. Fot were it not for this

they and the Papiſts could agree well enough, as they did about the Toleration, when one of them told the World, *That the Papiſts in their account was but one ſort of Recuſants, and that the Conſcientious amongſt them, muſt be held in the ſame Predicament with thoſe amongſt themſelves, that likewiſe refuſe to come to* Common-Prayer. What was this but joyning for a Toleration of Popery? But if this be not plain enough, theſe words follow'd: *but as for the Common Papiſt who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other Separatiſts, and ſo comes under the like Toleration.* And a Late Author who writ againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, hath defended all this, by which any man may ſee they hold their minds.

D. *Stillingfleet's* Preface to the *Unreaſonableneſs of Schiſm.* p. 25.

From this time till the Diſcovery of the *Plot*, the Papiſts and the Diſſenters equally promoted the diſſolution of the *Long Loyal Parliament*, what was done by the Papiſts appears by *Coleman*'s Letters, and what was done by the Diſſenters, by the *Pacquet of Advices to the Men of* Shaftsbury, who *pag.* 4. tells us of ſome body whoſe Nickname was *Mephiſtophiles*, who (beſides many others therein mentioned) had one Expedient more upon the Anvile; and that is to uſe all manner of tricks that may be, by *Long Speeches*, and *Long Debates* among the Lords, and the *Starting* of *Controverſies* about Privilege, betwixt their Lordſhips and the Commons, to *Fruſtrate* Diſpatches of the King and Kingdoms buſineſs; and ſo neceſſitate the preſent Parliament to become unſerviceable, that he may obtain a plauſible pretence to draw the People to cry out for a New one, as the onely Cure of all our Maladies. And thus they ſpent their time, and by theſe Artifices ſpoyled the Seſſion of Parliament, *Octob.* 27. 1673. His Majeſty being neceſſitated (as he goes on *pag.* 24.) for the very honour of the Parliament it ſelf, and of his Government, to put an end to many ſtrange Debates and Controverſies which could no other ways be done, but by ending

that

that and ſeveral other * Seſſions of Parliament, either Houſe being imbroyl'd in it's ſelf, and both with one another: and ſo utterly incapacitated for any diſpatch of publick buſineſs, and this was by Dr. *Shirley*'s Cauſe, of which I need ſay no more. * *Jan.* 7. 74. *April* 13. 75.

In 1675. A Proteſtation was publiſhed, containing reaſons why that Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and a New one called. And at the ſame time another Paper was printed, entituled *The Debate or Arguments for diſſolving this preſent Parliament, and the calling frequent New ones*, &c. in which it is boaſted by the deſigners (concerning the Commons Houſe) that they have a Party of Members in that Houſe (whom the ſaid Print calls many of the ableſt and moſt worthy *Patriots* amongſt them;) whoſe buſineſs it was to ſecond the *Proteſting Lords*, by carrying this Difference (the *Doctor's Cauſe*) betwixt the Houſes to the greateſt height, that by this means they might deliver the Nation from this Parliament by Diſſolution, and have a New one Called. *Pacquet*, &c. *pag.* 36. And if I might, I would enquire Whether this honeſt deſign is not driven on ſtill by the ſame party, that the Natiom may at laſt be forced to ſubmit to a King without a Parliament, which they believe is impoſſible, or to a Parliament without a King? At leaſt we may obſerve that the ſame Arts a little varied, have been made uſe of to blow up the three laſt Parliaments, which were employed for the ruin of that Loyal one, and that by the ſame men. For it is uſual with them to compaſs Sea and Land to gain a Parliament, and then break it in pieces upon the ſmalleſt pretence in the World, or render it uſeleſs, dangerous and impracticable; and yet if they be diſſolved, to fill the Ears of the People with Clamours, and their Heads with Jealouſies of Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, and ſtanding Armies: and thus whether they have a Parliament

liament or none, the King is never to have any quiet, nor the People any reſt, till they have obtained their Ends, the laſt of which is the ſubverſion of the Monarchy, and the Eſtabliſhing a Parliament or Senate rather, Abſolute and Accountable neither to him nor to the People. All which is undeniably proved by that Author, *Pag.* 37, 38, 39, 40. and which is ſo worthy of a cloſe Reflection, and is ſo pertinent to our Times, that it looks like a Prophecy, and therefore I refer my Reader to it.

In 1676. the ſame Year the Pacquet was printed, all their other Deſigns for blowing up this Loyal Parliament failing, they printed a Pamphlet with this Title: *A Seaſonable Argument to perſuade all the Grand Juries in* England *to Petition for a New Parliament, Or, A Liſt of the principal Labourers in the great Deſign of Popery and Arbitrary Power; who have betrayed their Country to the Conſpirators, and Bargained with them to maintain a ſtanding Army in* England, *under the Command of the Bigotted Popiſh D. who by the Aſſiſtance of the L. L's* Scotch *Army, the Forces in* Ireland, *and thoſe in* France, *hopes to bring all back to* Rome. Wherein, all thoſe Miniſters of State who were Members of that Parliament, are therefore repreſented as Pentioners and Men not to be truſted; and about two or three hundred other Gentlemen are with all imaginable Malice, Falſhood and Rudeneſs, expoſed in print to the hatred and contempt of the Multitude, but yet it is obſervable, it was not thought fit then to put that Liberty of the People in practice they have ſince, *viz.* that of popular tumultuous getting hands to Petitions, but the Grand Juries are ſollicited, and the Statute purſued; for the Parliament was then in being that made it, and would ſoon have cruſhed this popular pretence, and have taught them, tho they might petition yet it muſt be in a regular way; and that their Deſigns

were

were not againſt the Parliament only, but his Majeſties Government too, appears by drawing what Odium they could upon the Guards, and the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Forces, which are obſtacles too great for theſe Loyal Gentlemen to endure. At the ſame time alſo they printed a damnable Libel under the Title of *The Growth of Popery*, wherein they Libell'd the whole Government. But this Parliament having had the leiſure during a long receſs to conſider ſeriouſly what would be the Event of theſe things, in the beginning of their next Seſſion, reskued themſelves from the contempt and deluſion of theſe *Bontefeus*: and having made ſome of them Examples of their juſt reſentment, things went on ſomewhat ſmoother, till the diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, when they reaſſumed all their old jugling tricks, and drave them on with more fury and better ſucceſs, as I may poſſibly ſhew hereafter; and in the intrim this may ſerve for a taſt till a fuller account may be given of the ways and means by which they are arrived at a poſſibility of ſubverting the Government once more, and imbroyling us in another Rebellion to our Ruine.

But omitting this for the preſent, I will return back and ſee what pains the Popiſh party took to diſſolve this Parliament, and that at the ſame time, as if they and the Diſſenters had been acted by the ſelf ſame Soul, as doubtleſs they then had, and now have the ſame intereſt; In order to which I ſhall produce *Coleman*'s Letter to Monſieur *Le Cheſe*, dated 29 of *Sept.* 75. wherein he ſaith, that in *July*, *Auguſt* and *September* 73. *I conſtantly inculcated the great danger* Catholick Religion, *and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties intereſt would be in at our next Seſſion of Parliament, which was then to be in* October *following, at which I plainly foreſee, That the King my Maſter would be forced to ſomething in prejudice of his Alliance with* France, *and that we ſhould make a Peace with* Holland.

Holland. *Upon this I ſhewed that our Parliament in the Circumſtances it was in, manag'd by the timerous Counſels of our Miniſters who then governed, could never be uſeful either to* England, France, *or* Catholick Religion, *but that we ſhould certainly be forced from our Neutrality at their next meeting, as we had been from our active Alliance with* France *the laſt; that a Peace in the Circumſtances we were in was much more to be deſired than the continuance of the War, and that the Diſſolution of our Parliament would certainly procure a Peace, for that the Confederates did more depend upon the Power they had in our Parliament, than upon any thing in the World, and were more encouraged from thence to continue the War? So that if that were Diſſolved, their Meaſures would be all broken, and conſequently they neceſſitated to a Peace.*

Here are the Ends why that Party ſo paſſionately deſired the Diſſolution of that Parliament, becauſe it was the Mound that kept out Popery at home, and preſerved the Proteſtant Intereſt abroad. And therefore no wonder if the good Father *Ferrier* promiſed in behalf of his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, That if his *Highneſs* would endeavour to Diſſolve this Parliament his Majeſty would aſſiſt him with his power and purſe to have ſuch a New one as ſhould be for their purpoſe, which Anſwer was dated *June* 2. 1674. Now there could be no *Popiſh* Parliament, for that was impoſſible; no Church of *England* Parliament, for ſuch this was; therefore it muſt mean a Factious Parliament of Conforming Diſſenters, and Common-wealth men.

But this is not coming up to *Coleman*'s purpoſe, being too general, he next inſinuates, That my Lord *Arlington* and the Parliament were not only not uſeful, but very dangerous to *England* and *France*; and therefore it was neceſſary they ſhould do all they could to Diſſolve it. And to that purpoſe his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*

Majeſty is perſuaded to renew the ſame offer to his Majeſty of his purſe, to Diſſolve this Parliament —— and then there would be no great difficulty of getting a new one which would be more uſeful, (*i. e.* to *France* and *Popery*) *The Conſtitution of our Parliaments being ſuch, That a New one can never hurt the Crown; nor an Old one do it good.* This Maxim which is repeated ſo often, is to be taken quite backward, and doubtleſs was ſo then in *France*, who were far enough from deſigning the good of the Crown of *England*, much more from giving any money for that purpoſe.

Coleman further tells us how he was notwithſtanding deluded by the *French*, eſpecially after the Parliament was Prorogu'd till the 13*th.* of *April*, 74. of which late Meeting *France* hoped to make the ſame Advantage as of a Diſſolution, and therefore his Propoſal for 300000 *l.* for a Diſſolution, was ſlighted by the *French* Ambaſſadour and Monſieur *Pompone*, and he was forced to go on in his Intrigue, and preſs the Diſſolution of the Parliament (without much encouragement) deteſting all Prorogations as ſo much loſs of time only, and a means of ſtrengthening all thoſe who depend upon it in oppoſition to the Crown and Intereſt of *France*, and *Catholick Religion*, in the Opinion they had taken our King durſt not part with this Parliament, apprehending another would be worſe. Now you may be ſure theſe were no Diſſenters, No, they were then as hot as the Papiſts for a Diſſolution, and did expect the next Parliament would be much better for them. And thus things continued till *February*, 1675. when the Papiſts foreſeeing a greater Storm, deſired to have that Parliament continued till they had in ſome ſort provided againſt it.

And one Reaſon was, becauſe the Parliament (then greatly oppreſſed and diſordered by Factious men) had

ſet it ſelf a long time to diſlike every thing the Miniſters did, and had appear'd violently againſt Popery, whilſt the Court ſeem'd to favour it, and therefore (*ſaith he*) the Miniſters having turn'd their Faces, we were confident the Parliament would do ſo too, and ſtill be againſt them, and be as little for Perſecution then as they had been for Popery before. And leſt you might be miſtaken of what Party he ſpoke, thus he goes on: Our Lord Treaſurer, Lord Keeper, all the Biſhops, and ſuch as call themſelves *Old Cavaliers*, were induſtrious againſt Popery, and had the Purſe at their Girdle too, which was an excellent Inſtrument to gain friends with, and all united againſt the DUKE as Patron both of *France* and *Catholick Religion*; yet how impudently were the Biſhops and Church Party then every day ſlander'd (as they are now) as deſigning to introduce Popery? Oh ye Diſſenters conſider this Teſtimony of a bitter Enemy, and put an end to your *Religious Lying* againſt them.

You may ſee by this the Catholicks were then at a low Ebb, the great Miniſters of State, all the Biſhops and the *Old Cavaliers* were againſt them; and they had no Money neither, but he goes on: Yet notwithſtanding all this, we ſaw that by the help of the Nonconformiſts (as *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other Sects, who were as much afraid of Perſecution as our ſelves) and the Enemies of the Miniſters, (Who are theſe for they are excepted out of the Liſt of the Nonconformiſts?) and particularly of the Treaſurer (who at that time had ſupplanted the Earl of *Arlington*, and was grown ſole Manager of all Affairs himſelf) we ſhould be able to prevent what they (the Miniſters, Biſhops, and Church-party,) deſigned againſt us, and ſo render the Seſſions ineffectual to their Ends (the ſuppreſſion of Popery) though we might not be able to

compaſs

compaſs our own, which were to make one brisk ſtep in favour of his *Royal Highneſs*.

Thus my dear Countrey men, the Providence of God hath diſcovered who are the real Friends and Promoters of Popery, even theſe godly Nonconformiſts, and the Ambitious Imbroylers of the Government; and at the ſame time how falſely all the Advantages Popery hath got upon the Government, are aſcribed to the Biſhops and Conformable Clergy; who are every day called *Tories*, *Tantivy-men*, *Papiſts in Maſquerade*, &c. And you may ſee how dreadful a Church-of-*England*-Parliament is to them and *France*, what pains they have taken to Out ſuch a one, and bring us into that Confuſion we are now in. And if we ſhall ſtill go on to promote their Deſigns upon us, the World will conclude we are infatuated by God to our Ruin.

I would not abate one dram of your Zeal againſt Popery, but I have taken all this pains that I might direct it, and if it might be, fix it upon the real Object of it; and then with *Prudence* and *Courage* go on to Extirpate this Scandal of *Chriſtianity*, each man in his place as far and as faſt as you lawfully can or may, and God proſper you in it. But when you take the Biſhops, Conformable Clergy, the Great and Loyal Miniſters of State, the Loyal Gentry and Magiſtrates, for *Papiſts* or *Tories*, that is, *Iriſh Thieves*, you are under the ſame deluſion *Don Quixot* was, when he took the Windmill for a Gyant, and the Flock of Innocent Sheep for an Army of Enemies. And every ſtep you take in complyance with this delirous Conceit, is an advance towards Popery: if you imagine the Papiſts have not been able by their own ſingle ſtrength and cunning to work us all this Miſchief, you are in the right, and *Coleman* ſore againſt his will, hath told you what Auxiliaries they have amongſt us, and who are the Enemies they fear,

and muſt vanquiſh at any rate. Whilſt the Parliament was intirely Church-of-*England*, the Papiſts and Diſſenters joyned hand in hand to confound it, but when it became diſordered by Factious men, unſerviceable to the Nation, the two Houſes imbroyled within themſelves and each with other, then the Papiſts were for the ſitting of it, becauſe they knew it could not hurt them or *France*, nor benefit the Proteſtant Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, which is the only Proteſtant Religion in *England*, againſt which all their Forces are bent: But yet becauſe it was but too likely this Loyal Parliament which was ſound at the Heart, thô full of ſickly Humors at that time, might afterwards recover her former ſtate of health, the Papiſts and Diſſenters never left the Chaſe againſt her, till finally by the frauds of the Jeſuites abroad, and the fury of the Diſſenters within doors, this Loyal, Healing, truly Proteſtant Parliament fell, and with it the Terror of *France*, the Bulwork of our Proteſtant Allies, the Pillars of the Monarchy, the Peace and Proſperity of the *Britiſh* Iſles, and the Glory of *England*, may my Reader pardon me if I drop a few tears at the Funeral of ſo great a Body, and which had deſerved ſo well of his Majeſty, the Church, the State, and all *Europe*, and I could almoſt ſay with *David*, *I would God I had dyed for Thee.*

By all this my dear Country-men may ſee how the Diſſenters grew up in theſe laſt twenty years, and improved every accident to their advantage, as they are a reſtleſs ſort of men, and not unlike the Devil, always going about ſeeking whom they may ſubvert and Ruin; they wrought upon the diſcontents of ſuch of the Old *Cavaliers* as miſt Preferment, Cheriſhed their own diſheartned Party by Contributions and cloſe Cabals, made up their own breaches and reconciled their own differences, flattered the People with the Title of Saints, and

and Holy Perſons, even them that before his Majeſties Return they moſt deteſted: they Sainted the King's Murderers, turned every little Accident that happen'd to their Enemies into a Prodigy, and then made it an Argument of God's Anger againſt them, fomented Forain Wars, made the burning of *London*, a means to fire the Church and Nation, by turning the fault upon the King's Guards, and inſinuating as far as they durſt That the King was the Author of it. And when his Majeſty gave them an Indulgence they improv'd it to ſubvert his People, and imbroyl the Elections of Parliament men, and the Houſe; till his Majeſty ſcarce knew which way to turn him, they filled the Corporations with diſſatisfied People; and when notwithſtanding their wheels went heavily, they taught the People the lawfulneſs of breaking Oaths, of Equivocations and Mental Reſervations, they reviv'd all the Old Fears and Jealouſies againſt the Church and Biſhops, and made the Rabble believe, That all that were for Monarchy were for Arbitrary Government; all that ſtood ſtoutly for the Religion Eſtabliſhed were Papiſts; and in the mean time, all that were perfectly indifferent whether we had any Religion or no, they ſtiled *Moderate Men*; all thoſe Clergy-men who left them and Conformed, they ſtiled *Turn-coots*, *Time-ſervers*, &c. all the reſt they called *Drunkards*, *Baal's Prieſts*, *Surpingle Men*, and the like: they peſtred the Nation with Swarms of factious and diſloyal Pamphlets and Diſcourſes, and ſpread all thoſe Reports they could invent or gather up to the diſadvantage of the Government; and as for thoſe Taxes and Supplies, thoſe Guards and Laws which themſelves had made neceſſary; they repreſented them to the People as the Acts or Inſtruments of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government. And now O my Country-men, Are theſe *Vipers* to be Cheriſhed

Skinner's *Motus Comp.* p. 142.

riſhed in your boſoms any longer? they that from the loweſt degree of deſpair and the brink of ruin have riſen by theſe godly Arts to this height of Power, can you think a few fruitleſs wiſhes can ſuppreſs them? I tell you nothing but what you know, and your own Reaſons will tell you the reſt, if you will but conſult them, but if you will not, Time will roar it ſo loud in your Ears that you ſhall hear thô not help it.

But notwithſtanding all their Arts, ſuch was the Care of the Government, That they made but ſmall Progreſs till the Diſcovery of the late Helliſh Popiſh Plot, nor had that turned ſo much to their Advantage as it hath done, if the ſtrangeneſs of the Deſign had not rendred it almoſt incredible with knowing men, and the freſh Alarms theſe men have often given us when there was no Cauſe, made many more ſuſpitious when there really was one: So that I reckon they of all men are moſt Anſwerable for the difficulty of many men in believing it, who have made the greateſt uſe of that unbelief, and who have made it their buſineſs to inſinuate into all men, that all that care that was taken to prevent deſception in the beginning of the diſcovery, was deſigned to ſtifle it, as it cannot be denied but that by Accident it made the diſcovery leſs apparent, the Conſpirators having time enough to burn or convey away thoſe Papers, that might have made the Diſcovery more apparent.

The Popiſh Gentry in the times of the Late Troubles, by Choice or Neceſſity generally took part with his Majeſties Father and were Soldiers under him, and after his preſent Majeſties Defeat at *Worceſter*, were very inſtrumental in his Eſcape into *France*; and to this we may Add, That after this during his Exile, he living ſo many years in the Dominions of *Roman Catholick* Princes, as he expreſſeth it in an Anſwer to the Com-

Commons, *April*, 2. 1663. and they having performed him ſome eminent Services in the time of his greateſt Affliction, and being naturally of a Generous and good Nature, Grateful and Merciful beyond the meaſure of any Prince beſides himſelf. At his firſt return and at all times after, he was as kind to them as the nature of their Religion would permit him, and perhaps beyond his Intereſt, as well as above their deſerts.

And had their Modeſty been any way proportionable to his Majeſties Goodneſs, and not incenſed the Parliament againſt them, they might have lived under him as happily as they could have wiſhed, but it is not the temper of theſe men to be quiet, or permit others to be ſo in any condition, and from this natural temper the Prieſts and Jeſuits eſpecially grew inſolent, which occaſioned ſeveral Addreſſes from the Parliament to his Majeſty for ſevere Proclamations againſt them, one in the year laſt mentioned, in *March*; to which his Majeſty Anſwered *April* 2. which was ſeconded by another Vote the 25*th*. of *July* the ſame year, and ſo we hear no more of them till the 26*th*. of *October*, 1666. when the Commons moved for another Proclamation for the Baniſhment of Prieſts and Jeſuits out of his Kingdoms, and alſo for the Execution of the Laws againſt them that ſhould afterwards be taken, which ſeems to be occaſioned by the Fire of *London* the month before, of which they were then vehemently ſuſpected to be the Authors and Promoters: and the 4*th*. of *March*, 1667. upon Information of the inſolent Carriages and Abuſes committed by perſons in ſeveral places, in diſturbing the Miniſters in their Churches, and holding Meetings of their own contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the Lower Houſe of Parliament Addreſs'd again for a Proclamation for enforcing the Laws againſt Conventicles, and that Care might be taken for the

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preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts, which his Majeſty promiſed. And again the *Third* of *November*, 1669. the Commons thanked the King for ſuch another Proclamation which was it ſeems then renewed, all which Proclamations may be obſerved to be levell'd only againſt the *Roman* Clergy, whilſt their Nobility and Gentry were cheriſhed and countenanced as much as any other of his Majeſties Subjects, and had ſome Places of truſt and Profit under his Majeſty, till at laſt their power became ſo formidable, that it was thought neceſſary to exclude them from that advantage by an Act made in the *Twenty Fifth* year of his Majeſties Reign, and by the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, they had their ſhare in the common exemption from the Execution of the *Penal Laws*, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes, tho they were not allowed publick places of Worſhip. And after this was taken away and the ſaid Act made, they had the ſame connivence with the Diſſenters, till about *February*, 167$\frac{4}{5}$. when there came forth a ſharper Declaration againſt them than againſt the Diſſenters, and it is to be obſerved, That from his Majeſties return till the diſcovery of the Plot, there was but one Law made againſt them, and that not till after many great provocations, and that took nothing from them that was their own. *Secondly*, That notwithſtanding all theſe Declarations and Proclamations, there was ſcarce any Execution of any Laws againſt them but the laſt, and that was ſometimes diſpenſed with, as appears by the Complaint of the Houſe of Commons againſt Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* one of the Secretaries of State, the 19*th*. of *November*, 1678. in ſome ſort owned by his Majeſty the 23*d*. of the ſame Month, with a promiſe of Redreſs.

Thô I cannot poſitively aver that this was all that was done againſt them till the diſcovery of the Plot which was near *Eighteen* years after his Majeſties Return; yet all the World bear record to this, That never were any People treated with more Lenity and Mercy than they were, and if they had none of the gainful employments, they were much leſs troubled with any of the chargeable and troubleſome places; and time and their forced Loyalty had obliterated the memory of their former Crimes in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and few believed thoſe againſt his Majeſties Father, ſo that they were but too well thought of by their Neighbouring Gentry, and viſited and careſſed by them without any diſtinction, or ſcarce remembrance that they were of another Religion: And there had been a view taken alſo of their Numbers in the Year 1676. and that was thought ſo inconſiderable, that our fears too were even laid aſleep.

No wonder then if after all this, ſuch a prodigious unprovok'd Deſign as the Late Plot, was hardly believed, and had they not been the moſt bloody ungrateful miſcreants that ever aroſe amongſt men, there could have been no ſuch thing: And the diſcovery being made only by Dr. *Oats* and no other witneſſes to back it, they might have weathered the ſtorm, if firſt *Coleman's* Papers and after them the murder of Sir *Edmund. Godfry*, had not given the Nation new Alarms, which are chiefly to be attributed to the Providence of God watching over them for the Pnniſhment of ſuch unmanly and unchriſtian Cruelty and Malice.

By all this it will appear as there was no more reaſon why theſe bloody men ſhould thus conſpire his Majeſties Death and the Ruin of the Nation, ſo there was great reaſon it ſhould not be too eaſily believed they had, it being the nature of Innocency alſo, not to ſuſpect

others haſtily of thoſe things it doth abhor, and the moſt Generous Princes being naturally the leaſt Jealous, whilſt the timerous, and they that are Ill Natur'd and have done many Injuries, ſuſpect every Noiſe and Motion as the Harbingers of Revenge; we may with much more probability aſſign his Majeſties ſlowneſs of belief to his temper, than to any favour he bore to the Offenders or their Religion.

But yet the Diſſenters who lay gaping for all Advantages againſt his Majeſty and the Government, and had now recovered ſome part of their loſt Credit with the People, making uſe of the Conſternation and Affright all men were then in, which was the greater, becauſe the true extent of the Cauſe was not then known, by all ways imaginable turn' dall this to the diſhonour of the King and the Miniſters of State, attributing every thing that fell out, to a deſigned intention of ſtifling the knowledg of the Plot, as they did inſinuate alſo that this was the effect of the too great Power and Credit of ſome Papiſt about the King, and from thence proceeded to repreſent his Majeſty as a favourer of Papiſts and Popery, and at laſt that he was in the Plot againſt his own Life and Kingdom. And if any man could not Aſſent to this, preſently he was branded as a defamer of the King's Evidence, if not a Papiſt and a Party in the Plot.

As they thus aggravated the danger beyond all Senſe and Reaſon, ſo they pretended to no leſs extravagant degrees of Fear, every where pretending that they thought it was impoſſible to hinder the Plot from being executed upon us, declaiming one while againſt the Perfidy and Cruelty of the Jeſuits, and another while againſt the negligence and careleſsneſs of our Governours, not ſparing to tax all thoſe they hated as favourers of the Plotters, eſpecially if they endeavoured to reſetle the

People,

People, or ſhew them the danger now it was diſcovered was not ſo great as it was pretended, and by this means got a wonderful Credit with the unconſidering People, for their Zeal againſt Papiſts and Popery.

And this was no new thing with them, for as *Cambden* aſſures us, their Forefathers behaved themſelves at the ſame rate 1588. when the Nation was under the like conſternation by reaſon of the then threatned *Spaniſh* Invaſion, when all other men were full of Fears, they becoming inſolent and inſufferable to the Queen and to the Government, but that apprehenſion did not laſt long, but this coming out by degrees, gave them more ſcope and better means of pulling up the Affections of men to that height they deſigned to bring them.

In the interim, the King and Council having made the beſt enquiry they could for the time into the Plot, the Parliament which was Prorogued to gain a little time, met the *Twenty firſt* day of *October*, when his Majeſty Acquainted them with the Plot in theſe very words.

I Now intend to Acquaint you (as I ſhall always do with any thing that concerns me) that I have been informed of a deſign againſt my Perſon, by the Jeſuits, *of which I ſhall forbear my Opinion, leſt I may ſeem to ſay too much or too little, but I will leave the matter to the Law; and in the mean time will take as much Care as I can to prevent all manner of practices by that ſort of men, and of others too who have been tampering in a high degree with Forainers, and contriving how to introduce Popery amongſt us——*

And the Lord Chancellor told them amongſt other things:

That there was a ſtrange Concurrence of ill Accidents at that time, that it was not to be wonder'd at, if ſome honeſt and good men began to be troubled and have thoughtful hearts;

yet that which is infinitely to be lamented, is, That malicious men too begin to work upon this Occaſion, and are in no ſmall hopes to raiſe a ſtorm that nothing ſhall be able to allay. By which laſt paſſage I ſuppoſe his Lordſhip reflected upon theſe men I have been diſcourſing of; at leaſt I am ſure the event hath apply'd it to them, and made that period look too like a Prophecy for the good of *England*.

I deſire my Reader would not expect from me a full Hiſtory of Tranſactions of this Seſſion of Parliament, becauſe this would ſwell the Diſcourſe into too great a bulk, but yet I ſhall give an Account of ſome of the moſt material Occurrences which ſuit my purpoſe, and I ſhall begin with the Addreſs they preſented to his Majeſty concerning the removing all Popiſh Recuſants from within Ten Miles of the City of *London*, which was tendered to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament on *Saturday* the *Twenty ſixth* of the ſame *October*, which I have tranſcribed at length to ſhew the Zeal of the Houſes for his Preſervation, and his Majeſties ready Complyance with them for their Satisfaction.

WE Your Majeſties moſt dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration, the Bloody and Traiterous Deſigns of Popiſh Recuſants againſt Your Majeſties ſacred Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion, wherewith Your Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to Acquaint us; For the preventing whereof we do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That Your Majeſty would graciouſly pleaſe by Your Royal Proclamation to Command all and every perſon or perſons, being Popiſh Recuſants, or ſo reputed, forthwith under pain of Your Majeſties higheſt diſpleaſure, and ſevere Execution of Your Laws againſt them, to depart and retire themſelves and their Families, from Your Royal

Palaces

Palaces of White-Hall, Somerſet-Houſe, *and S.* James, *the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and from all other places within ten Miles of the ſame, and that no ſuch Perſon or Perſons do preſume at any time hereafter, to repair or return to your Majeſties ſaid Palaces, or the ſaid Cities, or either of them, or within ten Miles of the ſame, other than Houſeholders, being Traders, exerciſing ſome Trade or manual Occupation, and ſettled for twelve Months laſt paſt in Houſes of their own, and not having any Habitation elſewhere, giving in their own Names, and the Names of all perſons in their Families, to the two next Juſtices of the Peace. And that it may be inſerted into the ſaid Proclamation, That immediately after the day limited for their departure the Conſtables, Churchwardens, and other Pariſh Officers, go from Houſe to Houſe in their ſeveral Pariſhes, Hamlets, Conſtabularies and Diviſions reſpectively, and there take an Account of the Names and Surnames of all ſuch Perſons as are Popiſh Recuſants, or ſuſpected ſo to be, as well Houſeholders, as Lodgers or Servants, and to carry a Liſt of their Names to the two next Juſtices of the Peace, who are to be thereby required and enjoyned to ſend for them and every of them, and to tender them and every of them the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to commit to Priſon till the next ſucceeding Seſſions of the Peace, all ſuch perſons as ſhall refuſe the ſaid Oaths, and at the ſaid Seſſions to proceed againſt them according to Law. And that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to direct Commiſſions to be forthwith iſſued under the Great Seal of* England *to all Juſtices within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and within ten miles of the ſame to Authoriſe and Require them, or any two of them, to Adminiſter the ſaid Oaths accordingly. And that your Majeſty would further pleaſe to Command That no Warrant or Licence be granted by the Lords of your Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, or any of them, or otherwiſe for the ſtay, return, or repair of any ſuch perſon or perſons in or*

to

to any of the ſaid places, till ſome more effectual Law be paſſed for preventing the ſaid Popiſh Conſpiracies, and for the preſervation of your Majeſties Sacred Perſon, and the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed, for which we your Majeſties moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, will always employ our utmoſt endeavours and daily Prayers. And whereas the ſafety and preſervation of your Majeſties Sacred Perſon is of ſo great a Conſequence and Concernment to the Proteſtant Religion, and to all your Subjects, we do further moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to Command the Lord Chamberlain, and all other the Officers of your Majeſtes Houſhold to take a ſtrict care that no unknown or ſuſpitious perſons, may have Acceſs near your Majeſties Perſon. And that your Majeſty will likewiſe pleaſe to Command the Lord Mayor and Lieutenancy of London, *to appoint ſufficient Guards of the Trained Bands within the City of* London, *during this Seſſion of Parliament; and likewiſe the Lord Lieutenants of* Middleſex *and* Surrey, *to appoint the like Guards of the Trained-Bands in* Middleſex, Weſtminſter *and* Southwark, *and other Places adjacent as ſhall be thought neceſſary.*

To which long and various Addreſs, his Majeſty Reply'd:

You ſhall have the Effect of your deſire, and that he would give ſpeedy Orders for putting the ſame in Execution.

And with the ſame frankneſs he granted ſeveral other Addreſſes made by both or either of the Houſes concerning this Affair, which are plain Arguments he neither favoured the Plot nor the Plotters, as hath been ſince moſt falſly and maliciouſly Charged upon him.

Octob. 21. Before this my Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* being ſent for by the Houſe of Commons, at their requeſt had granted

granted his Warrant for the apprehenſion of the Earl of *Powis*, Viſcount *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Peters*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, who were then Charged before them as principal Agents in the Plot.

And although the Lord Viſcount *Stafford* and the Lord *Peters* complained of this in the Houſe of Lords, yet they were committed by virtue of that Warrant.

And doubtleſs had things been permitted to go on thus, the buſineſs of the Plot had not been continued a foot as it is to this day, to the great diſquiet both of the King and Kingdom.

But to proceed, the Addreſſes preſented to the King this week, were *Firſt*, one from both Houſes for a Faſt. *Secondly*, One from the Lords for the Papers relating to the Plot. *Thirdly*, A ſhorter Addreſs than that I have recited, for Baniſhing Popiſh Recuſants from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* and the Liberties thereof, by the Lords only, who notwithſtanding agreed to that of the Commons. *Fourthly*, An Addreſs from the Commons to deſire That Mr. *Coleman*'s and all other Papers relating to the Plot might be communicated to them: to all which his Majeſty Aſſented.

Upon *Fryday*, the *firſt* day of *November*, the Commons made this Vote:

Reſolved *Nemine Contradicente*:

THat upon the Evidence that has already appeared to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, That there has been, and ſtill is a damnable and helliſh Plot, contrived and carryed on by the Popiſh Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and Murthering the King, ſubverting the Gouernment, and rooting out and deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion.

Which

Which being the ſame day communicated to the Lords at a Conference, they moſt readily and unanimouſly concurred with them in it, promiſing further that they would ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their parts which may preſerve a good correſpondence between the two Houſes, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of the King and Kingdom. And accordingly the next day at a Conference the Lords acquainted the Commons that the Roof of the Commons Houſe was ſo rotten, that it was in danger upon any great Storm to fall, and that they had reſolved to Addreſs to his Majeſty for their remove into the *Court of Requeſts*, which was kindly taken by the Commons, and the Thanks of the Houſe Ordered to be given to the Lords.

Munday, the *4th.* day of *November* a debate ariſing in the Houſe of Commons for an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw himſelf from his Majeſties Perſon and Counſels, it was Ordered that the Debate be adjourned till *Fryday* morning, and then to the *Tueſday* following.

Saturday, *November* the *9th.* his Majeſty made this following Speech to both Houſes.

'I Am ſo ſenſible of the great and extraordinary Care
'you have already taken and ſtill do continue to
'ſhew for the ſafety of my Perſon in theſe times of
'Danger, that I could not ſatisfie my ſelf without
'coming hither on purpoſe to give you all my moſt
'hearty thanks for it.

'Nor do I think it enough to give you my thanks
'only; but I hold my ſelf obliged to let you ſee withall,
'That I do as much ſtudy your preſervation too as I
'can poſſible: And that I am as ready to joyn with
'you in all the ways and means that may Eſtabliſh a firm
'Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*, as your own hearts
'can

'can wiſh, and this not only during my time (of which 'I am ſure you have no fear) but in all future Ages 'even to the end of the World.

'And therefore I am come to aſſure you, that whatſo-'ever reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent to be paſt into 'Laws to make you ſafe in the Reign of my Succeſſor '(ſo as they tend not to impeach the Right of Succeſ-'ſion nor the deſcent of the Crown in the true Line, 'and ſo as they reſtrain not my Power, nor the juſt 'rights of any Proteſtant Succeſſor) ſhall find from me 'a ready concurrence.

'And I deſire you withal to think of ſome more ef-'fectual means for the Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants 'and to expedite your Counſels as faſt as you can, that 'the World may ſee our Unanimity, and that I may have 'the Opportunity of ſhewing you how ready I am to do 'any thing that may give Comfort and Satisfaction to 'ſuch Dutiful and Loyal Subjects.

With which Speech the Commons were ſo pleaſed, That they reſolved to go in a Body to give his Majeſty their thanks. At which time his Majeſty returned this Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

IT ſhall always be my ſtudy to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and to Advance and Support the Intereſt of my People.

Upon *Monday* the *Eleventh* of *November*, the Commons taking Notice that no Commiſſions had been iſſued out purſuant to the Proclamation founded upon the Addreſs of both Houſes for the Adminiſtring the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, deſired a Con-

ference with the Lords, who ſhewed that they had been debating about ſome reſtriction to have been inſerted into the ſaid Commiſſions, but finding it difficult had that Morning Sealed the Commiſſions without any Limitations, with which Anſwer the Commons were ſatisfied.

Novemb. 18. The next *Monday*, Secretary *Williamſon* was Committed to the *Tower* by the Commons, being a Member of their Houſe and then preſent, for Granting Warrants to Popiſh Recuſants that they ſhould be Muſtered, tho they had not taken the Oaths, and ſubſcribed the Declaration according to the Act of Parliament. But the next day his Majeſty ſent for the Houſe and after a ſhort Reprimand for Committing ſo great an Officer without Acquainting him with it, told them he would diſcharge the Secretary forthwith, which he did, and when the Commons drew up an Addreſs, repreſenting the reaſons of their Proceedings, his Majeſty replyed as followeth:

C. R.

'HIS Majeſty having received an Addreſs the 19th. 'Inſtant from this Houſe, is pleaſed to return 'this Anſwer, That he releaſed Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* ſeveral Hours before your Addreſs came, as he 'told you in the Banqueting-Houſe he would do.

'As to the reaſon of granting thoſe Commiſſions, his 'Majeſty Acquainted you at large with them in his 'Speech when you laſt attended him: but in Anſwer 'to your preſent Addreſs, his Majeſty promiſeth to re-'call all Commiſſions whatſoever given to Papiſts or 'reputed Papiſts either in *England* or *Ireland*, immedi-'ately; and for his remoter Dominions, they ſhall be 'recalled likewiſe with all the expedition the Safety of 'thoſe Places will permit.

The

The Secretary abſtained from the Houſe after this, and the buſineſs ended.

On *Monday* the 25*th.* of *November*, his Majeſty by a Speech deſired the Opinion of the Parliament for the continuance or disbanding of the Forces that had been raiſed, and were then on foot for the preſervation of *Flanders*. And on *Wedneſday* following the Houſe of Commons paſſed theſe Reſolves in that Affair.

I. 'That it is neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſties 'Perſon and Preſerving the Peace of the Government, 'That all the Forces which have been raiſed ſince '*Sept.* 29. 1677. and all others that ſince that time 'have been brought over from beyond Seas from Fo-'rein Service be forthwith disbanded.

II. 'It is the humble Opinion and deſire of the Houſe, 'That the Forces which are now in *Flanders* may be 'immediately called over, in order to their disbanding.

III. 'That this Houſe would to morrow morning re-'ſolve it ſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to 'conſider of the manner of disbanding the Army.

Which they did the 29*th.* and paſſed ſeveral Reſolves in that Caſe, too long to be here inſerted.

On *Saturday* the 30*th.* of *November*, his Majeſty paſſed an Act for diſabling any Papiſt to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, in which was a Teſt preſcribed, and the Members of both Houſes Commanded to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance alſo : but there was a Second Bill tender'd to him, Entituled *An Act for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom by raiſing the Militia, and continuing them in Duty for Two and Forty Days*. Which his Majeſty refuſed to paſs, and gave this reaſon for it in a ſhort Speech, *viz.*

The Printed Journal of the Lords, p. 116.

He told the Lords and Commons, That he did not refuſe to paſs this Act for the diſlike of the matter, but the manner, becauſe it puts the Militia for ſo many days out of his power, if it had been but for half an hour, he would not have Conſented to it, becauſe of the ill Conſequences it may have hereafter, the Militia being wholly in the Crown; and ſo far as he is enabled by Law to raiſe the Militia, if they will enable him with money to pay them, he ſhall employ ſuch of them as he thinks fit, and are neceſſary for the ſafety of himſelf and the Kingdom.

His Majeſty ſaid (alſo) he had paſſed the other Bill which is of very great importance, of which there may be ill Conſequences hereafter, but he was willing to oblige them, who have thought it fitting at this time, and hopes they will be careful to give him all due Satisfaction for the future. His Majeſty alſo gave further Satisfaction to the Commons about the *Militia Bill*, the *Fourth* of *December* following.

To look a little back, On *Thurſday* the 28*th.* of this Month, the Houſe of Commons having with great Secrecy Examined Mr. *Bedloe* and Mr. *Oats*, Voted this following Addreſs:

WE your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the and Commons, in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, having received Informations by ſeveral Witneſſes of a moſt Deſperate and Trayterous Deſign and Conſpiracy, againſt the Life of your Sacred Majeſty, wherein to their great Aſtoniſhment, the Queen is particularly Charged and Accuſed. In diſcharge of our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care for the preſervation of your Majeſties Sacred Perſon, and conſequently of the whole Kingdom, do moſt humbly beſeech

your

your Majeſty, That the Queen and all her Family, and all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, be forthwith removed from your Majeſties Court at White-Hall.

This being ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, after an exact Enquiry into the Evidence upon which it was grounded, their Lordſhips rejected it on the *Friday* following.

On *Wedneſday* the *Fourth* of *November*, The Commons drew up another Addreſs to his Majeſty, and deſired the Concurrence of the Lords to it, for the Apprehending Diſarming and Securing all Popiſh Recuſants, and all others who ſhall or may be juſtly ſuſpected Papiſts, and them to oblige in Recognizances with ſufficient Bail to keep the Peace and be of good behaviour, and in default thereof them to impriſon, and to return the Names of ſuch perſons with their Recognizances to the next general Seſſions of the Peace for their reſpective Limits, to proceed thereupon according to Law: which was done accordingly.

The next day five of the Members of the Houſe of Commons impeached each of them ſeverally one of the five Lords in the Tower: *viz.*

Mr. *Michael Wharton*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor*.
Mr. *Baniſter Maynard*, *William* Earl of *Powis*.
Mr. *Thyn*, *John* Lord *Bellaſis*.
Sir *Scroop How*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*.
Sir *Philip Warwick*, *William* Lord *Peters*.

With promiſe that they would in convenient time Exhibit to their Lordſhips the Articles of the Charge againſt them.

There was alſo ſeveral Addreſſes and Votes in both Houſes concerning Mr. *Oats*, whom his Majeſty had Ordered

Ordered to be closely observed to prevent Assassination on one hand, and being tampered on the other.

To *Dec.* 14. The Week following was spent by the Commons in preparing a Bill for the paying off and disbanding the Army.

On *Thursday* the 19*th.* of *December*, the fatal business betwixt the Earl of *Danby*, and the late Ambassadour in *France*, Mr. *Mountague*, then a Member of the House of Commons, came first upon the Carpet in the Lower House; his Majesty giving them Account that he had Ordered the seizing Mr. *Mountagues* Papers upon Information, he held several private Conferences with the Popes Nuncio in *France* without any Directions or Instructions from his Majesty.

To which the House demurr'd, and desired to know whether the Information were given upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was that was thus complained of.

But the said Mr. *Mountague* producing two Letters of the Earl of *Danby*'s to him, when Ambassadour in *France*, turned the House so violently against the Earl, That they resolved forthwith to impeach him, and accordingly appointed a Committee to draw up Articles against him the same day.

And fearing this Career might have been stopt, they passed this Resolve, and made it be entred as a standing Order.

That Mr. Speaker shall not at any time Adjourn the House without a Question first put, if it be insisted upon.

Having done little or nothing the day following, on *Saturday* they brought in Six Articles against him, and after a sharp Contest Voted them all against him.

Which was no sooner done but all the Noise and Discourse was turned from the Popish Plot and the five Lords in the Tower, to the Earl of *Danby*; and they

that

that ſpoke moſt modeſtly ſaid, It was a haſty and unreaſonable Act, foreſeeing eaſily enough that it would break that Seſſion of Parliament.

On *Monday*, without taking any other Notice of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, but the reading ſome Letters ſent with it, they went on with the Impeachment, and then Reſolved, *Dec.* 23.

'That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty humbly to 'deſire his Majeſty to have a great regard to the Safety 'and Preſervation of his Perſon.

And then ſent up the Articles of Impeachment to the Lords the ſame day.

Saturday being ſpent in debating the amendments offered by the Lords to the Bill for Diſbanding the Army, wherein many hard things were put upon his Majeſty, the Army, and the Court of Exchequer, which were digeſted by his Majeſty and the Lords, by reaſon of the great deſire he and they had to free the Nation from the Charge of the Army.

On *Monday* the *30th.* of *December*, the King ſent for the Commons to attend him in the Houſe of Lords, where he Paſſed the Bill for Disbanding the Army, and Prorogued both Houſes of Parliament to the *Fourth* day of *February* following:

The Journal of the Lords Houſe ſaith, the King made a Speech to this effect to both Houſes.

'HIS Majeſty ſaid, That it is with great unwillingneſs that he is come to tell them that he intends to 'Prorogue them; all of them are witneſs that he hath 'not been uſed well, the particulars of which he will ac'quaint them with at a more ſeaſonable time, in the 'mean time he will immediately enter upon the diſban'ding of the Army, and do what he can for the good

'of

'of the Kingdom and ſafety of Religion, that he
'proſecute the Diſcovery of the Plot to find out the
'ſtruments of it, and he will take all the Care that
'in his Power to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion as it
'now Eſtabliſh'd. He ſaid he had no more to ſay to them,
'but leaves it to the Lord Chancellor to Prorogue them
'as he had commanded him.

Thus ended that Seſſion of Parliament after the Houſe of Commons had chalk'd out a way for their own diſſolution, which followed not long after.

The Houſe of Commons in this Seſſion were divided into two great Parties, which were Called the *Court-Party* and the *Country-Party*, almoſt equal in number, and all other things, but the ſmall advantage that was lay on the ſide of the latter, and they carried every Vote they contended for. But in the Houſe of Lords the *Country-Party*, were not conſiderable after the Plot had broke their under-hand dealings with the Popiſh Lords.

Accordingly it ſeems to me by the Journals which I have read with great care, the Proceedings of theſe two Houſes were very different.

The Houſe of Commons repreſented all things to the World with a dreadful confuſed Aſpect, which wrought upon the fears and apprehenſions of many people, but ſtill there happen'd to intervene ſo many Obſtructions to publick buſineſs, that little progreſs was made among themſelves toward any proviſion for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of Popery, neither could thoſe excellent means be brought to paſs, which the Lords ſent down for that purpoſe, with meſſage after meſſage, to preſs the minding of them.

There was only three Bills tender'd to his Majeſty, which were all begun in the Lower Houſe, that for

Diſabling

Diſabling Papiſts to ſit in either Houſe, that for *Raiſing the Militia for ſome time*, which was refuſed: and that for *Disbanding the Army*.

But in the Houſe of Lords the greateſt care imaginable was uſed to find out the bottom of the Plot, and every thing that was tendered was diligently ſearched out, and with great Care and Prudence enquired into, and fit Remedies propoſed either by Addreſſes or New Bills, and which upon a fair underſtanding with the Commons, would in a ſmall time have put an end to that reſtleſs Faction.

His Majeſty in the interim denied nothing that was Asked by both or either of the Houſes, except the *Militia Bill*: yet the World was made to believe that he and the *Court-Party* ſtifled the Plot, and the *Country-Parties* were forced to drag it forth as *Hercules* did *Cerberus* with mighty Labour in ſpight of a vaſt reſiſtance.

And it is very obſervable that the five Lords were not impeached of a long time after they were impriſoned, and that no Articles were tender'd againſt them in all this Seſſion.

But they Impeached the Treaſurer the ſame day he was Accuſed, and ſent up Articles againſt him the Fifth day, which occaſion'd the laying aſide all proceedings concerning the Plot, to run down this Miniſter of State.

The Disbanding of the Army alſo was ſo ſudden, and limited to ſo ſhort a time, that his Majeſty was forced to ſend for the Forces out of *Flanders* in the depth of the Winter, by which means many of thoſe men that had with ſo much Courage and Bravery, to the Immortal Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, beat the *French* at *Mons*, periſhed by Sea and Land, through ſickneſs, want and cold, who might have been preſerved by being continued there till the Spring; to ſay nothing of the

Scotch Rebellion, that brake out immediately upon the Diſſolution of that Army, which might have proved of dangerous conſequence, had it not been timely ſuppreſt.

Neither would I of all the World have concerned my ſelf about any of theſe things if they had ended here, but *England* was not ſo happy, and I ſhall think our condition very hard, if we may not repreſent it to the World.

Nor do I deſign any thing by this, but to put thoſe Gentlemen who are tranſported by the Noiſe and Arts of a Faction to act beyond their Intentions, upon reflecting upon what is paſt, that they may be forewarned how they follow them into further miſchiefs.

The Journal Books of both the Houſes being Printed, I refer the Reader to them for what I have not expreſſed, and for what I have; for I may be miſtaken in ſome particulars, tho I have taken all the care I can to prevent it. And I am not willing to ſwell this Diſcourſe into a volume, which I intend but for an Eſſay or Taſt of what may be ſaid.

The 24*th.* of *January* following, his Majeſty Diſſolved this long Loyal Parliament by Proclamation.

FINIS.

Advice to the Reader.

THE Author when he began this Diſcourſe, intended to have brought it to the End of the Laſt Parliament at Weſtminſter, *but finding it hath already exceeded the length he deſigned, and from thence conjecturing it may poſſibly if finiſhed, exceed the dimenſions of the* Readers *Patience, thinks fit to break it off here.*

8

THE ANATOMY OF A Jacobite-Tory: IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN *WHIG* and *TORY*,

Occasioned by the ACT for Recognizing KING *WILLIAM* AND QUEEN *MARY*.

LONDON:
Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Black Bull* in the *Old-Baily*. 1690.

Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Black Bull,
in the Old-Bailey. 1680.

LONDON:

QUEEN MARY

AND

KING WILLIAM

THE ANATOMY OF A Jacobite-Tory:

In a DIALOGUE between *Whig* and *Tory*, occaſioned by the Act for Recognizing King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

Whig. WHither away in ſo much haſte? One word with you for the ſake of Old Acquaintance, when we were fellow-Murmurers in the late Reign.

Tory. Pray be brief then, for I am upon *the King's Buſineſs*, and muſt loſe no time.

W. It is very well if His Majeſty's Affairs have loſt no time in the hands of Men of your Opinion. But you may pardon me, if I ask what *King* you mean? *King William*, or the *late King*?

T. What a Queſtion is that to one in ſuch an Office as I have under *King William*.

W. I very well know your Office, tho' how you came into it is a Myſtery; and I cannot but obſerve

the ſteps which you have taken ſince you had it: Nay, know how much you value your ſelf with your Party upon being the ſame Man which you were, when you ſhewed your parts in oppoſing this *King*'s coming to the Crown; and therefore I may very well ask you, *under the Roſe*, whether you will own *King William* to be your *King?*

T. I ſhould be very unworthy if I did not; ſince I have not only Protection, but Profit and Preferment from him.

W. I grant it would be Unworthineſs, and downright Treachery not to own him; but that makes it never the clearer to me that you do.

T. I have ſworn Allegiance to him, and do you think I would Perjure my ſelf?

W. I cannot tell how far you may have improv'd in *Romiſh* Equivocations, to evade the plain meaning of what you have ſworn.

T. I make no Evaſion; for I either declared at the time of ſwearing, or it is implyed in my Oath, that it obliges me no farther than not to oppoſe him or his Arms, till I may be able to do it with a fair proſpect of Succeſs, and without the imputation of acting like a Mad-man.

W. Did you mean no more when you ſwore Allegiance to King *James?*

T. Yes, much more, and upon very good Reaſon; for in my very Oath I *recogniz'd* him to be *lawful and rightful King*, and I ſwore to *do my beſt Endeavour to diſcloſe and make known unto His Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and Traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear to be againſt him, or any of them.*

W. I

W. I can ſee no cauſe to doubt, but if you had never ſworn Allegiance to *King William*, yet you are bound to the ſame Allegiance to *him* which you owed to the *late King*, in vertue of that very Oath which you took to the former, as *King William* is his *Succeſſor*.

T. That is very good indeed! a Succeſſor to a man alive, and in Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom! and the Poſſeſſion of part, is in Law a Poſſeſſion of the whole, beſides, 'tis *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and you will not ſay, that this *King* or *Queen* can yet, at leaſt, be *Heirs* to the laſt.

W. I have long ſince learnt from *Bracton* and others, that an *Heir* is from the *Inheritance*; and where-ever the Law or Lawful Authority places that, our Allegiance is to follow.

T. I know of no Authority that can make this *King* more than King in *Fact*.

W. Have not the Nation duly declar'd him King upon the other's *Abdication?* And does not that Declaration manifeſt, or make, a Right?

T. King *James* could not loſe his Right, it was *inſeparable* from his *Perſon*, which he cannot but bear about with him, ſhould he go to the *Indies*. Indeed this King got into Poſſeſſion of part of his Dominions by *force*, *King James* retir'd out of *fear*, with an intention of returning, *and we ſubmitted to the Prince of* Orange *in the day of his Power*.

W. According to you he is neither King *of Right* nor in *Fact*, as long as the late *King* is Powerful in *Ireland*.

T. Not a word of that, I beſeech you, till his Rival has left *England*, who in the mean while may be called King; he has the Sword in his hand, and

we may be allowed to take Quarter, and promiſe not to fight againſt him; eſpecially ſince we never lay under any Obligation to fight for the other.

W. You ſeem to believe, that *King William* has conquer'd *England*.

T. Yes ſurely; does not the Fate of a Nation depend upon its *Head?* If King *James* was beaten, or ran away, this muſt be a virtual beating of the whole Nation.

W. Then at leaſt King *William* is *Rightful* King, as he is *King by Conqueſt*.

T. I beg your pardon for that: For, 1. There ought to have been juſt cauſe of War. What had he to do to call a *Soveraign Prince* to Account, if he had treated his Subjects as Slaves? Beſides, all that has been ſaid againſt him, or the *Servants* of his Crown, are but the *Clamours of Male-contents*, and *bluſhleſs Lies*, as has been well obſerved by the Elo-

Third and laſt Part of *The Magiſtracy and Government Vindicated.* p. 1.

quent Author of *The Magiſtracy and Government of England Vindicated.* 2. Admit this King had Right to free an Oppreſſed People, and they really had been Oppreſſed; however, he ought, according to the Law of Nations, to have made a Formal Declaration of War before his coming.

W. Tho' I admire not your Author, whoſe Character you may ſee in the *Man-Hunter*, nor believe that King *Wilbiam* coming for our Reſcue, had need to Proclaim a War; yet I muſt confeſs, the want of Proclaiming War, may be a full bar to a Right by Conqueſt of the Nation. But all you ſay againſt *King William's Right* by Law, and the Declaration of the People, is but a begging the Queſtion.

Vid. The *Man-Hunter*, in Anſwer to the third and laſt Part of the *Magiſtracy*, &c

T. You will not eaſily convince me that I go upon wrong grounds.

W. What-

W. Whatever your *lurking* Reaſons may be, methinks you ſhould conſider the Obligation of the Oath which you have taken to be *faithful*, and bear *true Allegiance* to *King William and Queen Mary*, by which as much is plainly implyed as was expreſſed in the Oath of Allegiance ſworn to *James* II. and requir'd by the Statute 3 *Jac.* I. No more being required by that Statute, ſetting aſide what relates to the Pope, than was at the Common Law meant in being *faithful*, and *bearing true Allegiance* to a King of *England*. And by conſequence if the late King is ſtill King with you, the Oath which you have taken to this, is contradictory to the former.

T. Do you think a Man ſhall be Perjur'd by Conſequences?

W. Yes, no doubt but he may, if they are ſo palpable that he cannot but diſcern them.

T. As a *Divine* of our Church tells us, *All Oaths and Promiſes are to be taken in the ſenſe of the Impoſer, but had the framers of the Oath any deſign to impoſe an acknowledgment of the King and Queen's Title, they might eaſily have made uſe of ſuch Expreſſions as would have put the Matter out of all doubt.*

A Modeſt Examination of the New Oaths, by a Divine of the Church of *England*; Printed for *Randal Taylor*, *p.* 4.

W. Could our *Law-makers* think *true Allegiance* due to a King without a Lawful *Title*? Beſides, you muſt admit, that if there is Evidence that they lookt upon the Title as *Lawful*, it is not to be doubted, but they required *Allegiance* upon that account.

T. I do not remember any Act of theirs, from whence you can clearly ſhew this.

W. The Lords and Commons, in the Bill of Rights, as the Repreſentatives of the Nation, *truly, firmly, aſſuredly, and in ſincerity of their hearts, Recognize, Acknowledge, and Declare, That King James the Second*

cond having Abdicated the Government, and Their Majeſties having accepted the Crown and Royal Dignity, Their ſaid Majeſties did become, were, are, and of Right ought to be by the Laws of this Realm, our Soverain Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen, &c. Here is of *Right* as well as *by Law*.

T. That was no Parliament.

W. If it were not, yet God is become a Witneſs and Party to that Oath, which you have taken in their preſumable ſenſe.

T. This Declaration was not made till after I had taken the Oath.

W. At leaſt it referring to the time of the Acceptance of the Crown, is a fair Evidence upon what account they required the Oath of Allegiance.

T. Let them have required it as to *Lawful* and *Rightful* King and Queen, yet I deny that the *Common-Law-Allegiance* requires more than *Paſſive Obedience*, and I am ſure our *Divines*, who are the beſt *Directors of our Conſciences*, tell us ſo.

W. It ſeems Sir *Roger* has loſt his *Office:* But for theſe matters, I take *Lawyers* and *Hiſtorians* to be much the better *Directors*, and could produce Teſtimonies of *Divines* for this. But what Reaſon can you give why the Clergy ſhould be tyed to *Active-Obedience* to their Eccleſiaſtical Superiours, in all things *Lawful* and *Honeſt*, and yet *Temporal Superiours* may be glad to get Obligations from their Subjects, only not to fight againſt them?

T. The Law requires no more.

W. I ſhall hope to ſatisfie you, that Active-Obedience is due by Law to our *Liege Lord*, and that this is the true Allegiance, or Tye to him, which your Oath obliges you to.

T. As ſure as can be you will bring ſomething

from

from amongſt the Records of the Obſolete Gothick *Feudal-Laws, and would infer that it muſt needs ſignifie at this day ſome Active, Warlike Endeavours in behalf of the Soveraign; becauſe the tenure of thoſe times was upon Condition that the Tenant ſhould attend his Lord to the Wars, and the Security they gave to perform this, was ſwearing to bear faith and true Allegiance to them.*

Reaſons why the Rector of *P.* took the Oath of Allegiance.

W. Tho' this is no contemptible Evidence what has from the beginning been meant by *Allegiance*, yet I ſhall confirm this by the poſitive Law of this Realm; for which end, I muſt take leave to detain you with a Tranſlation of part of the *Confeſſor*'s Law, expreſly received by *William* the Firſt, and his *Great Council*, or *Parliament*.

That Law, ſpeaking of the *Folkmote*, or General Aſſembly of the People, to be held every firſt of *May* yearly, where among other things they were to provide by *Common Council* for the Indemnity of *the Crown of the Kingdom*, and *for repreſſing the Inſolence of Malefactors for the profit of the Kingdom.*——

Leges St. Edw. Tit. Greve

T. I find already this is a Cheat, deviſed by ſome Common-wealth's-Man in the time of *Noll*'s Uſurpation, when they would have made him King; it talks of the *Crown of the Kingdom*, and repreſſing *Malefactors* for the Profit of the *Kingdom*; as if any but a King could have Intereſt in the Crown, or the *benefit of the Kingdom* could be of any weight without regard to its Head. I am ſure Biſhop *Sanderſon* has admirably explain'd that Maxim, *The Safety* of the People is the *Supream Law*, by ſhewing that the ſafety of the King is principally intended, as he is the Head of the People.

W. You will not hear me out. The *Confeſſor*'s Law Ordains, "That all People, and all Counties ſhall "meet

Populi omnes & Gentes univerſæ.

"meet once in every Year, and there with a true Faith "and Oath, Confederate and conſolidate together as "one Man and ſworn Brethren, to defend the King- "dom againſt Strangers, and againſt Enemies, to- "gether with their Lord the King, and to preſerve "his Lands and Honours (with him) and that they "will be faithful to him as their Liege Lord and "King, within and without the Kingdom of *Bri-* "*tain.*

T. A very pleaſant Sham! you have invented a Law for an Oath to ſuit your purpoſe, as if you were bound to the King no longer than he is [with you] and defends the Kingdom. But that will not help you, ſince he is at the Head of a *French* and *Iriſh* Army in its Defence. But if your Quotation were true, do you think I am bound according to the meaning of Obſolete Antiquity?

W. The *Confeſſor*'s Laws, how Ancient ſoever, are not Obſolete, or out of date, but as far as they are expreſs, are a fair tranſcript of the Common-Law of *England.* And that Common-Law muſt ſhew what is meant by Allegiance.

T. If *William* the Firſt, and others ſince, ſwore to maintain the Confeſſor's Law, they muſt needs have done it, as they were forc'd to it, not voluntarily and of their own motion.

W. Nay, if you look into the Laws particularly Enacted by *William* the Firſt, made by the *Common-Council* of his whole Kingdom, you will find a Law more expreſs for Active Service, if poſſible. There 'tis required, "That all Free-men of the whole King- "dom be ſworn *Brethren* to defend, and manfully "preſerve his *Monarchy* and Kingdom, with their "Strength and Fortunes, to the utmoſt, againſt Ene- "mies,

Leges W. 1. 59.

"mies, and to maintain the Peace and Dignity of his "Crown entire, and to give right Judgment, and "do Juſtice conſtantly by all means to their power, "without fraud, and without delay.

T. This Law was very imprudently penn'd, to make People Judges of Right and wrong, and joyn them in a Confederacy againſt the Crown, whenever they think that a King wholly departs from the Rule of Law.

W. If theſe Authorities will not ſatisfie you, that you were bound actually to ſerve and obey the Lawful Commands of *James* II. while he continued King, and that by vertue of your Oath to this, you now owe him that Duty which before was owing to the other, I will make it plain to you, that in ſwearing Allegiance to this King, while you believe the Obligation to the other to remain, you muſt needs ſwallow palpable Contradictions.

T. I love you for that; do you think I underſtand not how to avoid Contradictions as well as any *Whig* of ye all? Or at leaſt you muſt grant me that our *Clergy* do; and tho' numbers of them believe King *James* his Right to continue, and mean him when they Pray for [*the King*] yet they make no ſcruple of taking the Oath to this King and Queen.

W. Can you blame them? By this *Craft* they *keep their Livings.* But the Queſtion is not, what either they or you underſtand, but what you do.

T. I find you have never read the Reaſons why the Rector of *P.* took the Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary.* *Vid.* Reaſons why the Rector of *P.* took the Oath.

W. Yes I have, and by a very good Token, I remember that he labours to prove, with the ſubtilty of a School-man, that notwithſtanding his Oath Pag. 2.

to this King and Queen, he has not put himself out of a *Capacity* to perform what he ſwore to the laſt.

T. Right: And what think you of that?

W. Before I tell you my thoughts, I muſt Remark upon one Artifice of his. In the Oath of Allegiance to the late King, he ſwore to Defend him againſt all *Conſpiracies* and [*Attempts*] whatſoever, which he cunningly turns into [*Contempts*] that is, ſays he, *That we will aſſert him to be our Rightful and Soveraign Prince, not to hold his Crown by favour of the Pope, nor to be depoſable by him, or any other perſon or power whatſoever.* But the unhappineſs is, the Diſcovery of this Cheat opens the Contradiction.

T. For my part I do not ſee where it lies.

W. Suppoſe for once, that the Allegiance which you have ſworn to King *William* did not Oblige you according to the ſenſe of the Common-Law, or that the Common-Law-ſenſe did not import Active Aſſiſtance. Yet you ſee if King *James* ſtill remains your King, you are bound to Defend him againſt all [*Attempts*] even ſuch as may be made by this King, to whom you have ſworn to be *true* and *faithful.*

T. I ſee it is of good uſe that it ſhould be [*Contempts*] inſtead of [*Attempts*] and I will believe the *Verbum Sacerdotis* before a Statute-Book.

W. Methinks your Prieſt ſeems by his Equivocations to be one of the *Romiſh* Cut.

T. I find your uſual Malice againſt the Church, pray profane not the Sacred Order.

W. I

W. I see he is resolved not to be depriv'd from his Office or Order for not swallowing an Oath: but such Men would do well to maintain their Character, by not going beyond their Office: I wish the witty Author of the *Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy*, would exercise his Talent on this Subject. But what think you of this Opinion of *Treasons* and *Traiterous Conspiracies?*

T. I like it very well, 'tis an Opinion one may thrive by, and it qualifies me for being privy to King *William*'s Secrets, without danger of being thought to lie under an Obligation to discover them; because he is in actual War with King *James*, and his Designs against our rightful King cannot be *Treason* or *Traiterous*.

W. If King *William* could carry on the War alone, indeed it were something, but it must be managed by many hands, Orders must issue out through several Offices, the Ministers of State must have Meetings and private Debates; all these, it seems, you are bound to discover.

T. Yes, why not? I am *true* and *faithful* to King *William*, since I discover nothing which I have from his own mouth: But *we are bound to observe* the *Meetings* and *Cabals* of King *James* his Subjects, *dive* Rector, *p.* 3. *as much as we may into the matter of their Consults*, use all diligence *first to inform our selves, and then the King or his Officers, of any Plot or Practice* that we shall learn to be *carrying on against him.*

W. You well know of many carrying on against this King, his Crown and Dignity, are you true and faithful in not discovering them?

T. I am not bound to speak all the truth I know.

W. But if you know of any Treaſonable Conſpiracy againſt the Life of this King, or his Government, you are guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon at Common-Law, if you do not diſcover it; but the concealing could not be a Crime, if the diſcovery were not a Duty, and if it be a Duty, it is implied in ſwearing Allegiance, and by conſequence the acting contrary to that Legal Obligation, is Perjury.

T. You would Perjure half the Nation.

W. No, I would have all ſwear without Perjury: but your own Caſuiſt condemns you of wilful Perjury.

T. I can find nothing like it in that *Golden Apology* of the *Rector of* P.

W. What think you of this? Speaking of his Apology, *It concerns not,* ſays he, *thoſe who have enjoyed any Offices or places of Truſt under him, who are hereby bound faithfully to diſcharge the Duty and Service belonging to them, and ſuch if they ſhould enter into any new Covenant, or promiſe, to ceaſe or forbear acting according to the tenour of ſuch Truſt or Commiſſion, have no benefit of this Apology.*

Rector of *P.*

T. I ſee now the *Parſon* is a Rogue, he would have none but Clergy-men gain by a Government which they diſown; he ſhall no longer have the guidance of my Conſcience, but I will betake my ſelf to the Reverend Dr. *VV.*

VV. Do you mean that learned Divine of our Church, who wrote the Firſt Part of the *Proteſtant Reconciler?*

T. No, I mean him that wrote the Second, for the firſt is as if it had never been, he having retracted it, as too favourable to the *Schiſm*; which he clawed off in his Preface to the ſecond Part, by way of Penance for

for his former, and his endeavour to widen the terms of Communion, and let the Rabble into the Church.

VV. Well, for once you ſhall chuſe your Weapon; but what is it you would prove out of him?

T. I will prove that you ought to be hang'd.

W. Nay, God be thanked, you have done enough to deſerve that if the late King ſhould come again, nor can you expect to be truſted by him. But what further would you prove out of Dr. *VV.*

T. I will prove, that admit I ſhould know of *Traiterous Conſpiracies* againſt this King, I ſhould not before God be guilty of Miſpriſion or concealing of Treaſon.

W. You muſt have ſome very ſubtle diſtinction to help you off.

T. You muſt underſtand, that as there is a King in *Fact*, and a King of *Right*, ſo there is Treaſon nominal, or ſo call'd, and Treaſon real; but there cannot be real Treaſon againſt a King only in Fact, at leaſt not ſuch as I ſhall incur Damnation for. That *which we tranſlate Damnation, in the Original is* κρῖμα, *that is, Judgment. Now by our Law Treaſon may be committed againſt a King* de facto, *and that is puniſhable by the judgment of Death; it therefore may be Judgment to reſiſt the King* de facto, *in favour of the King* de jure, *i. e. it may be an Offence, which by the Law will render me obnoxious to Judgment.*

Conſiderations humbly offered for taking the Oath, p. 57.

W. If you are ſtrong enough then, that you may prudenly venture for your King *de jure*, you do but your Duty?

T. Very true.

W. I fear by the ſenſe which you put upon κρῖμα, you give all Subjects the like liberty even againſt a King of Right.

T. No;

Pag. 45. T. No, they ſhall receive *Damnation*, who reſiſt the *preſent Powers, which by the Law are ſuch, however they demean themſelves in the Government.*

W. Before you are aware you will make the Powers the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, to relate only to them that are Lawful; and if they are unlawful, either in the exerciſe, or acquiſition, it ſeems the Apoſtle takes no care of them. But by what Rule do you make κρῖμα to ſignifie Damnation when applied to reſiſting a King of Right, and only Temporal Judgment when applied to the other, tho' he acts beyond the Power which God or Man had entruſted him with?

T. Becauſe one is by Law, and the other not.

W. You mean one had ſome Power by Law, the other none; but ſtill that Power which he exerciſed beyond the Law was none in the Eye of the Law; and either κρῖμα is threatned only againſt reſiſters of a lawful Power, or whether the Power be lawful or unlawful, reſiſtance is in all caſes damnable.

T. I am ſure 'tis at leaſt Damnation to reſiſt him that has the Right.

W. Yes, to that Power which he exerciſes. But by what Law will you judge which has the Right, or what that Right is?

T. By God's Law, for this is a Divine Right.

W. Do you mean, that God has aſcertain'd not only the Rights of Princes, but appointed the very Perſons?

Preface to *Jovian. p.* 54. *T.* I mean as Dr. *Hicks* means, who tells us, *God hath given the Crown to the Royal Family for a perpetual Inheritance, and hath by his Providence ordained, that it ſhould come to one of them after the deceaſe of another, according to Birth-right and proximity of Blood.*

W. If the *Doctor* had conſidered the broken Succeſſion, he would never have argued thus from Providence;

vidence; for if, as it will appear upon an exact enquiry, more have come to the Throne out of the courſe than according to *proximity of Blood*: Then all that can be inferr'd from this, rectified by the true Hiſtory, is, that God has in his Providence given it to a Family, but not tied it to the next in Blood, and by conſequence King *William* and Queen *Mary* are our *Rightful* King and Queen.

T. You don't conſider what Prejudice you do His Majeſty by detaining me ſo long.

W. I ſhould hope to do *King William* good Service, if I could bring you to a due ſenſe of the Obligation of the Oath which you have taken to him: and ſince Dr. *W.* is a Judge which you have choſen, I muſt refer you to his Preface for what may give you full ſatisfaction.

T. I am for the Book rather than the Preface; for as the Preface to his Second Part of the *Proteſtant Reconciler* was written after he had ſmarted for his Officiouſneſs; perhaps the laſt was written when ſome proſperous Accident to King *William* made him lay aſide thoſe Niceties, with which men were to pretend to merit on both ſides: and perhaps he may be of the ſame mind with thoſe prudent Divines of the North, who were going in a full body to take the Oath of Allegiance, but made an halt upon a Report of Major-General *Mackay*'s being defeated in *Scotland*.

W. That may be; but in his Preface he ſays, *He does by no means condemn thoſe Writings, which plead for taking the impoſed Oath upon ſuch grounds as do more fully juſtifie the title of our preſent Governours*: And is ſo modeſt to own, *that he has not knowledge enough in the Law, to paſs an exact Judgment in that matter.* Preface to Conſid.

T. Then it ſeems he turns us off to the Lawyers, and makes no determination in the point. W.

Preface to Confid.

W. Tho' he pretends not to Law, he produces Evidences out of Hiſtory to ſhew that *VVilliam* I. was received upon an *Election* and *Compact*, that the keeping St. *Edward*'s Laws was part of the Bargain, that this became part of the Coronation-Oath of our Kings. And that our Learned King *James* the Firſt declared in a Speech to his Parliament, That he was **bound to obſerve that Paction made to his People by his Laws, in framing his Government agreeable thereto**— *And therefore a King governing in a ſetled Kingdom,* **leaves to be King,** *and degenerates into a* Tyrant, *as ſoon as he leaves off to Rule according to his Law.*

T. King *James* you know was a timorous Prince, and full of Diſſimulation, no doubt he thought to wheadle his people into ſomething, which might inſenſibly give him that power which he diſclaimed: But for Dr. *W.* I doubt he is of Republican Principles, he would never elſe talk of a *Compact* between Prince and People.

W. What if you ſhould find the ſame thing in the Author of the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience?

T. That is impoſſible.

Hiſt. of Paſſive Obedience, Firſt Part, *p.* 27.

W. Does he not excuſe Biſhop *Bilſon* for juſtifying the Revolt of the Low-Countries from the King of *Spain*, upon ſuppoſition that the Government in the *Low-Countries was founded in Compact*? This you cannot but remember that he does, and therein admits that ſome Governments may be ſo founded.

Second Part, *p.* 72.

T. But the Second part of that Hiſtory ſhews, that Biſhop *Bilſon* is *wilfully miſtaken*, and that what he ſays, relates only to ſuch *Republicks and States, in which, upon the Invaſion of Subject's Priviledges, they are allowed by fundamental, written, known Compact, as in* Germany *by the* Bulla Aurea, *to reſiſt; as if that were applicable to Free Monarchies, and particularly* England, *contrary to his own expreſs Aſſertion*, That the Subjects of

of England *have not that warrant to draw their Sword without consent of their Prince.*

Bilson, p. 518, 519. where he says he proves it at large.

W. I am satisfied no Prince will consent it should be drawn against himself; but I take St. *Edward*'s Law, which shews, that a King of *England* may *cease to be King* upon his violating his Coronation Oath, of which the maintaining that is part to be as full a *Compact* as the Golden Bull. And *Jasper Main*, one of the Historian's Authors, admits that the Instances of the Cases of *E.* 2. and *R.* 2. may be proper, if any Original Compact can be produced, where 'tis agreed, that where the *King ceases to govern according to Law*, he shall for such misgovernment *cease to be King*. Besides, if Bishop *Bilson* lays down any general Rule for resisting in all Monarchies, not absolutely despotick, 'twill be hard for you to prove that *England* is to be excepted, till you produce Bishop *Bilson*'s own words, without taking that Historian's Judgment, who refers you to Passages, where he will have his Assertion in relation to *England* to be prov'd at large.

T. Does not Bishop *Bilson* expresly condemn the Papists for saying the People may *punish* the Prince? Farther yet, does he not say, that God has reserv'd the Magistrate to be *punished* by himself.

W. Very true; and yet says that which justifies resisting a King of *England* in some cases.

T. If you may resist him, you *punish* him; but he says, God has reserv'd the punishment to himself.

W. What is done for necessary defence of the Constitution, tho in consequence it may be a punishment, is not so directly: and I am sure Bishop *Bilson* says, *If a Prince shall go about to subject his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or change the form of the Commonwealth*

Bilson of Christian Subjection, Ed. 1586. p. 279.

from Imperie *to* Tyranny; *or neglect the Laws eſtabliſht by common conſent of Prince and People, to execute his own pleaſure; in theſe, and other Caſes which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their ancient and accuſtomed Liberty, Regiment, and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels.*

T. However, he ſpeaks not a word of a Compact here in *England*.

P. 280. *W.* He ſuppoſes that in all Governments the People have a *power for preſerving the foundation, freedom and form of their Commonwealth; which*, ſays he, *they fore-prized when they firſt conſented to have a King.*

T. Biſhop *Bilſon*, I find, did not underſtand the conſequence of admitting, that Princes can have their Crowns from any conſent or election of the People.

W. Is not that better than to have no Title at all? but pray what is the conſequence of ſuppoſing an Election?

Hiſt. of Paſſive Obedience, 2d part, p. 147. *T.* The late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in his Sermon at the Coronation of King *Charles* the Second, ſays, 'As 'Monarchy by Uſurpation is *res ſine titulo*, ſo Monar-'chy by Election is *titulus ſine re*.

W. Admirable chime! but how does he prove it?

T. 'For, ſays he, Elective Kings are but Conditio-'nal Kings, and Conditional Kings are no Kings.

W. I muſt confeſs I did not apprehend that Conditional Kings ſhould be no Kings, even while they performed the Conditions.

T. But what ſay you to the late Hiſtorian's Proofs, That the Doctrine of the Church of *England* is abſolutely againſt reſiſting Princes, in any caſe whatſoever?

W. I am of the ſame mind, that no King, while ſuch, or till he *ceaſes to be King*, is to be reſiſted.

But

But I muſt confeſs I am to ſeek what he means by the Church of *England*; what by a King of *England*.

T. By the Church of *England* he means the Churchmen.

W. I hope, though he contracts the Church in this, he does not take in *Romiſh* Churchmen to make up the number.

T. Yes but he does, and with very good grounds; for as Infallibility attends St. *Peter*'s Chair, in relation to the Government of the Church, whoever comes into it; ſo they that come into the Preferments of the Church of *England*, ſucceed to their Doctrines in Government, though as to other matters they have a latitude of diſſenting. Thus the bloody *Romiſh* Biſhop *Bonner*, though at one time he retracted what he had declar'd at another, is an Authority when he ſpake right, becauſe, ſays our Hiſtorian, *he ſpake not his own ſenſe, but the ſenſe of the whole Church of* England. P. 4.

W. I thank you for explaining his Notion of the Church of *England*; but if we take in the *Romiſh* Clergy, I ſhould think that famous Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Groſthead*, who ſaid, that all who died on the ſide of the Barons in the War againſt *H.* 3. were Martyrs, was as much of the Church of *England*, and as great an ornament to it, as Biſhop *Bonner*. But I am yet to learn what your Hiſtorian means by a King of *England*; does he mean a King only with Title, or in poſſeſſion any way? Vid. *Matth. Par.* Hiſt.

T. No, he ſhews out of Biſhop *Sanderſon*, that we are no otherwiſe to comply with the Perſons of a prevailing uſurped Power, *than I may ſubmit unto, Comply with, or make uſe of a High-way Thief, or Robber, when I am fallen into his hands, and lie at his mercy.* P. 133.

W. Ye are a very wiſe ſort of People, to publiſh and cry up ſuch Books now, when at the ſame time while ye would be thought true and faithful to King *William*, ye deny that he is King by *Right*. But I muſt needs ſay, I do not well know of any Foundation of Right ſetled by your Hiſtorian, but what is in the Clouds, or in Obeyance, till the right Heir from *Adam* ſtart up with his Pedigree about his Heels.

T. He had no occaſion to prove wherein a Princes Right conſiſts; 'tis enough that he ſhews Inſtances of Paſſive-Obedience in all Reigns.

W. Yes, indeed he brings Inſtances of it, where himſelf owns, that the Law had damn'd the Title; but does not conſider, that he carries it further than your Paſſive-Obedience-Men would have him, and brings a Confeſſor, Biſhop *Coverdale*, to ſhew, that *Bodies*, *Goods*, and *Lives*, are to be at the *Commandment* of the Prince who is not *Rightful* by the Law of *England*.

T. You miſtake him, I am ſure, for he ſpeaks that in Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

P. 22. *W.* I grant it; but then he tells us, That *Queen* Mary *had been Diſinherited by Act of Parliament, (a Bill of Excluſion paſs'd into the formality of a Law) and that for Illegitimacy, as it is there declared.*

T. What is that to the purpoſe? She had a Divine Right of Succeſſion, which no Law could alter.

W. By what Law did She ſucceed to *E.* 6.

T. By the Divine Law, and that contrary to the Law of *England*; for the Hiſtorian ſhews, that both the Siſters were declared illegitimate, and that by Act of Parliament; and were they not ſo, yet being

P. 26.

but

but of the Half-blood to the *King*, *by the Law they could not ſucceed.*

W. As he admits their Title contrary to Law, I fear he leaves nothing but the Conſent, or Choice of the People for the late King, joyn'd with his being of the Blood Royal.

T. I cannot apprehend your conſequence.

W. Indeed few *Tories* can ſee three conſequences off; but if *James* I. had no Title by Law, what had *James* II. in the third Deſcent from him.

T. The Hiſtorian, I am ſure, ſays nothing againſt the Title of *James* I.

W. But he ſhews, that *by the* ſame *Law* of *England*, *no Foreigner could ſucceed*, and *James* I. was a Foreigner.

T. You ſtill drive at your Commonwealth-Principle, as if Kings could have any right from the Choice of the People.

W. You, I am ſure, are either againſt all Right by Law, or for placing it where it is by Law determined.

T. I'll warrant it, you will go about to prove that King *James*, by laying aſide his *Political* Power, to exerciſe his *Imperial Law*, ceas'd to be King of *England*; when in this he did but put on his Royal Robes.

W. Tho I know of no *Imperial Law*, beyond what is allowed by the *Political Conſtitutions*, and could produce good *Authority* to prove, that a King, who Renounces that Power which the Law gives him, ceaſes to be King in a legal Acceptation, as much as if he ſhould in the moſt formal manner reſign his Crown: Yet I ſhall make ſhorter work of it.

T. It may be you think to bring an Act of *Parliament*, *recognizing and acknowledging that their preſent Majeſties*

Majeſties were, are, and of right ought to be by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Leige Lord and Lady, &c.

W. You Name but one Act, when in truth there are two; for the Bill of Rights in the laſt Parliament, agrees almoſt in words.

T. Can ſuch *Recognitions* alter the *Right*?

W. At leaſt, Acts of *Parliament* may be allowed to ſettle and declare the *Right*. You know the Rule urg'd by your *Advocate*, *It is a good and ſure way to believe the laſt Judgment*. If this be a Rule among your *Party*, even in Relation to the moſt Arbitrary Judgments of *Weſtminſter-Hall*; methinks it ſhould perſuade you to ſubmit to the Judgment of the higheſt Authority of the Nation.

Third Part of the Magiſtracy, &c. Vindicated, P. 2.

T. What Argument is that to one, who queſtions the Authority of this Parliament; and the Being of the laſt, which you call a Parliament?

W. Whatever you think of the laſt, I am ſure, this has been call'd by Writ from a King in Poſſeſſion, and the Laws made in ſuch Parliaments have in all times been adjudg'd good and effectual. And this Parliament has enacted, That all *and ſingular the Acts made, and enacted in* that which you call only a *Convention, were, and are Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and as ſuch ought to be reputed, taken and obey'd.*

T. I very well underſtand your concern, to have the Acts of the late Parliament, as you call it, paſs for Laws; for you well know unleſs they do, you have no Parliament which can Act now. But I need not urge that here, ſince this Act of your preſent *Parliament* is unintelligible, and ſignifies nothing; for to *Enact* that *they were Laws*, is neither *good Engliſh*, nor *good Senſe*.

W. You

W. You might have ſpar'd one of your Reflecti-ons at leaſt; for if it be not *good Engliſh*, it will be difficult to make Senſe of it, without putting a meaning upon it, which the *Engliſh* words will not bear.

T. However you muſt grant, that to *enact* that they *were Laws*, is not *good Engliſh*; for to enact, is to make a new Law.

W. As if it were improper by a new Parliamentary Conſent, to declare a former Law to be in force. What is enacting that they *were*, other than declaring, as a *Parliament*, that they were? Or could they declare this as a *Parliament*, without enacting?

T. If it were good Senſe to enact for the time paſt, it muſt be the declaring of the Laws to be good, which paſt in a Parliament not call'd by Writ, or due form of Law, which is deſtructive of the Legal Conſtitution of this *Monarchy*; and may be of evil and pernicious conſequence to our preſent Government under King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

W. I am glad you own the *Conſtitution* of this *Monarchy* to be *Legal*; and I am ſure no Man, who has look'd into its Ancient *Conſtitution* can think there is any weight in the Objection. Such may obſerve, that the Conſtitution provided for the Meetings of the *Great Councils* at ſtated times, as appears by what I before obſerved of the *Folcmotes*: and if Writs of Summons were then in uſe, it was only upon Emergencies happening within the time fixt by the *Conſtitution*, which has likewiſe warranted the *Aſſemblies* and *Acts* of the People, in many *Vacancies* of the *Throne*.

Bur

But it is very pleaſant that you ſhould urge the Conſequences here, as dangerous to the Government under Their preſent Majeſties, when you ſtrike at the very Foundation of it; and beſides, would have it fail for want of neceſſary Supplies from the People; for according to you, neither the laſt *Parliament*, nor *This*, nor any which can be called by Their preſent Majeſties, can be of any Authority.

T. Yes, they may when King *James* and the Prince of *Wales* are dead; but till then, there can be no Parliament with power of acting; for if this Parliament has none, you muſt allow me, that no other can; but this Parliament could not be qualified to act, till it had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which were altered by the laſt Parliament, or Convention, chuſe you whether. So that unleſs this and following Parliaments will take the Oaths, as they were before the Alteration, made ſince King *James* went away, I ſee not how they can act.

W. Very fine! they ſhould under *King William* ſwear *to bear Faith and true Allegiance to King* James, *and to aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Preeminences and Authorities, granted or belonging* to him; and to avoid all queſtion, whether any belong to him, they ſhould *profeſs, teſtify and declare, that King* James *is lawful and rightful King of this Realm.*

T. There is no help for it, this muſt be done if they will act regularly. Beſides, the want of Writs of Summons is our leaſt Objection againſt the laſt reputed Parliament, which gives the only Authority which this, or any other under King *William* and Queen *Mary* can pretend to; for the laſt which you will have to have been a Parliament, made the ſuppoſed qualifications of future Parliaments, before the Members had

had taken the Oaths which ſhould qualify themſelves; for they altered the Oaths in the very ſame Act, wherein they declared themſelves a *Parliament*.

W. I foreſaw, that though you were loath to ſay ſo much, you were not only for diſabling Their Majeſties and their Parliaments from levying Taxes, or making any Laws; but for denying that King *William* is ſo much as King *in fact* in a *legal* conſideration.

T. Whatever I think, I have not yet ſaid ſo much.

W. To uſe the words of your old Friend Dr. *W.* 'A due Title may be either ſuch, as according to 'the ſtrict *Rules of Juſtice* bears that name, as being 'obtain'd by due means, and conferr'd *without injuſtice or injury done to any perſon.*——— Conſiderations for taking the Oaths, *p.* 53.

T. Admirably well ſaid! I am ſure King *James* had wrong done him.

W. You are ſo tranſported with this, that you cannot hear out what makes for you. The Doctor ſays farther.

'Or that may be ſtyled a due Title which is *legal*, 'or allowed of by the Law, and which is conferr'd 'with *thoſe formalities of Law*, and with thoſe uſual 'Ceremonies, and Rites, which cuſtomarily are ob-'ſerved in the moſt regular *Collations* of Titles.

T. Bating what he ſays about *conferring* Titles, which ſavours of the *Republican*, this may not be much amiſs; and puts me in mind of the Objection made by our Friends, that you *Commonwealths-men*, who would have the choice of the People at leaſt to deſign, or mark out the Perſon of your King, cannot pretend that here was a *Choice*, or *Deſignation* made by their *Repreſentatives*; for the *Convention* had not *Poteſtas deſignativa Perſonæ.*

taken the Oaths which ſhould qualify them to act as their *Repreſentatives.*

W. That is to ſay, you would have them ſwear to be *true* and *faithful* to the late King, when they believ'd that he ceas'd to be King, and the Contract between him and the People was *broken?* If it were broken, then no doubt but they might do all that was neceſſary for ſubjecting themſelves to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, without regard to the Obligations enter'd into to the other as he was King of *England.*

Laſt part of the Magiſtracy, &c. p. 8.

T. I thought I ſhould draw you into an *Ambuſcade:* If you urge the *Vacancy*, as the Author *of the laſt part of the Magiſtracy and Government vindicated* has ſmartly argued, you muſt grant *that the Government was diſſolv'd, every thing reduc'd to its primitive ſtate of Nature, all Power reſolv'd into Individuals, and the Particulars only to provide for themſelves by a new Contract.*

W. To uſe your Friend Dr. *Brady's* Expreſſion; yours is but *an aiery Ambuſcade*, ſuitable to the Judgment of your *wordy Author:* according to whom our Common and Statute-Laws have had many an interruption. But the great Civilian *Pufendorf* would tell him, that no Nation can be preſum'd ſo fottiſh, to intend at the firſt ſetting up of a King, that their Laws ſhould determin with their *Prince's* Life or Title.

T. You ſtill talk of the People's Choice, when it is contrary to the Maxims of our Law, that there ſhould be any inſtant of time wherein we are without a *King.*

W. You mean when the courſe of Deſcents goes on, but have there never been Interruptions?

T. Yes,

T. Yes, but not of right.

W. But had the Laws no force, while they who you ſuppoſe to have had the right, were out of poſſeſſion?

T. That may deſerve conſideration; but I am ſure the Right could never be loſt; for it was firſt acquired by *Conqueſt*, and it is not to be preſum'd that a *Conqueror* would have his Right depend upon any Condition.

W. Not to trouble you with too many things at once, I ſhall put you to prove four things.

1. That *W.* I. was a Conqueror. 2. That his Conqueſt was abſolute, without any manner of Terms. 3. That he gain'd a Right for himſelf, and his Heirs, by *proximity* of Blood. 4. That the Rule to judg who was his *Heir*, is not the Law of the Land, but ſomething more ſacred; for as your own *Hiſtorian* has ſhewn, *J.* I. had no right by the Law of the Land Prior to the Peoples Choice, more than any body elſe of the Blood-royal; and conſequently according to your Advocate, the People have been without any Government ever ſince the death of Queen *Elizabeth*. Nay the Conſequence will ſtrike off both the Proteſtant and the Catholick *Queen*.

History of paſſive Obedience. *Sup.*

T. I never trouble my head with Conſequences at ſuch a diſtance. But nothing in the *Engliſh* Government, except what is done by the *Monarch*, can be juſtified, unleſs a Precedent can be ſhewn for it. And I am ſure no Precedent can be found, where ever any *Engliſh Parliament* declared any one to be *lawful*, and *rightful* King, while one who had the Right remain'd alive.

W. I will grant it, while the Right remain'd, but they have transferr'd the *Right* from one to another,

and declared the Right to be in one who, excepting that he was of the *Blood-royal*, had no Right but from their Declaration; as to go no backwarder, appears in the Caſe of *H.* VII.

T. He had it in right of his Wife.

W. What think you if I ſhew this before he married?

T. The People of that time were better Catholicks, than to be guilty of ſuch an Injury to the next Heir.

W. To convince you of this, I will ſhew you the form of ſuch a Parliamentary Declaration before his Marriage, which follows in theſe words.

In that Parliament he was deſir'd to marry.

Enry par le grace de Dieu Roy *Dengletere* & de *France*, & Seigneur *Dirland*, au Parlement tenuz à *Weſtminſter*, le ſeptiſme jour de *November*, l'an du Reigne du Roy *Henry* le ſeptiſme puis le Conqueſt primer, au pleſir de Dieu tout puiſſant, bien publique, proſperite & ſuertie di céſt Realm *d'Engletere*, à la ſingular comfort de toutz les Subjects du Roy del meſme, & en remoevement de toutz ambiguitez & queſtions; del aſſent des ſeigneurs Eſpirituels & Temporels, & à la requeſt des Communes il eſt ordeigne,

Henry, *by the Grace of God King of* England, *and* France, *and Lord of* Ireland, *at a Parliament held at* Weſtminſter, *the 7th day of* November, *in the Firſt year of the Reign of King* Henry *VII. ſince the Conqueſt. For the pleaſure of God Almighty, the publick Good, the Proſperity and Safety of this Realm of* England, *to the ſingular comfort of the Subjects of the ſaid King, and for removing all ambiguities and queſtions; of the aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the requeſt of the*

eſtablie

eſtablie, & enact, par auctorite du dit Parliament, Que les inheritaunces des Coronnes des Realms d' Engletere & de Fraunce, ove toutz Preemynence & Dignite Royal a yceſt appurtenant. Et toutz autres Seigneuries au Roy regardantz oultre le mere, oveſque les appurtenaunces a queaux en aſcun manere duez ou perteignauntz ſoient, eſtoient, remaignent en le treſnoble Perſon noſtre Soveraign Seigneur le Roy Henry le Septiſme, & en les Heirs de ſon Corps leialment iſſantz perpetualment oveſque le Grace de Dieu enſy d' endurer, & in *nulls auters*.

Commons, it is ordained, eſtabliſhed, and enacted, by authority of the ſaid Parliament, That the Inheritances of the Crowns of the Realms of England, *and* France, *with all the Preheminence and Dignity Royal, to the ſame appertaining. And all other Seignories belonging to the King beyond Sea, with the appurtenances in any manner due to them, or appertaining, be, ſtand, and remain in the moſt Noble Perſon of our ſaid Sovereign Lord, K.* H. 7. *and in the Heirs of his body, lawfully iſſuing, for ever, with the Grace of God there to endure, and in* no other *perſons.*

This is to be found in the beginning of the Statutes of *H.* 7. and was ſent to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, to be proclaimed.

T. I liſtened to hear the words *Lawful* and *Rightful*.

W. I take the Recognition in the time of *H.*7. to be more full, for tho the declaring that King *William* and Queen *Mary*, are *Lawful* and *Rightful King* and *Queen*, and that the Royal Power is *entirely veſted* in them (as the Bill of Rights, and the laſt act of *Recognition* declare) ſtrongly implies that King *James* has no Right; Yet it is not ſo expreſs as the other, which places

places it in *H.* 7. and the Heirs of his Body, and renounces the Pretences of all other Persons whatsoever.

T. You aim then at an Renunciation of King *James's* Title? Cannot you be content with driving him away, and setting another upon the Throne, but you must bar the Door against poor King *James*?

W. When so many are in your Sense Traytors to K. *James*; and his Party here is come to such an Head, as to threaten to bring him in without Terms; certainly it behoves every Man, that has it in his Power, at least to disarm those, who would hang them in a short time, if a check be not put to them.

T. Suppose you should get a *Renunciation*, that will be the act only of them who consent to it, and what will you be the stronger for that?

W. I must confess, though an act of *Renunciation* would be of some benefit, yet I believe without adding a Clause to that purpose in the Oath of Allegiance, the Act would fall short of its desir'd Effect.

T. Is not the Nation sufficiently burdned with Oaths already?

W. An Oath, I am sure, in this case would be the most proper *end* of the *Strife*; no man who swears in any case, and that believes the late King to have no Right, would scruple an Oath to that purpose, and it is fit that they who believe K. *James* to be their King, should shew it, before King *William* leaves the Kingdom.

T. According to you, such an Oath is needless; for you will have as much implied in the Oath already required.

W. The sense which you put upon the Oath, shews that this is no Test for you, and therefore another is requisite.

T. You

T. You would go to limit God's Providence, and renounce his Title who, perhaps, will force his way to his own again.

W. I think a true *Engliſhman* may reſolve to adhere to the cauſe of his Country in all events, without conſulting Providence or the Stars.

T. Do you think King *William* will thank you for intreaguing his Affairs, and making them Enemies, who otherwiſe would ſit ſtill.

W. The cauſe will not bear Neuters now; nor are thoſe Neuters, which you would have believed to be ſo.

T. I find you and I have taken different ſides: wherefore farewell till we meet in the Field.

W. I fear you leſs there, than in the Courts of Princes, or of Juſtice.

T. We ſhall be too hard for you in either of the places; at Court we are the only men for *Monarchy*; in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, we have the authority of the laſt Judgments on our ſide; beſides that, we tickle the Judges with giving them a Power over the Laws. And in the Field, we of the Church ſhall be the body of the Nation.

W. You, I doubt not, would have the *French* Monarchy ſupplant the *Engliſh*. But you have a pleaſant way of making your court to this *King* and *Queen*, by declaring that the *Sovereignty* is inſeparable from the Perſon of the *late King*. You think to pleaſe Judges who came in upon the reſtoring our *Conſtitution*, by advancing Judgments which would overthrow it. And the Church of *England* is mightily beholden to you, for making a compound of that and the *Romiſh* together, and raiſing a jealouſie in Their Majeſties, as if its Members cannot be Loyal Subjects to Them; yet aſſure your ſelf, how ſtrong ſoever the Church-Party may be in meer Church-Points, or ſuch

as are thought to be ſo, you may obſerve that the generality both of *Whig* and *Tory* Members of the Church, are united againſt the *late King*, whenever the queſtion is, which King we ſhould obey; not being willing to truſt to a pardon, the moſt ſolemn promiſes of which may not only be diſpenſed with, but, perhaps, it might never be in the late King's Power to make good, even tho he ſhould return, and deſire it.

T. Doubt not that, I will undertake to carry you where you may have City-Security for a Pardon, and good reward, if you will return to your Duty.

W. Do you think that the *French* King, by whoſe Arms and Money the late King, if ever, muſt be reſtor'd, would ſuffer him to make good any Promiſes to Proteſtants? Certainly you *Jacobite-Tories* are the blindeſt ſet of men that ever was. You had better herd with the other *Tories*, who would bring *Toriſm* in faſhion, under a King who came to root it out; than to labour thus to deſtroy your ſelves and your Native Country.

T. I had better turn to you *Whigs*, than join with thoſe *Renegadoes*, who are contemn'd by us of whoſe Party they formerly were; and cannot with any face pretend to be ſervants to *King William* and *Queen Mary*: for they agree with us, that there was no ground for withdrawing their Allegiance from *King James*, he having done no more than he might by his Prerogative; and therefore that he ought to remain our King.

W. For that matter I will leave you and your *Brethren* to fight it out, and am glad to divert your rage from the poor ſuffering *Whigs*, to thoſe who are come to us from you, and by having ſhar'd the ſpoil with you formerly, are better enabled to bear the brunt.

F I N I S.

AN

Historical Account

OF THE MOST

REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS

BETWIXT THE

DUKE of *SAVOY*

AND THE

FRENCH KING:

CONTAINED

In several LETTERS pass'd betwixt Them before the Rupture.

Translated from the Original French *Copies.*

LICENS'D,
October 3. 1690. J. FRASER.

LONDON:
Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCXC.

LONDON:

LICENSE, D.

REGISTER TELEGRAPH COMPANY

LICENSING

DIRECTORS

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

9

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE Moſt Remarkable Tranſactions, &c.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Savoy's *Letter to the* French King's *Brother, the Duke of* Orleans.

AMONGST the great and many Troubles, under which I am at preſent, ſeeing none but You capable of giving ſome eaſe to my afflicted Spirits, I hope you'll give me leave to do what unfortunate men have only left to do; that is to ſay, To juſtifie their Conduct, and to demonſtrate their reaſons to thoſe that are not yet ſo far from all Equity, as to refuſe to pity them. What have I ever done elſe to the King, than to ſerve him in the moſt ſubſtantial things he deſir'd of me? Have not I ſacrific'd to his ſatisfaction the Valleys of *Lucerne*, to my own prejudice, and againſt all the principles of true Politicks?

Did not I conſent to give him three of my Regiments, at the ſame inſtant his Ambaſſador made the firſt mention of it? Is it not evident, that to pleaſe the King, I have abandon'd my Intereſt, my Countrey, and my Perſon, by ſuch compliances, that have drawn upon me a great averſion of all the Proteſtant Powers, of the Emperour, of the King of *Spain*, and of all the Confederate Princes? Wherein have I ever diſpleas'd the King?

His Ambaſſadors have ſometimes made their complaints about ſome little inſignificant things, a thouſand of which would not be able to balance the leaſt part of thoſe ſubſtantial Services which I have mention'd, nor the continual marks I have given of a ſtrict adherency to the King's Intereſts. A Gentleman of *Nice* raiſes, without my leave, and without deſiring it, ſome Soldiers in the ſaid place, againſt ſeveral Declarations of my Predeceſſors, at the ſame time I am there actually preſent: This is not enough, he liſts ſome of thoſe that belong to my Regiment of Guards: I have the goodneſs not to ſuffer him to be try'd at the Seſſions, nor his Goods be ſeized according to Cuſtom; and I content my ſelf to ſend him to Priſon, only to prevent the ill example he had given by his behaviour: And yet, after all, they pretend to make a great buſineſs on't, as if I was oblig'd to ſuffer tamely this Inſolency and Affront of one of my own Subjects in my very preſence, inſtead that they ſhould have taken notice of my moderation.

I have given the King three Regiments, partly compoſed out of the principal Nobility of this Countrey; there is a conſiderable number of Gentlemen and others of my Subjects in thoſe Troops; I am willing,

for

for my greater recommendation, to give the King with my own hands ſuch as he may deſire to have above the ſaid number : but I do not intend to give my Subjects full licenſe to act againſt the Law, and to deviate from that Loyalty they naturally owe to their Sovereign. Nevertheleſs, thoſe that do it, are not puniſh'd for it, their Goods are not ſeiz'd, and I do expreſly prohibit not to indict them for ſome impertinent and ſeditious words ; neither do I trouble their Parents for it : yet, after all, if I do not applaud their exorbitancy, my paſt Services are forgotten, and I have no good intentions for thoſe of His Majeſty.

There is a reciprocal agreement made about the reſtoring of the Deſerters of the Gariſon of *Pigneroll*, *Perouſe*, and *Caſſal*, and of thoſe of my Troops. This is not at all executed on the ſide of the ſaid Gariſons ; for if they reſtore One, they retain Fifty : and yet they make a great noiſe, as if the agreement was not obſerved on my ſide. Of thoſe Troops which for the King's Service I entertain'd in the Valleys of *Lucerne*, a great many deſerted to *Pigneroll* : but the Governour pretended, either, That he had no Authority over thoſe Deſerters, becauſe they had liſted themſelves amongſt ſome Recruits which were made for other Regiments; or, That they were to be exchanged with thoſe Troops of his Majeſty that were out of the place ; or they refuſed them ſometimes downright, pretending that there was an *Amneſty* of the King in favour of the Deſerters ; as if an *Amneſty* of the King, that only regards thoſe that deſert in his own Kingdom, could be made uſe of by thoſe that deſerted out of my Troops, far from coming back, as it is expreſly requir'd in *Amneſties* of ſuch nature. It has been declar'd at *Caſſal*, That they

they would neither render nor re-take any Deſerter: This is a thing I do not complain of; for there ſeems to be a reciprocal Equity in *not asking*, and in *not giving back*: but then the Gariſon of *Caſſal* has no reaſon to complain neither.

Give me leave about this Subject to inform you of a thing that has made ſo great a noiſe. Some Officers of *Pignerol* having made their complaints, That ſome of their Deſerters were to be found in the Valleys of *Lucerne*, I gave order, That they ſhould be reſtored; and, withal, leave that they might go themſelves to diſcover them. They took along with them a Sergeant that had deſerted out of a Regiment belonging to the ſaid Valleys: The Officers of the ſaid Regiment ſeiz'd him as ſoon as they ſaw him: I was told of it in a Letter: I gave them, according to my cuſtom in ſuch matters, a general Anſwer, that is to ſay, To do what they found juſt, having no mind to condemn the Deſerters my ſelf. The Sergeant did himſelf confeſs that he had deſerted; he was try'd, and condemn'd according to Law. Should a Deſerter not have been ſeiz'd, that had the impudence to come before his Officers, to encourage (by his ſo fine example) the reſt of the Regiment to deſert as well as He? Does the agreement made to reſtore the Deſerters, mention, not to take them our ſelves when they are to be found in our own Territories, from whence they deſerted, only becauſe ſome Officers had the impudence to take them along with them? Ought we to think that it is the King's pleaſure that we leave off being Sovereigns in Foreign Countreys, when a Criminal is at the ſuit of a *French* Officer, and that there be no Juſtice for them there? Ought we to think that he would have

us take there more care, than in his own Kingdom? And yet this is the very thing that has been ſo much exaggerated, to prove that I have no good intentions for the King's Service.

They have continu'd ſecretly to raiſe Soldiers in my Territories for the King's Service: They are exhauſted of Men; I cannot find enough to complete my own Regiments. I endeavour to retain my own Subjects by ſome ſlight demonſtrations, without troubling thoſe any more that do not obſerve it, ſetting at liberty thoſe that have been impriſon'd, as ſoon as they deſire it. So great a moderation is not at all taken notice of; as if a Sovereign ought to contribute himſelf to the exhauſting his Countrey of Men, and that he ought to leave off making uſe of his own Subjects, only to be employ'd in the King's Service, without ſeeming to take notice of it, without being ask'd or thank'd for it.

Some years ago, the King deſiring to make ſome Recruits in *Savoy* for his Regiments of *Rouſſillon* and St. *Laurent*, did conſent that I might make ſome Recruits for my ſervice in the Provinces of *Dauphine*, *Lionnois*, and *Provence*: And tho' thoſe Recruits are very expenſive, and come to nothing at all, by reaſon of the great number of thoſe that deſert either on the way, or as ſoon as they are arriv'd in this Countrey; yet I never fail'd to give order in *Savoy*, as often as the Officers of the ſaid Regiment arriv'd there with a Letter of Monſieur *de Louvois*, to let them make their Recruits. It has been repreſented ſome few months ago, to two or three Officers that were come for the ſame purpoſe, That *Savoy* was exhauſted of Men; that it had very much ſuffer'd the laſt year, endeavouring to

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hinder the Incurſions of thoſe of *Lucerne*, and ſome *French* Proteſtants; and that to continue to contribute to the King's ſatisfaction, there would, according to all appearance, be no leſs difficulty this year to furniſh enough Men to the ſame end; deſiring the ſaid Officers to put off their Recruits till ſome more convenient time. The Count *de Rebenac* having ſpoke ſomething of it here, the ſame reaſons were made known to him; withal telling him, That it was no refuſal, but only a putting it off for a better time, to make the ſaid Recruits with ſo much the more conveniency; and tho' he ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with theſe juſt reaſons, yet endeavours have been made to draw an ill conſequence out of it, to the prejudice of my good intentions for the King's Service; as if the various troubles of this poor Countrey, which it has been forc'd to undergo, were not evident to all the world, and that is only with a deſign to contribute to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction.

I have endeavour'd to find ſome legal means to prevent the open Cheats which the ordinary Expreſſes of *Lions* commit, to the prejudice of my Cuſtoms. The Poſthouſe of *Turin* has been transferred to a more convenient place, that indeed is much nearer to the Cuſtom-houſe; but that has no entring there yet, without changing any thing that was uſual before: the ſaid Expreſſes refuſe to go to the Cuſtom-houſe; they come in with ſome Waggons laden with Merchandiſe, commit all manner of abuſes without end, and meerly out of ſpight; and yet I have ſuffer'd for ſome conſiderable time, with an unpreſidented moderation, all theſe Proceedings, that could not be practis'd in the leaſt Town that has ſome right of Liberty.

You know what has paſs'd concerning the Prince of

Carignan.

Carignan. Why is it not poſſible that I can altogether forget it? for I do not remember, but with the greateſt affliction in the world, that I have been forc'd to exile out of my Territories the firſt Prince of my Blood; Why, becauſe he did marry.

I run over and examine all my Actions, and I find nothing elſe that in the leaſt can be taken hold of by thoſe that pleaſe themſelves to cenſure my Actions before the King, than my journey to *Venice*, which the Marqueſs of *Arcy* has ſo often talk'd of before and after it. I confeſs, that I was very glad to have an opportunity to know the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to ſee at the ſame time the ſo much-renown'd City of *Venice*. I proteſt, That I did not think nor reſolve on't, till at a time when I could not make it known to the King, and receive his advice, without loſing the opportunity of executing my deſign. I beſeech you ſeriouſly to conſider of what ill conſequence it could be; and what reaſon the King has to complain of it, ſince I did not do it, when my Father of bleſſed memory went to *Padua* for the ſame reaſon, and that I did not know the King did meddle with Travels that other Princes undertake. Sure it is, that what has followed, has made it evident, that there was nothing in this Journey but what is good, honeſt, and that no body can diſapprove.

It ought not to be forgotten, That I have not always been willing to grant what ſome Ambaſſadors reſiding here, have deſired of me for ſome particular perſons; for ſuch things are for the moſt part drawn from them by my own Subjects, ſollicited by ſome petty Secretaries for a particular intereſt. Beſides, that ſome reſervedneſs in this caſe is very neceſſary, if we are not willing to be troubled every day, and at every hour with ſuch-like recommendations.

This is all, I assure you, I can remember of things pass'd; but now I intend to speak to you about things of a fresher date, till to the time that Monsieur *Catinat* did explain himself about some limited Orders he did receive from Court, by the coming back of his Nephew.

I come for this reason to the Concessions I obtain'd from the Emperor about the Privilege of Crowned Heads, and some Feofs of the Empire hereabouts, that are very convenient for me. If this business had not been manag'd with all possible secrecy in this Countrey, it would not have had the least success, by reason of some opposition it would have met with from some Vassals of the Empire; and if several Princes had had some notice of my treating about the said Privilege, it would have been spoil'd at its very beginning. This business does not concern the King, either directly or indirectly, and yet I was resolv'd to make it known to him before any body else; and I had certainly done it, if I had not been prevented by him. You say, It is Money that goes to the King's Enemies: It has been design'd for the War against the *Turks*; and it is so very inconsiderable, considering the Persons it went to, that the King wrongs his Greatness and Power to take notice on't. The King may easily engage me to do the same thing for Him, by some considerable effects of his favour; and, in fine, he is too just to desire to deprive a Sovereign Prince, that has the honour to be so near related to him, of that Right of Nature, of Buying, Selling, and making Bargains, and regulate to his liking those things that do not in the least concern him. There are so many others that treat with the Emperour, and which the King does not find fault with, that it was the least thing I could expect, after all the marks I have given him of my zeal, and that he would be rather pleas'd

to see that I had not lost an opportunity which, perhaps, might not have been recovered all my life time, to obtain the honour of Crowned Heads, and to open my self a way to the possession of the Imperial Fiefs hereabouts, seeing that it was for the King's Interests, that they should be rather in my hands than in any bodies else.

You'll object, without doubt, That the King having made known to me by his Ambassadors his disliking of this Affair, I should accordingly have left it. I was mightily displeased it was: then no more left in my power, having already got the Emperour's Provisionals, insomuch that my Honour was engag'd, by having given my Word; which a Prince, and every honest man, ought to value more than his Life; after which, I made no reflection of part of the Money that was already paid, the rest of it being paid a little after by Bills of Exchange. The only reason why Crowns were so much look'd for in this City, and that some were coyn'd in my Mint, was, to pay the Merchant with some advantage, that had advanc'd the said Bills. Speak, Sir, how was it possible, and how could the King, without violating his natural Equrity, and that admirable Judgment which appears in all his Actions, oblige me to break my Word? And I am still inclin'd to believe, that, after second thoughts, he'll approve my being careful of acquiring two things that do not concern Him in the least, and that are very advantageous to me.

Give me leave also to answer some other Complaints which the Ambassadour of his Majesty, and Monsieur *Catinat*, have mingled in their Discourse, and which partly you your self have made to the Marquis of *Dogliani*, my Ambassadour, to wit, that I was treating with His Imperial Majesty, with the King of *Spain*, with *Eng-*

land and *Holland*. To convince his Majeſty that this was a falſe Suppoſition, I have writ you ſeveral times that it was not true: If you do but know me well, you'll eaſily be convinc'd, that this is more than a ſufficient proof; for I had rather loſe all, than tell you a lie. In the mean time I informed the Pope by my Reſident, I have writ to him, and his Nuntio that had ſhew'd the Letter to Monſieur *Cattinat*, that it was not true, and that there had nothing paſs'd, neither was there any thing on foot againſt his Majeſty's Intereſt: that on the contrary, I had done ſeveral things againſt common Civility, and directy againſt my own Intereſt, out of fear of diſpleaſing him; having had no Miniſters at the Emperor's, and the Catholick King's Court, to behave my ſelf in this point according to the Marqueſs of *Arcy*'s direction, who could not ſuffer ſo much, as ſome Gentlemen of my Subjects going into *Hungary* to improve themſelves in the Art of War. As for *England*, the ſame reaſon has hindred me that I have ſent no anſwer to an obliging Letter from thence; and concerning the States-General, they have writ to me a Letter, not long ago, in favour of the *Vaudois*; I deſired to be excuſed of doing what they deſired, and that is the only Correſpondence I have had with them.

There has been ſomething mention'd of Intelligence I kept with certain men in *Dauphine*; this is an Invention of the ſame ſtamp with the reſt, but with this difference, that I have reaſon to hope, that by the falſity of this Lye it will be judged, that the reſt is of no better foundation. In fine, I am willing to ſubmit my ſelf to the Judgment of His Holineſs, or the Commonwealth of *Venice*, or ſome other Power that I have not juſt reaſon to ſuſpect; but the King himſelf, by making ſome

juſt

juſt Reflexions according to his great Underſtanding, may eaſily ſee the falſity of all theſe Accuſations. And to be plain with you; After the hard uſage I juſt now receive, it ought to be leſs ſtrange, that thoſe who have ſurprized His Majeſty's Equity, as to perſwade him to ſuch extreams with me, have endeavour'd to give ſome few, tho falſe colours, to their Pretences.

I beſeech you, Sir, to make a parallel of what ſubſtantial things I have actually done for the King's Service, with the ſaid Pretences, and to judge if thoſe ſolid marks I have given of my zeal for the King's Intereſt, do not altogether deſtroy them; and if it be not againſt common ſenſe, to put them into a parallel? Throw your eyes upon what follows. Monſieur *de Rebenac*, the King's Ambaſſador, arrives in this Countrey; he takes pains to aſſure me of the King's goodneſs in regard to my Perſon: I anſwer it with thoſe earneſt proteſtations ſo often repeated by Me and my Miniſters, of my great acknowledgment and zeal for the King's Service, that ought fully to perſwade him of it. He deſires me to drive the reſt of my Subjects out of the Valleys; I do conſent to it; he does nothing but entertain me about that buſineſs, and the King's favourable Opinion he has of me. Monſieur *Cattinat* arrives at *Pignerol*, he comes to ſee me in this City; the Projects againſt the *Vaudois* ſeems to be his only deſign; he ſpeaks to me about it as the only cauſe of his coming. I do eaſily believe it, I let him ſee a Liſt of all my Troops, and that they are not enough to furniſh Gariſons for my Fortreſſes, and to ſend them to ſuch Places where my Service requires their preſence; and nevertheleſs I reſolve to furniſh him with a conſiderable Detachment: He ſeems to be ſatisfied; he deſires to have at *Pignerol* a Conference with

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my Officers; I ſend them to him: All his thoughts ſeem to be employed about this Deſign; he makes all ſeeming preparations for it; he ſays that his Commiſſion regards more thoſe parts that are of this, than the other ſide of *Pignerol*; that it was neceſſary to make all haſte to make an end of the buſineſs with the *Vaudois*, and he ſeems to concern himſelf with nothing elſe. In the mean time there happen'd an Inſurrection in *Mondovi*; to appeaſe that, I ſent thither ſome of my Troops, and ſome few of thoſe that are at *Lucerne*. Monſieur *Catinat* lets me know, that ſeeing I was engaged about the Buſineſs of *Mondovi*, if I could not aſſiſt him with the ſame number of Troops I had promis'd, I ſhould let him have at leaſt a part of it. I gave Orders to ſend him a Detachment of 400 Men; he ſeems to be ſatisfied. It Snows very much in the Vallies, ſo there is no Action there. Some few days after, having made an end of the buſineſs of *Mondovi*, and coming back to *Turin*, I underſtand, that the Kings Troops which we thought were deſign'd for *Burgundy*, *Catalogne*, and againſt the Proteſtants in the Vallies, did advance towards the Borders of my Territories. This Report is confirm'd by the diſcourſe of His Majeſties Principal Officers, who make it publick, that they intended to put the Dutchy of my Land under Contribution, and accordingly they diſpers'd there ſome Papers that intimated the ſame. No body ſpeaks to me about the Paſſage; I judg that the King has a mind either to take it by force, or that he deſires I ſhould offer it. I do it with all the Security of going and coming back, and all the conveniency of Proviſions in my Territories, with all poſſible Proteſtations of my Zeal to ſerve him. But this ſignifies nothing, Monſieur *Catinat* deſires ſome Commiſſaries

to

to explain himſelf about the King's Intentions. I ſend him two Perſons to *Pignerol*. He tells them in general Terms, That the King is not ſatisfied with my Behaviour; that he had received Orders to enter his Troops into my Territories, that he would give them Bread, but that I was to furniſh them with Forage, and with a pound of Fleſh each Soldier; and gives a hint that he would write to me ſomething more particular. Thoſe Villages through which he enters into my Territories, give him what he deſires; after he is enter'd there, he deſires of me in a Letter, to ſend him ſome Body, to whom he might explain himſelf: I ſent to him the Marquiſs of *Ferrero*, whom you formerly knew as my Ambaſſadour. Monſieur *Catinat* begins with General Complaints; and ends with telling him, that the King expects I ſhould ſend into *France* over the Bridge of *Beauvoiſin* 2000 Foot, and two Regiments of Dragoons of my Troops, and that I was to reſolve upon't in 48 hours, in caſe I had no other Propoſals to make. The Marquiſs *Ferrero* did all he could, to let him ſee a ſecond time the little Grounds of his Complaints, the great occaſion I had for my own Troops, and in fine, offers him a League defenſive. But Monſieur *Catinat* perſiſting in his demands, he aſſures him, That I would ſend thoſe Troops over the Bridge *Beauvoiſin* into His Majeſties Service. Monſieur *Catinat* ſeems to be very glad of it, and told the Marquiſs of *Ferrero*, That henceforth we ſhould look upon His Majeſty's Troops as our Friends, and in aſſurance of it, Countermands the March to *Grugliaſch* near *Turin*, becauſe the ſaid Marqueſs had made ſome mention about it. I writ to the Count *Provane*, whom I thought to be at *Paris*, to Repreſent to the King, what the Marqueſs *Ferrero* had

had told Monſieur *Catinat* without any Succeſs, and to add ſome Propoſals to ſatisfy the King about the Troops, with the Advantage of His Majeſties Service, and the leaſt Prejudice of my own. What will you ſay, when you hear, that neither Monſieur *Catinat*'s, nor my Expreſs could not at all return; that he leaves briskly *Veillane*, and comes to *Orbaſſan*, from whence he ſends a Commiſſary to let me know, that the Troops were not enough to ſatisfy the King, that he deſires ſome other aſſurance of my good Intentions for the King's Service; that he did not poſitively know what it was, but believ'd it might regard ſome place. That Monſieur *Catinat* expects an Anſwer in Twenty four hours; that it was about Eight or Nine, that about the ſame time to morrow he did expect ſome Propoſals, for want of which he would begin to commit Hoſtilities. I ſend him the Abbot of *Verrue*; Monſieur *Catinat* repeats his Complaints, and deſires ſome Aſſurance of my good Intentions. He is deſired to tell, if he had any Power from the King to Treat. He anſwers, That he has none, but that he may accept ſome places in the King's Name. We deſire to know what Place he expects; he makes ſome difficulty to tell it, and deſires we ſhould gueſs it; at laſt he ſays, That the Communication of *Pignerol*, and the Cittadel of *Caſſal* muſt be aſſured; but ſays at the ſame time, they made no Reflection upon the new City of *Aſt*.

The Popes *Nuntio* goes to him, in order to accommodate Matters betwixt us; he ſhows him my Letter, wherein I aſſure him, That I was no ways a treating againſt the King, no, not ſo much as in my Thoughts; but all this without effect. The Marqueſs *Ferrero*, and the Abbot

bot of *Verrue* return thither, they hear nothing but the ſame things repeated. The Marquiſs *Ferrero* returns thither once more alone, with a Letter from the Marquiſs *de* S. *Thomas*, wherein he ſhows my readineſs to ſatiſfie the King, with an aſſurance of my good intentions. He is extreamly ſurprized to hear out of Mounſieur *Catinat*'s own mouth, that he had not ſpoken of an aſſurance in the ſingular, but in the plural number; that he had given it ſufficiently to underſtand to the Abbot of *Verrue*, yet it ſeem'd to be the ſame thing to that Abbot, and to the Commiſſary, to ſpeak in the Plural, inſtead of the Singular Number, as they have done both. But Mounſieur *Catinat*, who aim'd at his ends, perſiſted in this Opinion, and declared afterwards, that there was nothing but the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* that could ſatisfie the King; that in caſe they were not put in 24 Hours into his hands, he could not longer defer to commit Hoſtilities; as if the entring with an Army into a Country, and to make them ſubſiſt at the expences of the People, were great marks of Friendſhip: And yet he would by no means, nay he had no Power to treat about the conditions, which is in plain *Engliſh* to live at diſcretion.

In this great extremity, ſeeing my People at the Mercy of a Foreign Army, I thought fit to give my ſelf the Honour to ſend to the King a Letter, the Copy of which I have join'd to this, and ſent it to Mounſieur *Catinat* by the Count of *Marcenaſe*. He agreed to ſuſpend all actions of Hoſtilities, and diſpatch'd immediately his Nephew to carry the Letter to the King with all poſſible ſpeed. And indeed, his ſpeed was ſo great, that he was but few Hours above a ſeven-night a going and coming, Mounſieur *Catinat* gave me notice of his Arrival by ſend-

ing me His Majeſties Anſwer, the Copy of which I have alſo join'd to this. I confeſs I was mightily troubled to ſee a Letter writ with ſo much reſervedneſs, and that did not give me the leaſt ſign of the King's reconciling to me, which I did expect; and far from giving me the leaſt hopes about the reſtoring of my Places, he gives me ſufficiently to underſtand, that he required long proofs of my Affection before he could be perſuaded of it; inſomuch, that if theſe things altogether falſe and ſuppoſititious, and ſome other ſlight ones, could ſo eaſily perſwade him to the depriving me of the ſaid Places, would he ever want ſome pretences to retain them? I ſent nevertheleſs the Marqueſs *Ferrero* and the Marqueſs of S. *Thomas* to Monſieur *Catinat* with a full Power to Treat. They endeavoured to acquaint themſelves with his Power and his Sentiments: The firſt was in very good form, but the other anſwered little my expectation.

For beginning with the Troops, inſtead that he had always ſaid they were to go into *France*, by way of the Bridg of *Beauvoiſin*, he inſiſts that they were to join his Army that was to act againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*, and conſequently engage my ſelf into an offenſive War, without knowing why, or who in the ſame manner as Tributaries are oblig'd to March, putting my Territories to the diſcretion of Friends as well as Enemies, and making it the Seat of War, and in caſe it ſhould have been the King's intereſt to recal his Troops out of *Italy*, I ſhould have been left to the Mercy of a Powerful Enemy, whom I had drawn upon me, without having the leaſt reaſon to complain of it; to all which Mounſieur *Catinat* did only Anſwer, That he would promiſe the King ſhould never call back his Troops, before I was ſufficiently

ciently ſecured of my Enemies. You may judge if ſo ſlight a promiſe was ſecurity enough to a Prince, who ſhould have offended all his Neighbours, only to pleaſe a King that deſires my Troops, my beſt places, and to make my Territories the ſeat of War, pretending theſe were the only means left to keep me in his Favour. In fine, all what theſe Miniſters repreſented to him about it, ſignified nothing at all, and Monſieur *Catinat* ſtrongly perſiſted to have my Troops, not to ſend them into *France*, as he had always ſaid, but to act againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*. When they were about the point of the Cittadel, it was always hoped that the King would have given order to Monſieur *Cattinat*, to accept ſome equivalent, as I had deſired of His Majeſty, but without ſucceſs. It was repreſented, that I would be expoſed in that Town to the capriciouſneſs of a Governor, and to ſome other accidents that happen but too often between the Citizens and a Foreign Gariſon; that they muſt have found ſome expedient to ſecure me againſt it. Monſieur *Catinat* did, indeed, propoſe, that the little Gate, towards the Town, ſhould only be opened, and that the Soldiers ſhould be kept in a very ſtrict Diſcipline. Judge, I beſeech you Sir, of the delicacy of theſe expedients. At laſt he ſays, that this was not foreſeen; that they would make an Inventory of what they found in the Cittadel, and that it ſhould be reſtored by a Peace. Do not be angry, that I tell you, that the little ſucceſs my great ſubmiſſion to the King met with, and the great perſiſtance of deſiring the Cittadel, without making choice of ſome other place in *Piedmont*, did augment my troubles, ſeeing I muſt either leave my Capital City, or live there without either dignity or ſecurity. I ſent again my Chancellor, and the

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Marquiſs *Mouroux*, to Monſieur *Catinat*, to make a new tryal about my Troops, and to ſee if there was ſome hopes left to find ſome expedient about the Cittadel; but they found neither one nor the other. I ſend my Chancellor again to him the ſame day, to make ſome new endeavour. He propoſed to Monſieur *Catinat* ſome plauſible means, which he rejected; It was, that I would put the Cittadel into the Pope's, or the *Switzer*'s hands; That the Governor ſhould be to the King's liking; That the Gariſon ſhould be pay'd by His Majeſty; and that the Governor ſhould promiſe, that in caſe I ſhould really do any thing againſt the King's intereſt, he would put the Cittadel into his hands. The ſame Expedient was very near made uſe of by the late King your Father, being in this Country in perſon, much more might His Majeſty have been ſatisfied with it, having *Pignerol*, *Caſſal*, *Verrue*, and ſome of my Troops in his poſſeſſion. In fine, the refuſing of ſo generous propoſals, has made the Idea of my misfortunes ſo much the more terrible, having nothing for my ſecurity; but finding that at the ſame manner as Monſieur *Catinat* having fix'd my Troops, and ſeem'd to be pleaſed about my conſenting to it, yet did nevertheleſs make ſome new demands, ſo far above the former, as alſo the deſiring firſt of my Troops going into *France*, by way of the Bridge of *Beauvoiſin*, and then the inſiſting on the joining of them with his Army; ſo after being in poſſeſſion of the Cittadel and *Verrue*, he may make ſome more extravagant demands: For, in fine, to be plain, after one thing is done without reaſon, we muſt expect to do a great many more.

I have

I have not been able to put out of my troubled Mind ſome Reflections I made about the King's breaking a Defenſive League made for his Service, and at his Deſire, without any Formality, and without ſaying the leaſt obliging word. He has broken it by two Lines in his Letter, in which he tells his Ambaſſadour, That after the Month was paſs'd he would pay no more the 100000 Crowns according to our Treaty.

I could never obtain the ſending back of my three Regiments I have ſent to ſerve his Majeſty, though it was expreſly ſaid, That he would ſend them back as ſoon as I had occaſion for them. The neceſſity of which has been evident enough. He has obliged me to raiſe ſome Troops which I ſtood in no neccеſſity of. How could I be aſſured that the Treaty, and Monſieur *Catinat*'s Promiſes, would have been more ſolid, and ſtricter obſerved, when two Places of ſo great importance as the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* are, ſhould have been reſtored? If there be any difference, it is this, that it would have been eaſier to continue a League Defenſive, to ſend back the three Regiments according to the agreement, than to render the above-mentioned Places: Theſe words, to *give* and to *render*, are very hard to be executed; and he that is forced to *give*, has great reaſon to avoid it as much as he can, and he that reſolves upon't, ought to prepare himſelf for patience; for he that finds himſelf obliged to *render*, has no leſs pains to perſwade himſelf to it. Monſieur *Catinat* did pretend, that the Letter I writ to the King was an Engagement. I beſeech you to judg of it by what you'l find in the Margin of a Copy of the ſaid Letter which I ſend you.

In fine, Sir, after all the ill uſage I received from the King, I am ſure, if he would give himſelf the trouble to hear the reading of this Letter, he would not deſire to be Judg of this Affair; and if he did deſire it, I ſeriouſly

believe he could not hinder himſelf from pronouncing in my favour.

My Chancellor has writ a Letter to Monſieur *Catinat*, of which I ſend you a Copy, as alſo another of his Anſwer. After which having demanded Contributions in my Territories, and I hearing of nothing but Threatnings, was forced to accept the Succours, which thoſe that always look'd upon me as a French-man, had the generoſity to offer me in this great Extremity to which I am reduced; which I did not conſent to, till after I had left no Stone unturned to keep me from that neceſſity. This is ſo very great, that I do not think to flatter my ſelf ſo much, as to believe that all *Europe* will pitty me, without excepting the moſt generous and juſt Men in *France*. Good God! how was it poſſible it ſhould be for the King's Intereſt to oppreſs a Prince, who has the honour to be ſo near related him, who has given him ſuch Subſtantial marks of his Zeal and Affection, whoſe Countries are ſurrounded by thoſe of his Majeſty's, and who by the reſt of the World is taken to be a French-man? What will thoſe Princes ſay, which *France* would fain ſeparate from the contrary party? Is it not as much as to let them know, that they have no Hopes, and to fear all, conſidering the uſage I receive? Is the World not enough informed of the vaſt Deſigns of *France*, without diſcovering them ſo much in deſiring to drive me out of the Cittadel of my ordinary Reſidence, and another very conſiderable Place? Will the Princes of *Italy* believe that it is in order to defend them from their Enemies, of which they have none? or, to open the way to ſome greater Conqueſts, making the beginning by him, who far from fearing any Enterpriſes from him had all reaſon in the World to relie on his Protection? Pardon, Sir, the prolixity of this Letter, and do not aſcribe it to any thing but to juſtify to you my Behaviour, after having made uſe of all humane

mane Prudence could furniſh me with. I hope that God Almighty will not abandon the Juſtice of my Cauſe, that he'll fortify my weakneſs; and that the conſolation of a Prince, whom they endeavour to drive out of a part of that he has inherited from his Anceſtors, will be the darling Work of Divine Providence. Pity me in my Misfortunes, but aſſure your ſelf, that having nothing to reproach me with, I look upon it with Courage; and in caſe I ſhould happen to be a Prince without a Country (which by God's Aſſiſtance I hope I ſhall not) I'le nevertheleſs maintain thoſe Sentiments, and that greatneſs of Soul, which is anſwerable to my Birth, and worthy of a Son, that intends to honour you as a Father all his Life-time, and that ever will be entirely yours.

Since the writing of this Letter, I have received one from Monſieur *Catinat*, which I ſend you a Copy of, as as alſo of the Anſwer I ſent him, and how he did reply to it. Methinks that after what has paſs'd, I am not in the wrong to deſire to treat in Writing, and that all the World will eaſily agree, that it is a mark of the uprightneſs of my Proceedings, and the ſincerity of my Intentions, aſſuring you again, that what Monſieur *Catinat* mentions about a precedent Engagement, is nothing but a meer Pretence, and that I have had none, either with the Emperor or the Catholick King till the third of this Month, when Monſieur *Catinat* cut off all manner of Treaties, and intimated Contributions to ſeveral of my Territories.

This Letter was not ſent till June *the* 24th, 1690.

His Royal Highneſſ's Letter to the French King, May *the* 20th, 1690.

Monſieigneur,

I Am infinitely troubled to ſee that thoſe falſe Colours which I have been blacken'd with in the Eyes of your Majeſty, have had ſo much power over your Mind, as to deprive me of the honour of your Favour, which I have always valued more than my life. I have nothing left in this extremity as conſolation of being able to juſtify my ſelf before your Majeſty, but that I have not drawn this Misfortune upon me by the leaſt want of Zeal for your Royal Service, of which I'le make a Glory to continue to give ſome real Marks on all Occaſions. When Monſieur *Catinat* let me know, you deſired part of my Troops, of which I have not very many; I did aſſure him that your Majeſty was Maſter of them, and that they were to paſs the Mountains immediately to go to ſerve your Majeſty. He has given me ſince to underſtand, that your Will and Pleaſure was, to have ſome places in *Piedmont* in aſſurance of my good Intentions; and although your Majeſty ſtands in no need of any other Aſſurance, than that of my Heart, which is entirely yours, yet having deſired Monſieur *Catinat* to ſpeak ſomewhat plainer, and he having at laſt told me that the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* were aim'd at, I am ready to give your Majeſty ſo ſubſtantial a proof of my ſubmiſſion, as the delivery of thoſe two places into your hands will be, humbly intreating you, that you would be pleaſed to do it upon ſuch Terms, as a Prince that has the honour to be ſo near related to you, may reaſonably expect from the Goodneſs and Generoſity of ſo great a King; but if your Majeſty would be pleaſed to make choice of ſome other place in *Piedmont*

inſtead

inſtead of the Cittadel of *Turin*, that I might continue to live there with the dignity of a Sovereign, your Majeſty would infinitely oblige me. I humbly implore your Majeſty's Generoſity for it, as alſo that you would be pleaſed to hear the Count *Provane* my Ambaſſador, who will ſufficiently ſatisfy your Majeſty about the ill-grounded Suſpicions your Majeſty has been inſpired with concerning my Behaviour, and who will renew to your Majeſty all the ſincere Proteſtations of my Zeal and Reſpect, aſſuring you, that I intend to be all my Lifetime, *&c.*

A plain Interpretation of the true Meaning of his Royal Highneſs's Letter to the French King, againſt Monſieur Catinat's *Opinion; who pretends that it is a downright Engagement to deliver up to him the Cittadel of* Turin *and* Verrue.

WE do not intend in order to exclude his Pretenſions, to waſte much time in conſideration, that all was done by a greater Force, not to ſay by a manifeſt Violence, and with threats of Acts of Hoſtility, againſt a ſurpriz'd and diſarm'd Prince, in caſe he did not ſurrender the Cittadel of the very place of his Reſidence, and another of his beſt Places, in 24 Hours, though no Body be able to make the leaſt reply againſt this Reaſon, and that no Body waves to neglect the Obligation of an Engagement, if it be drawn from him by Force. His Royal Highneſs finds that Monſieur *Catinat* puts him to ſuch Extreams, that he deſires the ſaid Cittadel and *Verrue*, without having any power to treat about it, and without being willing to give him time to ſend, with all poſſible

poſſible ſpeed, an Expreſs to the King, nor ſuſpend the Acts of Hoſtility.

His Royal Highneſs has no other Means to put off for a while the Ruin of *Piedmont*, than to write ſo ſubmiſſive a Letter to the King, that Monſieur *Catinat* reſts ſatisfied with it, and ſends it to his Majeſty by his Nephew, who did but a Week ſtay upon the Way. No Conſequence can be drawn from this, that may put a ſtrict Obligation upon his Royal Highneſs, as he was willing to believe.

But let us leave the Reaſons that forced his Royal Highneſs to write the Letter in ſo ambiguous a manner as could have the Effect he ſo much ſtood in need of; and let us come to the true meaning of the ſaid Letter. No Body can deny, that thoſe Clauſes that in ſome reſpect depend on one another, and that in general make the ſenſe of the Letter, ought not to be ſeparated from it; neither can it be denied, that ſome Terms of Reſpect and Submiſſion, one of a leſſer Quality makes uſe of towards one of a Greater, be obligatory in a litteral ſenſe; and when one writes to a great Perſon, that All one has is at his Service, that he may abſolutely diſpoſe of it, it be only a very obliging Expreſſion, that ſignifies nothing, and conſequently lays no poſitive Obligation on him that made the Complement. When a Soveraign has a mind to ſome rich Hangings, Jewels, a Houſe, a Park, or a Caſtle, belonging to his Subjects, theſe will certainly anſwer, that every Thing belonging to them is at his Service, thinking themſelves happy to have ſomething in their poſſeſſion that does pleaſe him. But do you think, that upon theſe very words the Soveraign may challenge it as a Gift? And a Letter of the ſame nature, is it enough to give a Soveraign a good Title to it, without an evident Oppreſſion? And if it be ſo in regard of a Soveraign towards his Subjects, much more ought it to be

obſerved

obſerved by a King towards a Prince, who is infinitely below him; but who in the mean time is a free Prince and Soveraign in his Territories.

Now if to ſuch Expreſſions be added, the word of Petitioning to Conſent, or to be pleaſed to reflect, or ſome ſuch other Terms, this Addition deſtroys entirely the Force of this preceding Expreſſion, this term Petitioner having no ſignification of it ſelf, if it has no relation to what has been ſaid before. But let us come to our Letter again. The beginning of it, till to Monſieur *Catinat*'s Name, is only a repreſentation of the Wrong which has been done to his Royal Highneſs, in making him as black as Hell to the King: he aſſures that he is able to juſtify himſelf, which ſhows his Oppreſſion to be ſo much the greater, becauſe it has been done without Reaſon; and the want of that Reaſon ought to diſpoſe him that has been miſled, of giving over thoſe Pretences that were the Effect of it?

The following Paragraph, that ſpeaks about the Troops, is poſitive, and ſhows clearly, that his Royal Highneſs has aſſured the King, that the King is Maſter of thoſe Troops Monſieur *Catinat* has deſired of him, and that were immediately to paſs the Mountains to go to his Majeſty's Service. But let us conſider if his Royal Highneſs explains himſelf in the ſame manner about the Places, though it be with all reſpect, and in the moſt obliging manner in the World. It is firſt ſaid, That his Majeſty ſtands in no need of ſuch an Aſſurance as he deſires: then his Royal Highneſs does not ſay that he gives, but that he is ready to give this ſo ſubſtantial Proof of his ſubmiſſion in delivering up the ſaid Places. Here is the pretended ground of the French Interpretation, they ſuppoſe that his Majeſty gives the ſaid Places, that he engages himſelf preciſely to ſurrender them; but there is a great difference between giving and being ready to

give;

give; and this term that is ſuppoſed by them to be poſitive, ſignifies nothing, if you add to it the condition which is undoubtedly implied by the word Intreating, that ſignifies nothing all alone, and is grounded upon the remiſſion of the Places by a conditional Term, inſomuch that the ſuppoſed offering to give, is nothing at all, except the Condition that is ſet to it be fully cleared; and no Body denies that it is an Offering with a Condition, that affirms nothing in it ſelf, without this Condition following be made clear by a neceſſary Conſequence.

Therefore there are required ſome Conditions, in the Plural Number, as the Letter mentions it: But what will theſe Conditions be? They cannot be Arbitrary to the King; they would be no Conditions if they ſhould abſolutely depend on him. It muſt be ſuch Conditions which the other Party, I mean his Royal Highneſs, agrees to; and this ſo much the more, becauſe the Buſineſs is not about a mutual Contract, nor a thing which both Parties are equally concerned in, but to deprive a Prince of two moſt principal Parts of his Crown, without either Right or Reaſon, but a meer deſire only which the more Powerful has to get the Goods of him that is more Feeble, and who has ſo much the more reaſon not to deprive himſelf of it, whatever Complements he has made to the more Powerful; and if at laſt he does conſent to it, the Conditions ought without doubt to be to his liking.

And in caſe we had a mind to ſtick to the literal Senſe of the Letter; it is not ſaid the King may make ſuch Conditions as he pleaſes, but ſuch as a Prince, that has the Honour to be ſo near related to him, ought to expect from his Goodneſs and Generoſity. Now, what ought ſuch a Prince to expect from the Goodneſs and Generoſity of ſuch a King, but that he ſhould reſt ſatisfied with his Submiſſions, without being willing to force him to give him his own? Had he not reaſon to believe,

that

that if it came to the worſt, the King would chuſe another Place inſtead of the Cittadel: And what Condition could his Royal Highneſs propoſe to himſelf in his Favour, that might not have been far below of what he might have expected from the King's Goodneſs and Generoſity? According to the literal Senſe of the Letter, the King's Goodneſs and Generoſity is plainly ſuppoſed; and how will you be able to make Violence and Oppreſſion agree with Goodneſs and Generoſity in the ſame Subject, after the reſerving of ſuch-like Conditions? The Petition that follows being directed to a great King, are the true Conditions which ought to be hoped for, and which his Royal Highneſs has always expected. And in effect it was not eaſily underſtood, why Monſieur *Catinat* had no Orders from the King about it; which made his Royal Highneſs juſtly fear, that there was ſomething more in the Matter, that was not at all deſigned for his Good.

In fine, his Royal Highneſs entreats the King to hear the Count of *Provane*, who had full Inſtructions and Power to treat about this Buſineſs: The King has not thought it worth his while to hear him, and Monſieur *Catinat* propoſes nothing that gives the leaſt ſecurity to his Royal Highneſs. Methinks it has ſufficiently been proved, that no Body can pretend that the Letter his Royal Highneſs has writ to the King, does engage him to a down-right delivering up the Cittadel; and that if any thing has been offered, it has been done upon Terms, and ſuch as ought entirely to be to his Royal Highneſſe's liking,

The French King's Answer to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Savoy's *Letter, dated* May *the* 24th, 1690.

Dear Brother,

I Underſtand with great ſatisfaction, by your Letter which Monſieur *Catinat* has ſent me, the Reſolution you have taken to put into my Hands the Citradel of *Turin* and *Verrue*; and ſeeing that the Count of *Provane* is not here, and that if I ſhould ſtay for his arrival, to hear what he has to ſay to me from your Part, there would be waſted a conſiderable Time, in which the march of my Troops towards the Dutchy of *Milan* would be put off; I thought fit to ſend to the Sieur *Catinat*, a full Power to receive thoſe Places in my Name; and in the mean time I am willing to aſſure you, by this Letter, that I have been very much troubled to find my ſelf obliged to give Orders for my Troops entring your Territories; and that as ſoon as I ſhall have no cauſe to doubt of your Zeal for my Intereſt, and of that conſtant Affection for my Crown, of which moſt of your Anceſtors have given many ſubſtantial Proofs, I will render you my Friendſhip with pleaſure, and do that for you which your near Relation gives you reaſon to hope for.

I am, *&c.*

His

His Royal Highneſs's Chancellor's Letter to Monſieur Catinat, June *the* 3*d*, 1690.

SIR,

HIS Royal Highneſs has been extreamly troubled to underſtand, by what I have told him of your invincible Reſiſtance, to accept thoſe Propoſals I have made you in his Name, the Misfortune he has not to be able to ſatisfy his Majeſty, and to ſee that ſo many extraordinary Endeavours of his to pleaſe him, have been altogether unſucceſsful. It is without doubt the Effect of my little Capacity to make them agreeable, which I am alſo heartily ſorry for. But thinking that his Royal Highneſs's Propoſals concerning the Places and Troops, were ſo very liberal and juſt, that they wanted no Art of Rhetorick, I received with pleaſure his Orders to make them known to you. I wiſh with all my Heart that you would be pleaſed to aſſiſt me with your great Experience of the Affairs of the World, to find out ſome other more ſucceſsful Expedient. I will do all that lies in my Power to make them acceptable to his Royal Highneſs, as alſo to let you ſee by my care, the Honour I have to be really yours, *&c.*

Monſieur Catinat's *Anſwer to the Chancellor's Letter, dated* June *the* 3*d*, 1690.

SIR,

I Have received the Letter, you have done me the honour to write to me, which I find to be writ with the ſame Spirit as all his Royal Highneſs's Miniſters have diſcovered to me in our Converſations. I have found nothing that has been poſitive in all the Treaties I have had the honour to have about a Buſineſs of ſo great Conſequence, except the Promiſes that have been made to the King by his Royal Highneſs, in a Letter which he has had the honour to write to him with his own Hand.

I am, &c.

Monſieur Catinat's *Letter to his Royal Highneſs*, June *the* 16*th*, 1690.

Monſiegneur,

I Have to day received an Expreſs from his Majeſty with ſuch Orders, that may give ſome means to your Royal Highneſs to help your ſelf out of thoſe Extreams which you your ſelf have drawn upon you. For this Reaſon I beſeech your Royal Highneſs to ſend to me two or three of your Miniſters, whom you have moſt confidence in, that I may make it known to them; for the going and coming of which I take the liberty to ſend you Paſs-ports. I humbly beſeech your Royal Highneſs to

to do me the honour to believe that I am, with a deep respect, *&c.*

His Royal Highness's Answer to Monsieur Catinat's *Letter, dated* June *the* 17*th*, 1690.

YOU have as many Witnesses as you have Soldiers, of what I have suffered, to show my respect for, and readiness to serve the King your Master. You know I did consent to your Demand, about some of my Troops going into *France*; that you show'd a great satisfaction about it to the Marquess *Ferrero*, as if it had been your only design in my regard, and that you told him we should henceforth look upon the King's Troops as Friends. Nevertheless, some few days after you wanted some of my strong Places; afterwards you desired that, contrary to your first Proposals, my Troops were not to go into *France*, but to join your Army in order to act against the Dutchy of *Milan*. After which you see that I have reason to wish, that in case you had something to propose to me, you would do it in Writing, and I will do the same. This is all that I can say at present in Answer to your Letter, and that I will always preserve those Sentiments of esteem for you, with which I am, *&c.*

Monsieur

Monſieur Catinat's *Reply to his Royal Highneſs's Anſwer*, June *the* 17*th*, 1690.

Monſiegneur,

I Have received the Letter your Royal Highneſs has done me the honour to write to me, in which your Intentions are ſo clear and evident to follow thoſe Engagements you have embraced a great while ago, that it is needleſs to propoſe you any thing in Writing that may give ſome means to recover the Honour of his Majeſty's Favour. I am, with all that reſpect that is owing to you.

FINIS.

PERJURY

THE

National Sin:

OR,

An Account of the Abuses and Violations of OATHS among us of this Nation.

Humbly offered to the Consideration of the High Court of PARLIAMENT.

Ὅρκον φεύγετωσαν, εἰ μὲν οἷόν τε εἰ ἅπαν: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅσον γε ἐνόντων. Epict.

This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that stealeth shall be cut off as on this side, according to it; and every one that sweareth shall be cut off as on that side, according to it, &c. Zech. 5. 3.

Licensed Decemb. 13. 1689.

LONDON:

Printed, and are to be Sold by *Randall Taylor* near *Stationers-Hall.* MDCXC.

Monſieur Catinat's *Reply to his Royal Highneſs's Anſwer*, June *the* 17*th*, 1690.

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FINIS.

10.

PERJURY

THE

National Sin:

OR,

An Account of the Abuſes and Violations of OATHS among us of this Nation.

Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the High Court of PARLIAMENT.

Ὅρκον ϖαραιτήσαι, ἐὰν μὲν δίκαιε ἐὰν ἅπαν: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ὃκ ἀϖὸ ἐνόντων. Epict.

This is the curſe that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: for every one that ſtealeth ſhall be cut off as on this ſide, according to it; and every one that ſweareth ſhall be cut off as on that ſide, according to it, &c. Zech. 5. 3.

Licenſed Decemb. 13. 1689.

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10

PERJURY
THE
National Sin.

I HAVE oftentimes lamented the great guilt that our ſinful Nation hath contracted, through the ſin of common Swearing, and Perjury its uſual Conſequent; which is a ſin very clamorous, and exceeding provocative of God's Judgments: For, foraſmuch as in every Oath there is an Appeal made to God, That what we aſſert is true, and that what we promiſe we intend to perform, and by conſequence an engagement of his Juſtice to avenge every Violation of Truth and Faith; it is no wonder that we read in Hiſtory of ſo many ſignal Judgments inflicted on perſons remarkably guilty of this Crime; indeed it is a wonder that we take notice of no more. God is concerned to make ſome publick Examples, to vindicate the honour of his Rectoral Juſtice, leſt his Government of the World be called in queſtion, and the impunity of Blaſphemers become a ſcandal to Men, and fill the Earth with the Race of *Protagoras*.

πᾶς ὅρκος εἰς καταράαν τελεύτα ὁ ἐπιορκίας. Plutarch. Quæſt. Rom. 44.

goras. That many are not ſtruck dead with an Oath in their mouths, or come to ſome other fearful end, as ſome do, is a luculent teſtimony both of God's great Patience, and of a Judgment to come; for vaſt numbers every day call aloud to God for Damnation; and great multitudes increaſe the black Liſts of their Perjuries, till they are more in number than the Hairs of their Heads, and equal the Sand on the Sea-ſhoar.

--------Dabit in laqueum veſtigia noſter
Perfidus, & nigri patietur carceris uncum, &c.
Juv. Sat. 13.

φύεται ἐν πολυορκίας ψευδορκία. Philo Jud.

There is no man who is wont to ſwear in common Diſcourſe, as often as the fancy takes him, or Paſſion moves him, or the Devil tempts him, but is guilty of frequent Perjuries, aſſerting oftentimes what is falſe, and promiſing impoſſibilities; telling Lies ever now and then, and backing them with Oaths, and tying himſelf with this moſt dreadful Obligation to that, which he never intends to perform.

Some are ſo ſtupid (I know) as to offer for excuſe and extenuation, That they are not ſerious and conſiderate when they ſwear in common Diſcourſe, but either paſſionate, or jocoſe, or do not animadvert upon what they ſpeak; and that therefore the falſities they thus ſwear, are very little ſins, or rather none at all. As though one ſin could excuſe another; and becauſe it is their wicked Cuſtom, out of a preſumptuous diſobedience to God's expreſs Command, to cite God at every turn to their idle prattle, they may alſo make bold with him to deſire him to atteſt their Lies, and yet be guiltleſs. God is preſent, and takes notice of all our words, though

though we are inconſiderate, and weigh them not; and ere long, he that Perjures himſelf inadvertently and jocoſely, and calleth upon God to Damn him through Cuſtom and Paſſion, or in Jeſt, ſhall find himſelf, unleſs he does Repent, through the juſt Judgment of God to be damn'd ſeriouſly, deliberately, really, and in earneſt.

What an happy thing therefore would it be, if thoſe who are in Authority would put the Law, that is in this Caſe provided, in ſtrict Execution upon all Common Swearers? It would be happy, not only for thoſe Sinners, but for the whole Nation in General, and every Member thereof in Particular. If thoſe whoſe concern and duty it is, to ſee Juſtice duly executed on Offenders, would wholly forſake this Sin in their own Converſation, and ſee it ſtrictly puniſhed in other Men, they would be the better able to give an Account of their Stewardſhip at the Great Audit. And if thoſe, whoſe accurſed Cuſtom it it to Swear frequently, were Convicted, and legally Puniſhed; the Payment of the due Penalty *toties quoties* would make them ſet a Watch before the door of their Lips; and it may be forſake ſo baſe and unprofitable a Sin: At leaſt, it would in ſome meaſure exempt our Nation from the guilt of a Sin, which now through impunity, is become National, and may make us all to dread the Judgments of the Almighty.

But tho vain and idle Swearing in common Diſcourſe, is the cauſe of very much Perjury; yet it is not the only Cauſe. The neglect of puniſhing

Offenders,

Offenders, and the Omiſſion of the neceſſary Duty of fraternal Correption, has made the Guilt of this horrid Sin redound to all Orders and Degrees of Men among us; in ſo much, that we have all reaſon to fear Divine Vengance; but this is not the only thing that hath made falſe Swearing the Sin of this Nation.

The breach of a ſolemn Oath, which was taken before a Magiſtrate, hath always been accounted, and for certain is, the moſt grievous kind of Perjury; becauſe ſuch an Oath is ſuppoſed to be taken with the greateſt Attention and Deliberation, and the Breach thereof gives the greateſt Scandal. Hence the prudence of ſome Legiſlators is worthy of Commendation, who for fear, that the multiplicity of Oaths ſhould become a Snare to their People, have never exacted an Oath, but in caſe of the higheſt Neceſſity. Joyning of hands among the *Perſians* in many Caſes, was accounted a ſufficient Aſſeveration. The *Eſſenes* heretofore among the *Jews*, look'd upon all Oaths to be ſuperfluous. And *Plato* tells us, That *a wiſe Legiſlator ought not in matters of controverſie to give every one the liberty to ſwear, becauſe* (ſays he) *when all are permitted to ſwear, many will be perjured.*

Plato de Legibus. pag. 987.

But, on the contrary, the Conſtitution of our Government is ſuch, that Oaths are impoſed upon us for every ſlight and trivial account, and according to the prevalency of Cuſtom, eaſily taken, and as eaſily broken; and by this means ſolemn Perjury is become a common ſin.

I know

I know it will be hereunto replied, That mens wickedneſs ought not to be a prejudice to the Law; and that this is the great fault of thoſe who take them without due conſideration, and are not careful to keep them; and not of thoſe that impoſe them. But I anſwer, That neither are to be excuſed, but both are in fault; the One, for breaking their Faith, confirmed by this dreadful Obligation; and the Other, for proſtituting Oaths to every mean end, and making them common, and entangling our conſciences with them for every Cauſe.

For there are many Caſes, ſome in matters Eccleſiaſtical, and ſome in Civil, in which the Laws of our Land require ſwearing, when for the preventing of Perjury it might well be omitted, and the ends of Truth, Honeſty, and Juſtice, as well, nay much better, attained. Of this nature, among ſome other, I judge the Caſes following:

1. When any Tax is laid upon the Kingdom, (for I will begin with that, which I have lately obſerved with pity and indignation), in this caſe in every Town and Pariſh there are uſually choſen ſome fit perſons to be Aſſeſſors, and they are ſworn after this manner: [**You ſhall ſwear well and truly to execute the Duty of an Aſſeſſor, and to cauſe the Rates and Duties impoſed by an Act, entituled, &c. to be duly and impartially aſſeſſed, according to the beſt of your ſkill and knowledge, and therein you ſhall ſpare no perſon for favour or affection, nor any perſon grieve for hatred**

or

or ill will. So help you God.] One would think, that every one that took this Oath would ſurely act as honeſtly, equally, and exactly, as Juſtice it ſelf with her pair of Ballances; and (to apply the matter to the laſt Aid) our late Aſſeſſors had rated up every man's Eſtate according to its juſt value, as far as they knew, without any diminution, or any other kind of injuſtice or partiality, conſidering that they tranſacted an Affair of great importance, not only between the King and his People, and between Subject and Subject, but between God and Conſcience, and that they pawned their Souls for their Integrity. But this is only the charitable concluſion of ſpeculation. He that hath obſerv'd what has been practiſed of late among us, is fully convinc'd of the contrary; for the Devil has not had a better Market in many years, than he has had now; he hath put off a vaſt number of Perjuries in our Nation. The late Taxes do nothing near advance the Sums of Money which were expected: and how is it poſſible they ſhould, when the Acts of Parliament were ſo much eluded, by the ſwallowing of Oaths, which were never kept. In ſome few places, where conſcientious men were elected to Aſſeſs, and in ſome few other, where the Inhabitants fell out about their Aſſeſsments, and detected the Wealth of one another, Aſſeſsments were made according to the end, ſenſe, and intention of the Act of Parliament. But theſe places are but few; honeſt men are ſcarce in the world; and though there are great plenty of Knaves therein, yet but few have fallen out among themſelves, and

brought

brought in one another; the moſt have lovingly combined together to cheat God, the King and Queen, the Countrey, and their own Souls. In ſome Pariſhes the Aſſeſsments ariſe not to more than half the juſt yearly Income of Peoples Eſtates, annual Burdens being deducted. This is paying Six-pence inſtead of Twelve-pence to the Pound, like falſe compounding Bankrupts; nay, in ſome other places, they have not aſſeſſed ſo high. But then you muſt underſtand, that the Aſſeſſors of thoſe Towns and Pariſhes were not only kind and neighbourly men, loth to diſoblige any, but alſo men well read in the Politicks. In many places the Grandees of the Town thought convenient to meet together in Cabal with the Aſſeſſors, and conſult of the Point; and moſt of theſe *Rota*-Men (I have heard) have hit upon one and the ſame ſtratagem; which was, To make two Aſſeſsments, the one indifferently honeſt, the other much beneath the juſt annual value of their Eſtates; and their cunning has been to offer the loweſt to Their Majeſties Commiſſioners; which if they receive and confirm, either through haſte, being about to break up, or going to Dinner, or one of them being conveyed away before-hand, and given to underſtand the poor condition of their Pariſh, then all is well; there is great rejoycing at the ſucceſs of their buſineſs, but no conſideration what a ſacred Obligation they have violated. But if the firſt Aſſeſsments be rejected, as it ought to be acknowledged that ſometimes they were, then they have another ready to produce as ſoon as they think convenient.

The like partiality, and contempt of Oaths, have mightily eluded the raiſing of Money by the Poll-Bill. The time lately was, we ſhould have gladly parted with one years Revenue of our Eſtates, nay, with good part of the Principal, to have had our Lives, and the reſidue of our Fortunes, ſecured from the Dangers that hung over our heads. But we are no ſooner in a way of Deliverance, but, like the hard-hearted *Iſraelites*, we begin to murmur, and wiſh again for the Bondage of *Egypt*; and ſomething being required to be contributed by us for the further eſtabliſhment of our Safety, many among us, I much fear, have perjured themſelves, rather than they would pay their due Aſſeſsment. This is the method of our Gratitude! Theſe are the returns which we make for our Deliverance!

But you will ſay, What remedy is there, if, *Achan*-like, men will ſell their Souls for a Wedge of Gold, and for a little Money render a whole Nation liable to Divine Vengeance? What courſe ſhould be taken to obviate this great Evil?

I anſwer, When Taxes are laid upon the Land for the future, let ſome other Expedient be found out for the obtainment of a juſt, true, full, and equal Aſſeſsment, and this of Swearing be for ever laid aſide, as altogether improportionate and unfit for the end deſigned.

The happy Invention and profound Judgment of our Legiſlators, if they would pleaſe to bend their thoughts a little this way, would (no queſtion) find out what may be better. In the mean time, I humbly conceive, that what I ſhall now offer, if put in practice,

practice, would not be altogether improper or ineffectual.

I remember in a Converſation which I had with a very Worthy Gentleman not long ſince, he was telling a Story, which I think is not unfit to be related here.

Heretofore (ſays he) *when they kept* Lent *very ſtrictly here in* England, *a Gentleman on a Journey came to an Inn in the evening, with an intention to ſup and lodge there: but before he alighted from his Horſe, he called to the Inn-keeper, and told him privately, That he was a man that loathed Fiſh; and that, notwithſtanding the preſent ſevere prohibition, he muſt have a bit of Fleſh for his Supper, otherwiſe his health was in danger: He therefore deſired him to dreſs him a Joint of Mutton in private; and, ſays he, Landlord, you ſhall find me no unthankful nor unprofitable Gueſt. The Inn-keeper made anſwer, That he wiſh'd with all his heart that he could ſerve him, but that he could dreſs no Fleſh in his Houſe, nor ſuffer any Paſſenger to eat any therein, if he might have an hundred Pounds reward: But, ſays he, you look like an honeſt Gentleman, and ſeeing abſtinence from Fleſh will impair your health, as you ſay, hoping that I ſhall have your Company when you ride this way again, I will ſend you for the preſent (though it be not for my Intereſt to ſend Gueſts out of door) to an Houſe where you may have what you pleaſe. Ride, ſays he, but juſt over the Water, and call in at the* Crown, *and there lives a kind Landlady, who will dreſs a Joint of Mutton or Veal for you, or what liketh you*

beſt. The Gentleman, having thank'd the Inn-keeper for his civility, departed from his Houſe, and came to the Crown, *where he found a jolly Landlady indeed; and, as King* Stephen *ſaid at the opening of a fat Buck,* See how fat he is! and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs; *ſo ſhe was very fat, plump, and ruddy complexion'd, though ſhe troubled her ſelf but little with Religion, or the Church. To be ſhort, ſhe provided him his Supper according to his deſire, and that without the leaſt boggle, or ſign of unwillingneſs, and afforded her Gueſt her good Company at Table. Supper being ended, the Gentleman tells her over a Glaſs of Wine, That indeed he had call'd in at another Inn on the other ſide the Water before he came to her Houſe: but deſiring to have a Joint of Mutton, the Inn keeper told him, That he would dreſs no Fleſh, though he might have a great reward. But how is it, Landlady,* (*ſays he*) *that I found you ſo ready to ſerve me? What, have you a particular Licenſe to dreſs Fleſh in* Lent? *No, Sir, ſays the good Landlady, ſmiling; I will tell you the truth, becauſe I hope it will go no farther for you: This Town is ſcituate in two Counties, ſeparate by the River; now in the other Diviſion there lives an ill-natur'd Knave, that is Juſtice of Peace, whoſe Cuſtom is, always before* Lent *begins, to ſummon in all the Inn-keepers and Butchers that are under him, and make them enter into two or three hundred Pounds Bond* (*I cannot tell which*) *to the King, That they will neither kill nor dreſs any Fleſh till* Lent *is ended: But with us there lives a good, neighbourly Juſtice, that does but* only Swear *us to keep* Lent; *he does not make us enter into Bond, as*

the

the other doth; ſo we come together, and his Clerk reads the Oath to us, and we kiſs the Book a little, and then we go home, and do what we pleaſe; we hear no more of it.

Whether this be the Narration of ſome real Tranſaction, or a Story in the worſt ſenſe of the term, it is to me very indifferent; for if it be a Fable, it yields us a very pertinent Moral. A Recognizance of leſs then an hundred Pounds, is with many in the World, a ſtronger Obligation than that of an Oath; and the fear of incurring ſome temporal Penalty, eſpecially if it concerns their Money, is much more prevalent than the Danger of Hell-fire. Through the frequent abuſe and violations of Oaths, we are become almoſt Atheiſtical. 'Tis a rare thing to meet with one, that ſweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not. Our common People by frequent uſe, are grown ſo skilful in Equivocations, mental Reſervations, ſubtil Diſtinctions, and the reſt of the Jeſuits Pick-locks, that they will open the ſtrongeſt Oath (as they think without breaking it) as cleverly as any Artiſt of *Rome*.

For the future, therefore, if inſtead of taking a corporal Oath of Aſſeſſors, they were obliged to enter into Bond, that they will *well and truly execute the Duty of an Aſſeſſor, according to the Intention of the Act of Parliament*, &c. I am confident very much Perjury would be prevented, and ſuch Acts of Parliament much better obey'd. For they who will not boggle at a ſmall Lye, or at ſwallowing a little Perjury for their Neighbours, becauſe

'tis

'tis but only kiſſing the Book; and then, if they do as they pleaſe, they hear no more of it; will hardly be ſo kind as to forfeit their Recognizance, or pay an hundred Pounds for their Neighbours.

What I here propoſe, is not ſo unpracticable as ſome may think. In Land-Taxes, the Poor Rate of each Pariſh, confirmed by Their Majeſties Juſtices of the Peace, may be the Guide, Meaſure, and Standard of their Aſſeſsments; and the Aſſeſſors may be bound in a Sum proportionate to that, which is to be raiſed in each reſpective Pariſh, to aſſeſs every Man's Eſtate according thereunto. And in Pole-Taxes, &c. where there is no ſuch Rate to be had for Direction and Meaſure, a Penalty may be laid upon thoſe who conceal what they are worth. Every hundred Pounds in the Kingdom, would lately have yielded its ten Shillings, according to the Act, and ſo it will for the future, if it be Enacted, That whatſoever Sum of Money at Uſe is fraudulently concealed, ſhall be *ipſo facto* forfeited, the one Moity to the King and Queen, and the other to the Informer. And every Gentleman and Tradeſman of three hundred Pounds Stock, would never ſwear himſelf off falſely, if a Law was made, That whoſoever did ſo, upon Proof and Conviction hereof, were to loſe a conſiderable Sum of Money to be mentioned in the Act.

2*dly*, There are many Caſes in which Oaths are exacted of Students in the Univerſities, which may be ſpared, and for the prevention of the danger of Perjury, were better omitted. I am far from bearing any ill Will to thoſe Learned Societies, which

I look upon to be the Eyes of the Nation. It is my hearty Prayer, That God would continue their profperity, and that they might never be diſſolved, nor ſuffer any Diſaſter till the general Conflagration. To which end, I wiſh that Academical Matters were tranſacted without ſo much Swearing. What an unhappineſs is it, that a young Man cannot paſs through an Univerſity Education, but his Conſcience muſt be bound with I know not how many unneceſſary Halters! The Oaths that are impoſed on Students, are ſo many, and of ſo general and comprehenſive a Nature, that it is as difficult and hazardous to paſs through an Academick Education, and obſerve them all, as it was in old times to go through the Ordeal without treading upon any one of the nine burning Plough-ſhares; and he that has been a Member of the Univerſity ſome years, and has neither through inadvertency, nor any other way violated any Oath, is in my Opinion, as wonderful a Perſon as Queen *Emma* was. There is nothing done in theſe places without an Oath: No Admiſſion into any College or Hall without an Oath; no Matriculation or Incorporation into the Univerſity, without Subſcriptions and Oaths. By Virtue of which, all Exerciſe that is done there, is performed upon Oath; and laſtly, there is no Promotion to any Degree, either in Arts, Phyſick, Law, or Divinity, but there is ſtill new Swearing; Swearing-work not only for the Candidates themſelves, but alſo for other Scholars in their behalf, who, *fide ſua data Univerſitati*, aſſert, that to their Knowledg, the Perſon or Perſons to be Preſented, are

Vide Baker, *concerning King* Edward *the Confeſſor.*

are fit for the Degree unto which they are Presented, both in Manners and Learning. So, that if a Debauchee, or a Block-head chance to slide into a Degree of Schools, I know not how many must of necessity be Perjured. And yet for my part (tho I know the Governors of the Universities are exceeding Cautious and Vigilant) yet I will not be Sworn, that it never comes to pass in seven years together, that a Dunce takes a worshipful Degree, if such an Affidavit would gain me the Deanery of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, or the Mastership of *Trinity* in *Cambridg*. Why, is it not possible, that young Men may be Educated in the Knowledg of the Liberal Sciences without so much Swearing? The Vigilancy of Heads and Fellows of Colleges and Halls, and due Punishment of Offenders, is sufficient without Swearing them to observe Statutes, (which they are never permitted to see) to keep young Men orderly and studious in their respective Houses. And the care of the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and Masters (of which it were requisite that a sufficient number of considerable standing, were every Term deputed to attend upon all Exercises, so that there should never be any hudling over Exercises, nor reading Solemn Lectures of Natural Philosophy and Morality, to the Wall.) This, together with the constant Punishment of Delinquents by Imposition of Exercise, Fine, Imprisonment, or Expulsion, as their Crimes deserve, would be enough for the Government of Affairs in the University; and I believe it would promote the ends of Learning and Piety, without so many Oaths.

3*ly.* I wiſh that the Oaths that are uſually impoſed on *Churchwardens* and *Sides-men* at *Epiſcopal* and *Archidiaconal Viſitations*, were utterly aboliſhed: For what good Ends ſoever our Worthy Legiſlators did propoſe to themſelves in conſtituting them, they are found by ſad experience to be a Snare, Scandal, and Trap to the Souls of Men. A *Book of Articles* is commonly exhibited to the Church-wardens and Sides-men of every Pariſh; and they at every Viſitation are ſworn *well and truly to execute the Office of Church-wardens within their reſpective Pariſhes, according thereunto, and faithfully to preſent every perſon that has committed any Offence, or omitted any Duty therein mentioned, to the beſt of their knowledge.* By virtue of this Oath, they are bound (among I know not how many other matters) to Preſent *all that being of the age of ſixteen years, do not receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper three times in the year at leaſt; all that do not come to Church on Lord's days and other Holy-days; all that do not come at the beginning of Prayer; and all that do not obſerve to kneel and ſtand up, as the* Rubrick *does direct, during the whole time of Divine Service.* Now, though in ſome Pariſhes the greateſt part of the Inhabitants are to be Preſented for neglecting the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and almoſt all for abſenting themſelves conſtantly on Saints days, and other Holy-days, from Church, and many for behaving themſelves with very little external Devotion (and, I fear, with leſs internal; for when the Heart is humble, the Knee is ſeldom inflexible) in God's Houſe: yet the uſual method of

Preſentments, as far as concerns theſe matters, has commonly been, **All is well in our Parish**. And when it is urged to them, *Why do not you Church-wardens Preſent ſuch perſons, and ſuch, according to your Oath, and the Articles of Viſitation?* Why ſhall we, ſay they, be ſo fooliſh as to incur the diſpleaſure of our Neighbours, by preſenting them, when there is never any thing done to them? And if we ſhould preſent ſuch and ſuch Delinquents, and the Eccleſiaſtical Court proceed againſt them, and Excommunicate them, they value it not. For, whether it be becauſe our Nation is generally grown obdurate, ſenſeleſs, and Atheiſtical, or becauſe Excommunication has been proſtituted to baſe ends, and by the little Spiritual Padders of ſome Courts, (againſt the will, and without the knowledg of the Ordinaries) employ'd as an Engine of Profit; 'tis certain that this terrible Sentence, at which the Primitive Chriſtians did heretofore, and all endued with Primitive Chriſtianity do now tremble, is only look'd upon as an Eccleſiaſtical Scare-Crow, and not in the leaſt regarded. As I am a Chriſtian, and a Member of the Church of *England*, which I have always eſteemed, in reſpect of other Proteſtant Churches, as the Moon among the leſſer Stars; ſo I wiſh with all my heart, like a dutiful Son thereof, that good Church-Diſcipline were maintained, Order and Decency obſerved; licentious perſons, and ſuch as are a diſgrace to the Chriſtian Name, duly puniſhed; that the Diviſions and Subdiviſions of Religion, which the Devil has cauſed among us, were cloſed up; that we did all come together into

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the ſame place, and worſhip the Lord in the *Beauty of Holineſs*, and frequent the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, not through compulſion, but ſenſe of Duty, and an inward *hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs*. But I ſhall never be of opinion, that the impoſition of a difficult Oath on Church-wardens, which I fear has been the occaſion of much Perjury, will ever bring theſe great things about. Oppoſition is the Bellows of Schiſm; and whether the Penal Laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters have diminiſhed or augmented their number, is with me a queſtion that I cannot readily ſolve: But ſure I am, That ſince a Toleration is legally granted, ſwearing to Preſent according to Canons and Books of Articles, is as needleſs, as it is to exact Butts in every Pariſh, according to the ancient Statute, now Bows and Arrows are out of uſe; and it were much better that Preſentments only concerned the reparation of the Church and Parſonage-houſe, if need be, &c. and that they were accepted without ſwearing, than to impoſe tedious Injunctions to Preſent This and That upon Oath, which can do no poſſible good in the world, but may do hurt to the Souls of them that ſo receive them.

4*ly*. The matters which are tranſacted between Landlords and their Tenants in *Courts-Baron*, are not of ſo weighty a nature, but that they may be effected without ſwearing. I am far from envying the Nobility and Gentry any of their Honours; I only wiſh, for the prevention of Perjury, that the Oath which they uſually exact of their Tenants on Court-days to make a Preſentment of This and That truly

and faithfully, as the Steward of he Court gives them in charge, were committed into ſome pecuniary Mulct, Forfeit, Fine, or other Penalty, in caſe they tranſgreſſed their Duty. To which end, for the prevention of miſtake, and direction of the Homage in making their Preſentments, it is requiſite that the Cuſtoms of every Mannor (among which the Mulct incurred by making a falſe Preſentment is to be one) ſhould be fairly written, and publickly expoſed to the Tenants view every Court-day. This would be ſo far from being any fraud or prejudice to Landlords, that it would ſecure their Rights and Privileges better than all the Swearing in the World, and prevent Perjury, Law-Suits, and other Miſchiefs. The Caſe of One Tenant is the Concern of All; and the Homagee will ſometimes diſpence with their Oaths without a Bull from *Rome*, rather than Preſent any thing againſt themſelves. I remember ſome years ſince I ſaw an inſtance hereof: In a certain Mannor, where the Cuſtom was (as it is in many in *England*) that the Widow of the Copy-holder ſhould ſucceed her Husband in his Eſtate, and keep it during life, provided ſhe lives *ſola & caſta*, chaſt and unmarried. In this Mannor there lived a wanton Widow, that had a baſe-born Child; I expected that the next Court the Homagee would have Preſented it, That ſhe had forfeited her Eſtate: But I was deceived; their Oath was not of force enough to make them do it: Yet the Landlord ſu'd her, and turn'd her out of her forfeited Poſſeſſions, but made proviſion for her Children; which (he ſoon dying after this happened) was continued by the

the Worthy Gentleman that ſucceeded him. Thus they both acted like themſelves, very Juſtly, and very Mercifully.

5*ly*. I will mention but one thing more, wherein Swearing might be omitted, and the buſineſs done as well without it; and that is in matters of Merchandiſing. When any Veſſel arrives into any of Their Majeſties Ports, the Maſter thereof gives the Receiver of Their Majeſties Cuſtoms an Account of her Cargo upon Oath: But I am apt to think, that a great pecuniary Mulct, in caſe the Account be found falſe, would be found of greater Advantage to Their Majeſties, and alſo better for the Merchants; to Thoſe, it would ſecure Their due Cuſtoms; and to Theſe, it would prevent the danger of being forſworn, and ſued in the Court of *Exchequer*.

There is too much Swearing among us. If the *Quakers* offend in defect, we tranſgreſs in exceſs; if their Conſciences are too ſqueamiſh, and riſe at an Oath too much, we fear Oaths too little; for if ever that ſaying was applicable to any Nation in the World, it is to ours, *Ut Pueri talis, ſic Homines ludunt juramentis*: Men play with Oaths, as Boys with Dice. The Advice of *Philo* touching Oaths, is very worthy to be mentioned. *It is moſt agreeable* (ſays he) *to Reaſon, for a Man to abſtain from Oaths, and ſo to accuſtom himſelf to ſpeak the Truth, that his bare Word may be as weighty as an Oath; for the Oath is believed for the ſake of the Man, and not the Man for the ſake of the Oath.* And the ſame Author adds a little after, *When an Oath is required of thee, do thou defer the taking thereof, that ſo by deferring, thou*

Philo de Decalogo.

thou mayeſt, if poſſible, wholly avoid it. But if there be an unavoidable neceſſity for thee to Swear; then do thou curiouſly and exactly examine every thing in the Oath, about which there ariſeth any Controverſy; for an Oath is no ſmall matter, tho by reaſon of Cuſtom it be contemned; it is the Teſtimony of God about things dubious; and to cite his Teſtimony to a Lye, is an heinous Sin.

Here I doubt ſome will imagine, that it is mine Intention covertly to reflect upon the late Act of Parliament, for taking the Oaths of Allegiance to Their preſent Majeſties; and that ſurely, if I dared to do it, I would annumerate the Compliance of the Clergy and Laity (ſome few only of the former excepted) among the Perjuries of the Nation.

I confeſs, I have oftentimes moved theſe two Queſtions to my ſelf: *Firſt*, Whether the Perſons of the Kings and Queens of *England*, have been ſafer ſince King *Henry* VII. ordained a Guard *du Corps* to attend him, and all Princes ſince have continued, than they were before there was any ſuch thing among us? For when God permitteth an accurſed *Ravillac* to make an attempt upon the Sacred Life of a Prince, he ſeldom wants an opportunity to come at him, maugre the Defence and Vigilancy of his Guards. Add hereunto, that it is not impoſſible that they may be corrupted; and then as the jealous Husband ſaid, *Quis cuſtos obiet ipſos Cuſtodes?* *Secondly*, Whether thoſe Kingdoms, where there was no ſuch thing as Swearing Allegiance to the Supreme Magiſtrate, howſoever ſtiled, did not enjoy as much Peace, and were as free

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from Diſturbances, as thoſe, wherein all Subjects are Sworn, and the publick Peace fenced with Oaths, Abhorrences and Abjurations? For neither the *Jews* nor *Romans* heretofore had any ſuch Law or Cuſtom among them; and we ought to have no vulgar eſteem of the Regimen of theſe Nations; for the former were governed by a *Theocracy*, God was their Legiſlator, and their Polity was immediately Divine. The latter People was ſo proſperous and ſucceſsful in their Affairs, that from inconſiderable Beginnings, in proceſs of Time they gained the Empire of the World, and retained it till their appointed time of Viſitation was come. Once in an extraordinary caſe, I find that *Jehojada* the Prieſt took an Oath of the Rulers of *Iſrael*, with reference to their King, *viz.* at the Inanguration of *Joaſh*. But this was an Oath of † Aſſiſtance and Concealment, (the occaſion of which is known) not of Allegiance; concerning which, I find nothing in thoſe Authors *; which if there had been any ſuch thing practiced in *Iſrael*, ſurely would have mentioned it. And I know among the *Romans*, there was a *Sacramentum Militare*, whereby the Soldiers ſwore Obedience to their Commanders; but I never read of any Oath of Allegiance exacted of ordinary *Romans*. Nay, this Military Oath, which they exacted of their Soldiers, ſometimes ſtood them in little ſtead, as appears by the Diſappointments of ſome forſaken Generals. For when a Commander has loſt the Hearts of his Soldiers, it is in vain for him to expect, that he ſhall long keep them faithful to him, by the Obligations of Conſcience.

† — *Juramentum quo ab eis poſtulabat fidem & taciturnitatem & auxilium*, P. Martyr. 2 Kings 11.

* Cunæus de Re-pub. Heb. Schickardus, מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ׃

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Moreover, I add, That it is a very great unhappineſs, that the boiſterous and ungovernable Spirits of wicked Men, have made it neceſſary for Governors to recur to the Expedients of *Teſts*, *Oaths*, and *Abjurations*, to ſecure the Peace of their Dominions; by which, in Revolutions of Government, and Succeſſion of new Governors, it comes to paſs (by accident I know, and not according to the Intention of the Law) that ſometimes tender Conſciences are ſcandalized, and ſome of the beſt Members of the Commonwealth expoſed to Suffer, or Sin, which is much worſe. And whether any among us being terrified with the great danger which they incurred by refuſing the Oath of Allegiance, did take the ſame againſt their Conſciences, and ſo become guilty of Perjury, I know not; God alone, the Searcher of all Hearts doth; we are bound to judg charitably. But as for the Oath it ſelf, I judg it very lawfully enjoyned, and very lawfully taken by us; and there is no danger of being forſworn by it, unleſs we break it.

Many have written in proof of the Lawfulneſs of taking this Oath, and that with great Commendation. I ſhall not here ridiculouſly repeat their Arguments, but only acquaint the Reader what ſatisfieth me, and is in my Judgment, *Inſtar omnium*. That which made many pious Men at firſt boggle at taking the Oath of Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and which hinders ſome few at preſent from taking it, is this, That they have ſworn Allegiance before, to the late King, who is yet alive.

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They may not therefore (they think) ſwear Allegiance to Their preſent Majeſties, leſt they ſwear to things inconſiſtent and contradictious. If the Obligation of their former Oath were ceaſed, they are free to ſwear. But that this Obligation is ceaſed, is evident beyond all diſpute; becauſe that Quality formerly inherent in the late King, upon the account of which He had Right unto, and We ſwore Allegiance unto him, is now ceaſed: We ſwore Allegiance unto him as he was our King; but he loſing the Quality of a King, and being dead in his Politick Capacity, tho alive in his Natural, has loſt all Right and Title to our Allegiance, and conſequently our Obligation to him is at an end. I believe the late King has parted with his Right to our Allegiance much againſt his will; and that with all his heart he would recover what he has loſt, and come and chaſtiſe us, (becauſe we would not fight our ſelves into *Popery* and *Slavery*) not with *Rods*, but with *Scorpions*: But be it never ſo much againſt his will, it is certain, That he has ceaſed to be our King, and we to be his Subjects; for He and his Adherents were Conquered, his Army left him; and his Flight (which is neither queſtioned in earneſt nor jeſt) is a farther teſtimony of his Vanquiſhment; for we ſee that he is fled, and has left his Kingdom and People to the Conqueror, who has graciouſly agreed with the Repreſentatives of the Nation to ſettle the Government upon a new foundation. So that we may now ſwear Allegiance to King *William* III. and Queen *Mary*, with as ſafe a conſcience as our Anceſtors did to King *William* I. when he had vanquiſhed King *Harold*,

and was received by the Nobility, and crowned by Archbiſhop *Aldred*.

I much admire, that the late Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in the Declaration which he made before his Death, of his Judgment concerning this preſent Oath, ſhould ſeem to object, *That it is inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience to take it.* Concerning the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, I find two dangerous miſtakes; the One, of thoſe who err in *exceſs*; the Other, of thoſe who err in *defect*. The word *King* is an equivocal term: Thoſe who have the *ſame Name*, have not the *ſame Power and Authority*, which is the reaſon of the Name. Heretofore in *Lacedemonia*, their Kings were accountable to the Popular Magiſtrate, called the *Ephori*; and the Kings of *Iſrael* were ſubject to the *Sanhedrim*, which High Court had power to convene them before them, and to correct their Exorbitancies, nay and to puniſh them with Scourging, if they deſerved it: whereas the Edict of ſome Mighty *Nimrods* is Law, and their Actions accountable to none but God. But now ſome, wanting either Logick or Honeſty, have jumbled together what ſhould be diſtinguiſhed: and, as the great *Leviathan* ſports himſelf in the Sea, ſo they tell us, That all Kings, if they pleaſe, may make it their paſtime to devour their innocent Subjects (becauſe ſome have aſſumed to themſelves that accurſed Power), and none muſt ſay, *What doſt thou?* nor uſe any other method to ſecure themſelves, but *Præces & Lachrimæ*, and flight. On the contrary, Others there be, who (either becauſe ſome Popular Magiſtrates have in ſome Caſes a Legal

Joſeph. l. 14. cap. 17. Shickard p. 56.

Power

Power to reſtrain their Kings, or have illegally uſurped the ſame) argue as madly from the meer ſound of the word on the other ſide; and contend, That all Princes are accountable to the Repreſentatives of the People, whoſe Safety is the Supreme Law; and that the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* is a meer Eccleſiaſtical Invention, and Politick Contrivance: and theſe take the preſent opportunity to rail at the Chriſtian Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*.

But let men abound in their own ſenſe as much as they pleaſe, the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, being placed upon its true Object, and meaſured by the Laws of God and each Commonwealth, will remain a Scripture-Doctrine, as long as St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans* continues to be Canonical.

But, with all imaginable deference to the memory of this Reverend Prelate, wherein is it inconſiſtent with the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, to take the preſent Oath? Does this Doctrine require that we ſhould ruine our ſelves for the ſake of an Exauctorated Magiſtrate, as the Servants of ſome Pagan Governours are ſaid to kill themſelves to attend upon their Maſters in the other World? Or does this Doctrine exact of Subjects to fight againſt their own preſervation? This is one ſtrain above the Heroical Paſſive Valour of the *Theban* Legion. Did we ever come to the door-Poſt, and having our Ears bor'd through with an Aul, ſwear, That we would remain our late Maſters Servants for ever, and help him to break his own Laws; and rather than not be truly Paſſively Obedient at his Command, cut the Throats of one another? Or ſhould all the Preachers of the

Nation, as ſoon as they heard that the Prince of *Orange* was landed, have leap'd into the Pulpits, and with Bellies ready to burſt with the Spirit of *Non-Reſiſtance*, given vent after this manner: *Order ye the Buckler and Shield, and draw near to Battel; harneſs the Horſes; get up, ye Horſemen, and ſtand forth with your Helmets; furbiſh the Spears, and put on the Brigandines; beat out him whom God hath ſent to deliver you from Tyranny, Arbitrary Power, and Popery; for if he ſucceeds in his Enterpriſe, you will never have the honour to be Fry'd, Burnt, nor Roaſted to death by the Papiſts; ſo that you will loſe your Coronets in Heaven, and have no hope to increaſe the Army of Martyrs?* God hath been pleaſed to work a mighty Deliverance for us; would to God that we would once ceaſe to move needleſs ſcruples about it, and convert our cauſeleſs Doubts into Wonder and Thankfulneſs.

Theſe are my ſentiments concerning the Oath of Allegiance to Their preſent Majeſties: But (as it is ſaid already in effect) it is our great unhappineſs, that the Diviſions of our Nation have forced the King and Parliament, for the Preſervation of publick Peace, to enact a Law for the taking of it ſo ſpeedily: for hereby (we ſee) ſome good Men are become Sufferers. Tho this is my comfort, I hope they will be graciouſly pleaſed to take their Caſe into conſideration, and mitigate the rigour of the Law towards theſe Worthy Perſons. And that which maketh me hope ſo, is this:

1. Becauſe there is no danger in the leaſt, that theſe holy Men, and Pillars of the Proteſtant Church, ſhould

ſhould rebel againſt a Proteſtant Prince, or make any diſturbance in his Government. *The Law*, as the Apoſtle ſays, *is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawleſs and diſobedient, for the ungodly and ſinners*; and the preſent Act of Parliament was not made for the Governable and Quiet, but for the Diſturbers of the Peace, for the Enemies of the Government, for Papiſts and Malignants. Now, tho theſe Worthy Perſons comply not with every punctilio of Loyalty, yet if they live peaceably under Their Majeſties Government, and ſwear or promiſe to continue ſo to do, why ſhould not this be ſufficient, till ſuch time as their ſcruples of Conſcience are vaniſhed? At *Athens*, when *Zenocrates*, a man of ſingular Piety, being cited to the *Areopagus* for a Witneſs, drew near to the Altar (according to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks*) there to be ſworn; all the Judges unanimouſly refuſed to let him ſwear, ſaying, That the bare Aſſertion of a man ſo religious, was enough. And amongſt the *Romans* heretofore, the *Flamen Dialis*, or High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*, was never required to ſwear upon any account whatſoever; for which, among other Reaſons, *Plutarch* ſuppoſeth that theſe may be two. 1. Becauſe an Oath is a troubleſome Teſt impoſed on Free People: but the Body and Mind of a Prieſt ought to be free from torture. 2. Becauſe it is unreaſonable to disbelieve him in ſmall matters, who is entruſted with the moſt weighty Affairs, and the great matters of Religion. And why ſhould not we Chriſtians have as great a Veneration for Holy Men, and the Prieſts of the Moſt High God, as the Heathens had for the Prieſts of their

Diog. Laert. in vit. *Zenocrat.*

Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 44.

Βέλτιόν πε τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὁ θεραπευτής.

their Idols and falſe Gods, and not envy unto them the Priviledg; if our Governours, conſidering their Quality, ſhall be content with their Promiſe to live quietly under the preſent Government, and diſpence with their declining the Oath?

2. Becauſe we have all the reaſon in the World to believe, that it is not Faction, but tenderneſs of Conſcience; not ill-will to the preſent Proceedings, but only Religion, and the fear of an Oath, that deterreth them from Swearing. Do not they conſider, as well as we, That if the late King ſhould return, (which I thank God, we have no great cauſe to fear) he would come accompanied with Wounds, Blood, Death, and Revenge; that he would ſend forth his Ruff-handed Apoſtles, the Dragoons, to Convert us *a la mode de France?* And can any one imagine, that theſe holy Proteſtants do deſire his Company? This Parliament have been pleaſed to Sympathize with the tenderneſs of ſcrupulous Conſciences, more than many of the former. To our Brethren the Proteſtant Diſſenters, they have granted their long-deſired Liberty. And to the Quakers, that hold all Oaths to be unlawful, they have diſpenced with Swearing. And will any one think that they will have no Compaſſion upon their own Bowels, the Members of their own Church? Or that they will ſuffer them to periſh, for whom a nearer Relation exacts a greater tenderneſs of Affection?

3. Becauſe (as the *Jews* ſaid of the *Centurion*, for whom they interceded with our Saviour, that he would heal his Servant) they are worthy, for whom they ſhould do this. I will not here mention, with what

what cogency of Argument, freedom of Speech, and reſolution of Mind, the whole Body of the Clergy withſtood Popery in the worſt of times. The Parliament has been pleaſed to take an honourable Notice hereof, and to thank them, tho that which they did, was only their Duty. Some of thoſe who are now under Suſpenſion, are thoſe brave Champions, that took up the Gantlet for the Defence of Truth, when Popery and Arbitrary Power were armed with Majeſty. They were Confeſſors for our Laws and Religion; and how unnatural is it, that they ſhould be thrown down by That, which they kept up?

Laſtly, Becauſe the Reſtauration of theſe worthy Perſons would highly pleaſe the whole Proteſtant Nation. As no News would be more welcome to the Popiſh-party, than to hear of their Deprivation, and to ſee the Body-politick of *England* lop off ſome of its moſt uſeful Members, and Proteſtants ruin Proteſtants. So to hear, that they are reſtored, either through their own Compliance with the Act of Parliament, or through Their Majeſties Gracious Indulgence; or Diſpenſation with them, in a Parliamentary-way, till their Scruples of Conſcience are removed, would be News, that all who love the Church of *England*, would receive in with both their Ears. We ſhould receive it with the ſame publick Teſtimonies of Joy, as we did the glad Tidings of their Victory over Arbitrary Power, and their Enlargement out of the *Tower*. But to hear, that they are Deprived, becauſe they will not do a thing againſt their Conſciences, would be a melancholly

melancholly and grievous hearing to us all (I be[lieve] even from the King to the Beggar. Would to [God] therefore, that thoſe who are in Power, would [not] content themſelves with a fruitleſs and unavia[ling] Pity; but now interpoſe their timely Aſſiſtance, and prevent it. The Lord direct their Conſultations for the beſt.

Other Men before me, have complained of the frequent occaſions of Swearing among Chriſtians. Whether I ſhall live to ſee any of them diſuſed, and other Expedients made uſe of for the preventing of Falſhood (which we find Oaths are unable to do), God knows. Yet, why ſhould I not hope that theſe Papers may fall into the hands of ſome, and be the happy means of recalling to their Minds the Oaths that they have broken, and make them Repent of that great Sin; And of other, and make them careful to perform the Oaths they have taken? If I ſucceed ſo far, I have part of my end, which is (as much as lies in me) to prevent my Fellow-Subjects from wounding their immortal Souls with the dreadful Sin of Perjury; and if I contribute any thing to this, I ſhall judg it a ſufficient Reward for my Pains. *All Glory be given to God.*

FINIS.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE Tranſactions OF THE LATE KING JAMES IN IRELAND.

Wherein is contain'd

The Act of ATTAINDER Paſt at *Dublin* in *May*, 1689.

AS ALSO

The Proclamation for Raiſing Twenty thouſand Pounds *per Menſem*, without an Act of Parliament.

WITH

Other Proclamations and Acts made There.

LONDON,

Printed for *Robert Clavell*, *Jonathan Robinſon*, and *Joſeph Watts*, Bookſellers in S. *Pauls* Church-Yard, 1690.

ACCOUNT

AN ACCOUNT OF THE Tranſactions OF THE LATE KING JAMES IN IRELAND.

SInce my repair into *England*, whither I in the Month of *May* laſt made my Eſcape with the manifeſt peril of my Life, being ſurrounded with a Thouſand Difficulties and Hazards, I encountred another Affliction of a different temper and complexion, and ſuch as I little ſuſpected to find among the Inhabitants of this happy Country. Had my Converſation been among *Bigotted Papiſts* (of whoſe Society I was never very fond); had I hapned into the Herd of deſperate *Malecontents*, whoſe ſordid

complyance with the exorbitant Infractions of the Municipal Laws, and the arbitrary Invaſions of all Civil Rights, during the deſpotical Tyranny of the late Reign had hardned them in their Apoſtacy, and rendred them as uncapable of Conviction, as they are unworthy of Mercy: I ſhould either have withdrawn my ſelf from ſuch unſeaſonable Picqueering, or with a Chriſtian Compaſſion lamented their incorrigible Obſtinacy and Defection. But ſometime Buſineſs, ſometime Curioſity leading me to a frequency of Converſe, and a variety of New Faces, I became aſtoniſhed to hear and obſerve many Perſons (profeſſing the *Proteſtant Religion*) ſo ſhamefully abandon'd to a perverſe and degenerate ſenſe of the late miraculous Revolution, and an uneaſie reſtleſneſs under the Auſpicious Government of a *Proteſtant King* and *Queen*.

But when among their Sophiſtical Arguments I overheard them urge the Actions and Behaviour of the late King in *Ireland*, the Tranquility of the *Proteſtants* there, and their Immunity from the Rigor of the Laws, and the Violence and Rapine of the Souldiers, as an invincible Proof of his Goodneſs and Moderation, and a demonſtrative Induction to Cajole the good People of *England* into an Expectation of Peace and Felicity, by his Reſtitution to the Throne; my Admiration was turn'd into Extaſie, and I became equally diſtorted with the emotions of Pity and Rage. And tho' I believe the number of thoſe *State Hereticks* to be but inconſiderable, compared with the vaſt multitude of Perſons well-affected to the preſent Government; yet I thought it my Duty to oppoſe theſe miſtaken Principles, and (laying aſide the conſideration of all the Topicks drawn from the Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance*, *Paſſive Obedience*, and ſuch unpracticable Notions) to apply my ſelf, as near as I can, to the Affairs of *Ireland*, and to endeavour to diſabuſe the World, and rectifie the erronious Apprehenſions of ſuch Men, as ignorantly applaud the Government and publick Managery of Matters in that moſt unfortunate Kingdom. In the Recounting whereof, it will be no preſumption in me to beſpeak an entire Credit to be given to what I ſhall hereafter relate; ſince the whole Narration ſhall be compoſed of ſuch

Particulars

Particulars as are evidently deduc'd from Public *Acts* and *Proclamations*, or ſhall be juſtified againſt all Contradiction, by a poſitive avowing of what I have ſeen and heard.

I ſhall begin where the *Late King* began at his firſt Arrival in *Ireland*, when to Ingratiate himſelf with the *Proteſtants*, and to beget an Opinion of his great Clemency among the People, he very graciouſly condeſcended to grant a General and *Free Pardon* to the Inhabitants of the Town of *Bandon*, amuſing them with an aſſurance of an abſolute Indemnity for their Tranſgreſſions; but ſoon after to gratifie the Malice of thoſe Furious Zealots (who have plainly diſtracted that unfortunate Prince) he remitted them to the ſeverity of the Law, and expos'd them to a Trial for their Lives, upon which they were all found guilty of *High Treaſon*; and no other Conſequence could rationally be expected, when both *Judges* and *Jury* were compoſed of inexorable *Papiſts*; and in the mean time this mighty Crime, which was the Object of the Kings Mercy, and an Inſtance of the Cruelty and Injuſtice of his Subjects, was no more than that the Inhabitants of the Place obſerving their Neighbours to be openly *Robb'd* and *Pillag'd*, and clandeſtine Thievery to proceed to violent Depredation, they thought it prudent to ſhut their Gates, and avoid Plunder by a neceſſary Defence and Self-preſervation. This was the firſt Eſſay of the gracious Indulgence of a *Popiſh King* to his *Proteſtant Subjects*. This was a plain Specimen of what is to be expected from him who will Mortgage his Reaſon to the humor of his *Prieſts*.

The Buſineſs of Sir *Thomas Southwell* is altogether of another nature; and as the repetition of it may juſtly cauſe an abhorrence of thoſe Blood-Suckers, who delight in the Torment and Ruine of ſuch as they call *Hereticks*; ſo the Example may admoniſh all Men of Note and Degree, not to truckle their Authority in Vaſſalage to their Servants and Inferiours. The Earl of *Seaforth* taking a particular Fancy to Sir *Thomas Southwell*, a very hopeful young Gentleman (and under Condemnation for his reputed Rebellion) procur'd a Warrant from the Late King to Sir *Richard Nagle* his Attorney General, to paſs a

Pardon for him, which the ſaid Earl ſhewed to Sir *Richard*; but he in a moſt unmannerly and churliſh faſhion refuſed to obey it; ſaying, It was more than the King could do. The Earl returned to his Maſter, and reported the Anſwer of the Attorney General; who being ſent for, own'd it to the King, and poſitively told him, It was not in his power to grant him a Pardon; whereupon the *Poor Prince* was overcome with Grief and Paſſion, and lock'd himſelf up in his Cloſet. This ſtiffneſs of the Surly Attorney General was grounded on the *Act of Attainder*, paſt in their Parliament, whereby that King is debar'd from the Prerogative of Pardoning, and the Subject forecloſed from all expectation of Mercy, as may be ſeen by the ſaid Act hereafter in its due place. He who in *England* was flatter'd into a conceit of an abſolute and unlimited Power to diſpenſe with the Eſtabliſh'd Laws, is not allowed in *Ireland* the Priviledge inherent to all Sovereign Powers by the Law of Nations, to pardon the Offences of a Subject. But even in this it has appeared (as by ſeveral other Inſtances) that he is permitted to pardon any Crime in a *Roman Catholic*; but in relation to a *Proteſtant Heretick* the Law is indiſpenſible.

And what Favour *Proteſtants* are to expect under a *Popiſh King*, and in a Kingdom where Popery is predominant, let all Men judge by their procedure in *Ireland*, where almoſt all the Churches (where the *Iriſh* Arms were prevalent) except in *Dublin*, were ſeiſed by Authority, the *Proteſtant Miniſters* Deprived, and *Popiſh Prieſts* Setled and Inducted into Livings and Eccleſiaſtical Preferments. And that I may not be ſuſpected to talk at Random, the Reader may for his further ſatisfaction peruſe two ſeveral Acts paſt in their Parliament, whereby all Popiſh Prieſts and Dignitaries are veſted in the perception of Tithes, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Dues: And tho' theſe Acts ſeem to have a direct aſpect only on the *Roman Catholicks*, yet they ſquint upon the *Proteſtants*, who having no Miniſters of their own to whom they might pay their Tithes, would be obliged to pay the Tenth part to the Predominant Party, to whoſe arbitrary Power and Will the other Nine Parts are ſubjected. The Acts are as ſolloweth:

An

An Act concerning Tithes, *and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties.*

Whereas Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Offerings, and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties and Profits growing and ariſing within all and every the reſpective Pariſh and Pariſhes of this Kingdom, (Impropriate Tithes excepted) have by the Law of the Land, and Conſtitution of Holy Church, ever ſince the Council of *Lateran*, been due and payable to the reſpective Paſtors, Curates and Vicars of the ſaid reſpective Pariſhes, having Cure of Souls therein; as a Proviſion and Maintenance for them for ſerving the ſaid Cure, by celebrating Divine Service, Adminiſtring of Sacraments, Preaching and Inſtructing the Pariſhioners thereof in the true Faith, and performing other Paſtoral Duties belonging to their Functions.

Foraſmuch as the *Roman Catholick Subjects* of this Kingdom for ſome time paſt have maintained their own Prieſts, Paſtors, Curats and Vicars, and thereby have been very much impoveriſhed, by being obliged to pay their Tithes and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties, to the Proteſtant Clergy, who have not laboured in the Adminiſtration of any of the ſaid Spiritual Offices for any of the ſaid Roman Catholicks.

Be it therefore Enacted, and it is hereby Enacted by your moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That your Majeſties *Roman Catholick Subjects* of this Kingdom, ſhall and may ſet out and pay all their Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties (which of right are due and payable from henceforth to their reſpective Roman Catholick Prieſts, Paſtors, Curats and Vicars, *and to no other Perſon or Perſons, of whatſoever Religion or Perſwaſion ſoever*, (Impropriate Tithes excepted) any Law or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided

Provided always, and it is hereby further Enacted, That all and every Perſon and Perſons of the ſaid *Roman Catholick Clergy*, who ſhall be Entituled to any Tithes, or Payments in lieu of Tithes, by virtue of this Act, or otherwiſe, and their Proctors and Farmers, ſhall and may ſue for the ſame, or the value thereof, by Writ, Bill, Petition, or Action of Debt, or ſuch other Action for Subſtraction, or not ſetting forth the ſaid Tithes in any of your Majeſties Courts within this Kingdom, as heretofore they might have done, for detaining or not paying any Temporal Duty; and ſhall and may recover their Coſts in ſuch Suits, and *all Incapacities* heretofore deviſed by any Temporal Law, for diſabling any of the ſaid *Roman Catholick Clergy* from enjoying any Benefices or Tithes, or making any Collations or Benefices to them conferred, void, are hereby diſcharged and made void to all intents and purpoſes.

Another Act concerning Appropriate Tithes, *and other Duties payable to Eccleſiaſtical Dignitaries.*

Whereas by an Act paſt in this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, Entituled, *An Act concerning Tithes and other Eccleſiaſtical Duties*, It is amongſt other things Enacted, That the Roman Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom ſhall and may, for ever, pay their reſpective Tithes (Impropriate Tithes excepted) and their reſpective Oblations, Obventions, and other their Eccleſiaſtical Dues and Duties, to their reſpective Roman Catholick Prieſts and Paſtors, Curates and Vicars; to whom alſo Remedy is given by the ſaid Act for recovering the ſame.

And whereas within this Kingdom there are ſeveral Appropriate Tithes formerly belonging to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapter, Collegiate Churches, Arch-Deacons, Prebends, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignitaries: And whereas a Doubt did ariſe, Whether the Roman Catholicks, who are to pay ſuch Appropriate Tithes, are by the ſaid Act to pay the ſame to their reſpective Roman Catholick Prieſts, Paſtors, Curates and Vicars, who are Incumbents within the reſpective Pariſhes where ſuch Appropriate Tithes are due, to the reſpective Roman Catholick Dignitaries, within ſuch Pariſhes or Places were ſuch Tithes are payable.

And it is hereby Declared and Enacted by the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, by the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That the *Roman Catholicks* of this Kingdom, who are to pay any ſuch Appropriate Tithes, ſhall from time to time, and at all times hereafter, for ever, pay the ſame to the reſpective Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapter, Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons, Prebends, or other Roman Catholick Dignitaries, that are or ſhall be Roman Catholick Dignitaries, within the Pariſhes or Places where ſuch Tithes are or ſhall be payable in ſuch manner as the ſame were formerly paid ſince the Reformation, to the reſpective Proteſtant Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapter, Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons, Prebends, or other Eccleſiaſtical Proteſtant Dignitaries of ſuch Pariſhes or Places: And that the ſaid reſpective Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deans and Chapter, Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons, Prebends, and other Roman Catholick Dignitaries, ſhall have the ſame, or the like Remedy, for the reſpective Recovery of ſuch Appropriate Tithes, as the ſaid reſpective Roman Catholick Prieſts, Paſtors, Curates and Vicars, have or ſhall have, for the recovery of the Tithes, payable to them reſpectivcly by virtue of the ſaid former Act, any thing in the ſaid former Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And whereas it may be a Doubt, who ſhall be deemed, taken or reputed to be Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, or other Roman Catholick Dignitaries, Prieſts, Paſtors, Curates and Vicars, within the meaning of this, or the ſaid former Act. **Be** it hereby Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That ſuch Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Deans, now in being, as His Majeſty by any Inſtrument under his Privy Signet and Sign Manual, ſhall ſignifie to be Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, or Biſhops of any Dioceſs, or Deans of ſuch Places or Churches within this Realm, ſhall be reputed, taken and deemed the reſpective Roman Catholick Archbiſhops and Biſhops of ſuch Dioceſs, and Deans of ſuch Places within this Realm: And that ſuch Perſon and Perſons as hereafter ſhall be Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, or Biſhops of any Dioceſs within this Kingdom, or Dean of any Place or Church, ſhall be ſuch, and no other, as ſhall be reſpectively Ordained Archbiſhops, or Biſhops of ſuch Dioceſs, or Deans of ſuch Places or Churches, by the Nomination or Preſentation of His Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors; and that ſuch ſhall be deemed Roman Catholick Archdeacons, Prebends, or other Roman Catholick Dignitaries; and ſuch ſhall be deemed Roman Catholick Prieſts, Paſtors, Curates and Vicars, as have been, or ſhall be allowed and approved of by the Roman Catholick Archbiſhop of the Dioceſs, where he or they did or ſhall Officiate, or they reſpectively ſhall be approved of, or allowed by the Roman Catholick Metropolitan of the Province where ſuch Dioceſs doth lie, in caſe there was, or there is, or there ſhall be no Roman Catholick Biſhop in being, of ſuch Dioceſs, at the time of ſuch allowance or approbation.

And be it further Enacted, That the King's Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and all ſuch as are, or ſhall be Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or other Roman Catholick Dignitaries within this Kingdom, and their Succeſſors; and all Roman Catholick Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, or others, and their Heirs and Aſſigns reſpectively, who have, or ſhall have any Advowſon, Collation, or Right of Preſentation, Nomination,

nation, or Collation to any Benifice within the Realm, ſhall for ever hereafter upon vacancy of any ſuch Benifice, have full Power and Authority to preſent or Collate a fit Perſon, to be the Roman Catholick Dignitary, Curate, Vicar, or Paſtor of ſuch Benifice, in ſuch manner and form as they reſpectively, or any of their Predeceſſors, or Anceſtors, did or could have lawfully done.

And be it further Enacted, That ſo much of any Statute as tends to diſable, or incapacitate any of the ſaid Roman Catholick Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Deacons, Archdeacons, Prebends, or any other Roman Catholick Dignitaries, Prieſts, Paſtors, or Vicars of the Roman Catholick Church, from receiving, having, holding, or enjoying any of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Dignites, or livings, in manner aforeſaid, be and is hereby repealed and made void.

It is a matter not unworthy the obſervation, how dexterouſly the Government there could prevaricate in their dealings with the poor enſlaved *Proteſtants*. For upon any apprehenſion of Succors arriving from *England*, or other pretext to fleece and ſqueeze them, an Information was preſently given, how numerous the *Proteſtants* were, and what danger may ariſe from thence; and then they were fortwith confined, and hurried away to Priſon, and their Houſes and Goods expoſed to the Rapine of the *Iriſh* and *French*: At another time, when it might be ſubſervient to their deſigns, to leſſen their number and undervalue the ſtrength of the *Proteſtants*; then they give out that their number was but ſmall, and their Intereſt inconſiderable: And this is very remarkable in a late paſſage at the City of *Limerick*, where the Cabal of the Papiſts projecting to get the the Churches (there) into their Hands, Repreſented to the King and Council, that the *Proteſtants* in that place were ſo very few, that there was no need to aſſign them any more, than one Church for their meeting; and this Suggeſtion was fortified by a Letter from the Earl of *Limerick* atteſting the ſame; but when the buſineſs came to be examined, it appeared

to be ſo groſs and palpable a Deluſion, that their King himſelf ſaw through it, and diſcovered the Impoſture; and out of meer ſhame diſmiſt the Petitioners without any ſucceſs in their Application.

If at any time, an Information was given to the Government of any Mony or Plate, or other things valuable in the Hands of a *Proteſtant*, thô guarded by the ſolemnity of a Protection; this was ſoon ſeconded by the ſuſpicion of ſome *Plot* againſt the Government, and immediatly a Party was ſent to ſeiſe their Perſons, to Search, and Plunder their Houſes; and ſo after the Infliction of all ſorts of Miſery and Diſtreſs, they are admitted to Liberty, under the Caution of Bonds for Goodbehaviour, but nothing left to ſuſtain them, or to prevent the Calamitous Aſſaults of Poverty and Famin.

At another time they proceded with a more Jeſuitical Fineneſs, for having in their Eye a concealed purchaſe of Mony, or good Movables, in the Hands of a *Proteſtant*; immediatly an Order was ſecretly granted, to ſeiſe the Perſon and ſecure *the Goods*: and then to amuſe the World with an Opinion of their Juſtice and Lenity, a *Proclamation* was conceived with a plauſible Promiſe of Indemnity, to all *Proteſtants* under their Protection; and an invitation to all Men, to reſt ſecure under the Benignity of it. But in the mean time the matter is ſo Ordered, that the *Proclamation* ſhall not be publiſhed, nor delivered into the Sheriffs Hands, or other Officers, thô Antidated before the Iſſuing ſuch Order, till a certain Advertiſement be received, that the Order is Executed, and the work done.

What a miſerable and an inexampled Oppreſſion is it, that the poor Subjects ſhall be compelled to part with their Goods and Merchandiſe for a contemptible *Lump of Braſs*, or *Pewter*! Yet ſuch is, and hath been the conſtant proceeding of the late *King* towards his Subjects of *Ireland*; whoſe Goods and Commodities he rather ſeiſeth than buyeth, and becoming the grand Merchant of the Kingdom, he is the general ingroſſer of all Trade, which he vents and exports to his dear *Correſpondent in France*; Bargaining with the Owner at ſuch a Rate, as the Buyer is pleaſed to make, and diſcharging his Contract in

Bits

Bits of *Copper*, *Pewter* and *Braſs*; which can in no way avail the poor Seller, or ſupport him in the Circulation of his Trade. I will only preſent the Reader with one Inſtance, and give him an Authentick account of what Goods were taken up in *Dublin* at one time for the King's uſe, (*i.e.*) were ſeized by *Armed force*, and a Price ſet upon them, at the Pleaſure of the taker.

Seized in the City of Dublin *for the Kings uſe*, February *the* 6th, 1689.

	Tann'd hides.	Raw-hides.	Stones of Wool at 18 *lb.* in the Stone	Tuns of Tallow.	Stones of Butter.
In *Oxmantown*	00920	02140	61105	389	40
S. *Andrews*, S. *Peters*, and S. *Brides*	01161	--2190			
S. *Catherins*, S. *James*, and S. *Nicholas* without	05071	--3192			
Within the City	11619	--7192			
	18771	14687	61105	389	40

This with much more, (about the time Sr. *Cloudſly Showell* ſtood before *Dublin*) was a carrying on Board the Ships that lay in the Harbour, to be tranſported for *France*; which for that ſmall time, Sir *Cloudſly Showell* tarried there, had ſome Intermiſſion; but as ſoon as he was gon, the ſame, and many more Hands were employed, that all might be ſent off; whilſt the like Methods were a putting in Execution, in all parts of the Country, Seizing and Carrying away, what the *Proteſtants* had, in Order to be ſent after the former, by the next opportunity: which without doubt has not been neglected, ſince they met with no oppoſition for ſeveral Months thereafter; Beggering the Inhabitants, and Impoveriſhing the Kingdom, by a wilful Devaſtation of thoſe Staple Commodities, for which no other return could be expected, (none elſe being promiſed) but materials to Murder the remainder of the poor unhappy *Proteſtants*

under their Government, and to annoy thoſe that were not: whereas theſe Commodities at other times, by the Circulation of Trade in theſe Kingdoms, brought welcome exchanges of Gold and Silver, to the Merchants and other dealers in *Ireland*; who freely diſtributed the ſame among all the other Inhabitants for their benefit, and the advancement of Trade, which being now ſtopt, and thoſe Commodities ſent to ſtrengthen our Enemies; what damage and Loſs this has been and may be to *England*, as well as to the other Dominions, under the Government of their Majeſties, Ile not take upon me to Compute.

The Country being well Stored with Grane of all Sorts, eſpecially the Counties about *Dublin*, whereof the generality of the Inhabitants are *Proteſtants*, a very plauſible *Proclamation* was Iſſued out to encourage the Farmers, to ſupply and furniſh the Markets; which when they had for ſome time frequented, another *Proclamation* came forth, ſetting a preciſe Rate (but much lower than the Common Market price,) upon all kinds of Grane, Proviſions, and other Merchantable Commodities, conſtraining the Seller to part with his Goods at the Rates preſcribed, on pain of loſing all without a ſatisfaction; or in plain Engliſh, to Seize on Mens properties and effects under pretence and colour of *furniſhing the Kings Stores*: See the *Proclamation*, which was firſt publiſhed on a certain Market day, when (by the encouragement the Farmers had from a *Proclamation* publiſhed ſome ſhort time before, for ſetting higher Rates on all Commodities,) it was obſerved the Markets in all parts of the City, had more Corn in them than had been ſeen for ſome Months before; the Lord Mayor by name *Mac Dermot*, ſome daies before went into the Market, and told the Country People and Farmers, that the reaſon of the precedent *Proclamation* was only to ſupply the King, with what he wanted for his own neceſſary occaſion, and that if they would bring in plenty of Corn, that the King might take off the beſt, the reſt they might ſell at the beſt and greateſt prices they could; by which the Markets being very full, the ſaid Lord Mayor with his Officers came into the Market, and Seized all, at what prices he pleaſed; part whereof he ſent to the Kings uſe, the

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reſt he diſpoſed as he thought fit, and was highly pleaſed with the t.ic'k; after which there was not ſeen five Barrels on a Market day.

By the King a Proclamation.

James R.

WHereas we are informed, That the Price of Corn, Meal, Wool, Leather, and other Commodities is ſo high, that the Perſons employed by us to make Stores and Magazines of Grain, and to provide Cloaths and other Neceſſaries for our Troops, cannot Buy the ſame but at exceſſive Rates, though we are well aſſured there are great quantities of all ſorts of Grain, Wool, Leather, and other Commodities within this our Kingdom; and having on the one hand conſidered the abſolute neceſſity of making Magazines and Stores of Grain and Meal for the ſupport of our Army, and of providing Cloaths and other Neceſſaries for our Troops; And on the other hand, at what Rate the Farmers, Husbandmen, and other Dealers and Traders may ſell the ſame to diſcharge their Rents, Subſidies, and other Incumbrances, reſerving a Competency for the uſe of their Families, and a ſufficient proportion of Seed for Tillage: We have thought fit by the Advice of our Privy Council, to ſet a Rate upon ſuch Corn, Meal, Wool, Leather, and other Commodities as ſhall be bought for our uſe. We do therefore by the Advice aforeſaid, ſtrictly Charge and Command all Farmers, Husbandmen, and others, who have any Wheat,

Bear,

Bear, Barley, Meslin, Oats, or Oatmeal, that they dispose of the same, or so much thereof as we shall think fit to make use of, at the Rates following; That is to say, 20 s. *the Barrel of the best Wheat,* 18 s. *the Barrel of ordinary Wheat,* 15 s. *the Barrel of Meslin,* 12 s. *the Barrel of the best Bear,* 11 s. *the Barrel of ordinary Bear,* 13 s. *the Barrel of the best Malt, and* 12 s. *the Barrel of ordinary Malt,* 14 s. *the Barrel of good Barley, and* 6 s. *the Barrel of good Oats, in the Counties of* Dublin, *City of* Dublin, Meath, West-Meath, Wicklow, *and* Kildare; *and* 15 s. *the Barrel of the best Wheat,* 13 s. *the Barrel of ordinary Wheat,* 11 s. *the Barrel of the best Bear,* 10 s. *the Barrel of Ordinary Bear,* 12 s. *the Barrel of the best Malt,* 11 s. *the Barrel of ordinary Malt,* 12 s. *the Barrel of good Barley,* 4 s. *the Barrel of good Oats, and* 12 s. *the Barrel of good Oatmeal, in all other parts of the Kingdom, the said Barrel to be* Bristol *Measure, and the said respective Rates to be paid upon the delivery of the said Corn and Meal at our Store next the place where the Corn or Meal lies. And in case the Farmers, Husbandmen, and others that have such Corn or Meal to sell, shall refuse to bring the same to our Stores at the Rates aforesaid, at the Request of the Commissioner-General of our Provisions and Stores, or of our Commissaries of Bread, or his or their Deputies or Agents, We do hereby strictly Charge and Command our respective Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Sheriffs of our Counties of this our Kingdom, that they or any of them do immediately compel the said Farmers, Husbandmen, and others, to Thresh and prepare their said Corn and Meal, and to bring the same to our Stores, or such proportion thereof as shall*

be

be thought neceſſary for our Service, at the Rates aforeſaid; in which Caſe our ſaid Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and Sheriffs, our ſaid Commiſſioner General of our Proviſions and Stores, our Commiſſaries of Bread, his and their Deputies and Agents are to take ſpecial Care, that the ſaid Farmers, Husbandmen and others, having ſuch Corn and Meal be permitted to keep ſufficient proportion thereof for the Subſiſtence of them and their Families, with ſufficient quantity of Barley and Oats for Tillage, as aforeſaid. And we do further ſtrictly Charge and Command our ſaid Commiſſioner-General of our Proviſions and Stores, our Commiſſaries of Bread, his or their Deputies or Agents, upon the delivery of any ſuch Corn or Meal into any of our Stores, that they thereupon pay down to the Owners of ſuch Corn and Meal according to the Rates aforeſaid. And we do further require our ſaid Commiſſioner General of our Proviſions, to appoint ſeveral Store-houſes in ſuch Places as may lie convenient for ſuch Farmers, Husbandmen and others, to carry ſuch Corn or Meal to our Stores, as aforeſaid. And we do further, by the Advice of our Privy Council, ſtrictly Charge and Command all ſuch as have any ſtore of Wool, Leather, Tallow, or ſalted Hides, that they diſpoſe of ſo much thereof for our uſe, as we ſhall have occaſion for, at the Rates following; That is to ſay, Good Merchantable Wool 10 s. *the Stone,* (18 lb. *to the Stone*), *and for good Merchantable Tann'd Leather,* 7 d. *the Pound Sole-Leather, and* 6 d. *the Pound Upper Leather; for Tallow,* 30 s. *the Hundred Weight, and for large Ox-Hides ſalted,* 20 s. *the Hundred Weight; And in caſe the Owners of ſuch Wool, Leather, Tallow or Hides, ſhall refuſe to ſupply our Occaſions at the*

Rates

Rates aforeſaid, We do hereby declare, That we will give Directions to the Commiſſioners of our Treaſury, to cauſe ſo much of the ſaid Wool, Leather, Tallow and Hides to be ſeized upon for our uſe at the Rates aforeſaid, as we ſhall have occaſion for.

Given at our Court at *Dublin-Caſtle*, the 28th of *February*, 1689.

After the Late *King* was obliged by his neceſſity to make *Braſs-Money* current in *Ireland*, it was at firſt pretended to paſs only in Payments between Man and Man in their daily Commerce and Dealings, and in publick payment of Duties to the *Exchequer*. But ſoon after the *Iriſh* beginning to conſider, that they were generally Indebted to the *Engliſh*, and that this might be a fit ſeaſon, and a lucky opportunity to get their Debts eaſily and cheaply diſcharged, a Proclamation was publiſhed, enjoyning and requiring, That *Copper and Braſs-Money ſhould paſs as Current Money within the Realm of* Ireland, *in the payment of Bills, Bonds, Debts by Record, Mortgages, and all other Payments whatſoever.* By which Knack many a poor *Proteſtant* was Fob'd out of his Right, and compell'd to take an Heap of Traſh for his Debt, (as he was for his Wheat and other Commodities) or be precluded from any further ſatisfaction.

And thus I have heard that Colonel *Roger Moore* was ſerv'd, (but I do not aver it upon my certain knowledge) who having an Incumbrance of 3000 *l.* upon the Lord *Dillon*'s Eſtate, who is married to the Daughter of the Lord or Lady *Tyrconnel*; ſhe ſent for him, and told him, That having ſome Money at her command, and being very deſirous to take off the burthen from her Daughters Eſtate, ſhe was content to pay him off in Ready-Money, provided he would make ſome handſom abatement of the Sum due. The Gentleman being Complaiſant to the Lady, and very willing to receive Money in ſuch a time of Scarcity, freely conſented to abate a Thouſand Pounds, ſo the reſt might be

be paid down at once: The Lady ſeem'd very thankful, and appointed him to come next day, and to bring the Deeds and Obligations with him, and to receive his Money. Accordingly he came, and having given a legal Releaſe, the Lady opened a Door, and ſhewed him a long Table, covered over with *Copper* and *Braſs*, and tendered it for his payment: which whether he rejected in Paſſion, or hired a Cart to carry it away, I cannot tell; but this I can ſay, having an Eſtate which was Mortgaged to the old Proprietor, before 1641. to which on Payment of the Mortgage Mony, he hoped to be reſtored by Repealing the *Acts of Settlement*; he repaird to me, and deſired me, to appoint time and place for Paying the Mortgage Mony, of which I have taken time to conſider. One of the moſt Eminent Silver-Smiths in *Dublin*, having ſold all his Plate to a *Papiſt*, who promiſed to pay him his price (agreed upon) in Silver and Gold; but no Faith being to be kept with *Hereticks*, the Gold-Smith was compeld to take *Braſs* and *Copper*. But not to detain the Reader with many more of theſe Examples, I here preſent you with that Savory and Fruitful *Proclamation*: Which is, to make *Braſs Mony* paſs in Satisfaction of all Debts.

By the King a Proclamation.

James R.

WHereas, We have by former Proclamations of the 18th & 27th *Days of* June *laſt, for the Reaſons therein ſet forth; Ordained and Declared, that a certain Coyn made by our Order of a certain Metal, mixed with* Copper *and* Braſs, *and Marked and Stamped as in the ſaid Proclamations is expreſſed in Sixpence,*

Twelvepence, and half Crown pieces, ſhould during our Pleaſure paſs as Current Mony, among all our Subjects within this Realm, according to the Rates and Values in the ſaid Proclamations mention'd; and in all Payments, to be paid either to us or from us, or to, or by any of our Subjects within this Kingdom; excepting Mortgages, Bills, Bonds, or Obligations, Debts due by Record, and Mony heretofore left in Truſt or keeping with any Perſon. And whereas it hath been ſince repreſented to us, that ſuch reſtriction upon the ſaid Coyn, is a great hindrance to Trade and Induſtry, and to the Circulation of the ſaid Mony, in regard Men of Trade and Induſtry cannot have Credit, without paſſing Bonds and Judgments, which ſince they cannot ſatiſfie by the ſaid Mony, they are therefore the leſs induſtrious, to acquire it by the Sale of any of their Goods or Merchandizes, as are alſo the generality of all others; becauſe when they have acquired any quantity thereof, they cannot thereby pay their Debts, nor clear their Eſtates from Incumbrances; wherefore We have thought fit by the Advice of our Privy Council, further to Declare and Ordain, that the aforeſaid Mony, made of Mixture of Copper *and* Braſs *as aforeſaid, ſhall hereafter during our Pleaſure paſs as Current Mony within this Realm, not only in all Payments, in the ſaid former Proclamations mentioned; but alſo in all the ſaid Payments of Bills, Bonds, Debts by Record, Mortgages, and all other Payments whatſoever, in the ſaid former Proclamations excepted: And whereas this is Ordered at this time to ſupply the preſent ſcarcity of Mony, and remedy the great inconveniencies which would otherwiſe enſue; We do therefore hereby Promiſe and Declare to all our loving Subjects,*

jects, that as ſoon as the ſaid Mony ſhall be called in, and Decried, We ſhall thereupon not only receive from all our Loving Subjects within this Kingdom, ſuch proportion thereof, as ſhall be in any of their Hands, at ſuch time as it ſhall be ſo Decried, according to the Value for which it now paſſes, in ſatisfaction of any Rents, Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Debts or Duties, which they ſhall owe to us; but alſo where no ſuch Debts or Duties ſhall be due to us, we will make full Satisfaction for the ſame in Gold, or Silver of the Current Coyn of this Kingdom.

Given at our Court at *Dublin Caſtle*, the 4th Day of *February* 1689.

Of late they are grown ſo ſevere to the poor Proteſtants, that they will not ſuffer them to buy a loaf of Bread from a Baker, but at the Second hand from the Souldiers, and are forced to pay a treble Rate for it, and even that Liberty is now reſtrained, ſince the *French* are Gariſoned in *Dublin*, ſo that we may too ſadly expect to hear that many of them are Starved in the Streets.

But I challenge all Hiſtory and Records of Nations, to Parallel the late ſhameful uſage of the poor *Proteſtant Priſoners in Galway*, upon whom was placed ſo Odious a Cheat, ſo unman-like a Sham, that poſterity will hardly be induced to believe it; and I muſt Implore the Charity of the preſent Age, not to look upon it as a fable: but it is ſo certain and ſo ſad a truth, that I defie the Subtilty and Impudence of a *Jeſuit*, to gainſay or contradict it. There was a Stipulation made not long ſince, between the Late *King James* and the *French Tyrant*, to Exchange ſome Regiments of Auxiliaries, and about Five Thouſand Men being accordingly ſent from *France* and Landed in *Ireland*, the Late *King James* ordered the like

Number of *Iriſh* to be forthwith Embarked, and Tranſported into *France*, under the Conduct of *Major General Mac Carty*, (under whom they would do great Feats, as by Experience againſt the *Iniſkillin* Men,) among whom the Regiment under the Command of Colonel *Robert Fielding*, alias *Hanſom Fielding*, was appointed to be one; but before he could get his Regiment on Board, a great Number of the Men Run away, according to their natural, and uſual cuſtom; ſo that he became mightily puzled, what Shift to make to Recruit his Regiment, whereupon this Expedient was found out; there was in *Gallway* about 120 Priſoners, (who had been Seized for endeavouring to make an eſcape with Sir *Thomas Southwell* out of the *Iriſh* Quarters;) and who had endured the Miſeries of Cloſe Impriſonment, Cold, Hunger, and a dayly expectation of a Violent Death for above 14 Months, Lying under Condemnation for Treaſon: To them Colonel *Fielding* applied himſelf, and propoſed to them, that for every one of them that would raiſe eight Men, and deliver them to him, to Recruit his Regiment, ſuch ſhould not only have their immediate Liberty, but an abſolute Pardon for all that was paſt: and to that purpoſe he produced a Warrant for a General Pardon, which whether it were really the Act of the *Late King*, or only a Counterfeit Grant, and a Forgery, I cannot take upon me to Determin; But the poor Gentlemen overjoyed with the ſecurity of their Lives, and the proſpect of their Liberty, conſented readily to the Capitulation; and with all earneſtneſs betook themſelves to the performance of what was expected on their parts, and in a very ſhort time, about 14 of the Priſoners brought in the Number of Men demanded of them, and delivered them to the Conduct of the Colonel, who carried on the Intrigue without ſuſpicion; but alas the poor unfortunate Gentlemen having Accompliſht their undertaking with extraordinary Pains and Charges, being obliged to pay great Sums of Mony to thoſe Mercenary Men; no ſooner was the Colonel with his Men Shipt away, but an Order was ſent from the *Late King*, to Seize upon thoſe deluded Gentlemen, and to recommit them to their former Priſon; on pretence that the Contract, made with them by Colo-

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nel *Fielding*, was not done with his Knowledg or Allowance. *The great Turk* would Bluſh to be charged with ſuch an Action, and a very Heathen would abhor it, an Action only fit for the *Mounſier of France*, and ſuch as are Influenced by his Example.

And now let me give you a Taſt of the hopeful Fruits of an Arbitrary, unlimited and Diſpenſing Power, which the *Late King claimed in* Scotland, *aim'd at in* England, and hath been effectually *exercized in* Ireland: where (by his abſolute *Authority to be obeyed* without reſerve), he hath upon the great emergency of the occaſion, cauſed a heavy Tax to be Levied of his Subjects, by the naked Authority of a *Proclamation*, without the preliminary ſanction of an Act of *Parliament*. And this that follows next is the very Tenor of it.

By the King a Proclamation.

James R.

WHereas we have received certain Information, that the Uſurper and his Adherents in England, *are making great Preparations to make a freſh Invaſion on this our Kingdom with a numerous Army, as well of* Danes *and other Foreigners, as of ſuch of our own Subjects as they can ſeduce to take up Arms againſt us, and do threaten no leſs than the total Extirpation of all our Faithful Subjects of this Realm; We do therefore find our Self obliged to make uſe of the moſt effectual Means we can, for raiſing and maintaining a ſufficient Force to oppoſe and repel ſo unnatural and ſo impious an Attempt: And whereas the Experience of all Times hath ſhewed, That an Army cannot be ſerviceable without good Order*

and

and Diſcipline, which may not be kept without making regular and due Payments, the only means to keep them from oppreſſing and plundering the People: And whereas the late Act of Supply has charged the Subſidy thereby granted towards the ſupport of our Army, altogether on Lands and Tenements, and ſuch Leaſes only as are ſet at half value, or under; which Subſidy, as it cannot be levied in ſome Parts of the Kingdom, now infeſted with the Rebels, nor out of ſome Lands which are waſte; ſo it is not in it ſelf ſufficient to defray the Charges of the War; and ſince the Urgency is ſo great upon this preſent Occaſion, where no leſs than the Safety of the Publick, as well as of every Man in particular is concerned, as that it cannot admit of any delay; and therefore the ordinary Method of giving Supplies in Parliament, (always practiſed in Setled Times) cannot be at preſent made uſe of without the loſs of too much time; And ſince it cannot but ſeem reaſonable, that where all Eſtates and all Degrees are equally at ſtake, the Perſonal Eſtates ſhould contribute to the Common Defence: Wherefore after mature Deliberation had with our Privy Council upon the preſent Affairs, and upon due Examination of what hath been done in the like extraordinary Exigencies in former times, We have thought fit by the Advice of our ſaid Privy Council to order and declare, and we do hereby order and declare, That a Contribution of 20000 l. per Month for the ſpace of Three Months, ending the laſt day of January laſt paſt, ſhall be forthwith Applotted, Laid in, and Levied upon the Perſonal Eſtates of all ſorts within this Kingdom (Houſhold Goods, Apparel, and ſuch Leaſes as are already Charged by the ſaid Act of Supply, only excepted) and alſo upon the benefit of Trade, or Traffick;

and

and that all and every the Counties, Cities, and Corporations within this Kingdom, ſhall bear and pay ſo much, and in ſuch and the like ſhare and proportion of the Contribution, as they and every of them reſpectively do bear and pay of the aforeſaid Subſidy already granted by the ſaid Act of Supply; which ſaid Contribution is to be equally Applotted by Commiſſioners, to be forthwith Named by us in each County, City, and Town Corporate, who ſhall make Books thereof, and proceed therein according to Inſtructions, which we ſhall forthwith cauſe to be publiſhed in that behalf, to the end that the ſame may be levied and paid with all ſpeed, without which it cannot anſwer thoſe good and neceſſary Ends for which it is intended. And for the better Enabling of all our Loving Subjects to pay this Contribution, and for ſecuring them for the future againſt all free Quarterings, and other Oppreſſions and Injuries that may be offered them by any of our Army, We have further thought fit by the Advice aforeſaid to declare, That we will forthwith appoint one or more Perſons in each County and City within this Kingdom, who ſhall have power to receive all Complaints concerning any Exactions or Extortions, to be committed by any Officers or Souldiers of our Army, and out of our Revenue to make preſent Payment to the Parties aggrieved for the Damage by them ſuſtained, and to return ſuch Complaints to our Secretary of War, in order to have the value of ſuch Damage deducted for us out of the Pay of the Parties offending, and alſo to have them proceeded againſt according to the Articles of War, which have been heretofore, or hereafter ſhall be by us made in that behalf.

Given at our Court at *Dublin Caſtle*,
the 4th day of *February*, 1689.

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As for *Ship-Mony*, and other heavy Burdens laid on the Subjects in the Reign of King *CHARLES the Firſt*, there was ſome colour of Law, and many Precedents produced to favour, if not to Warrant ſuch Impoſition; yet that was condemned by publick Acts of Parliament, and Judgments in the Kings Courts in *Weſtminſter*. But at this time of Day, after all thoſe Proceedings, for a King and his Privy Council, to impoſe and levy a Tax of *Twenty Thouſand Pounds per Menſem* upon the Perſonal Eſtates, and the benefit of Trade, is a Strain of Arbitrary Power, never before put in practice, except by *Richard the Second*; and what calamitous Effects that produced, and how Fatal to himſelf, the Hiſtories of that Time do ſufficiently teſtifie.

Such Proceedings as theſe, tho' never ſo Arbitrary and Illegal, may yet receive ſome extenuation and excuſe from the preſſing Streights and irreſiſtible exigency of Affairs; but for a King eagerly, wilfully, and conſiderately to break his Word, and violate his Solemn Promiſes, made, and often reiterated to his People, (as he called them) for the entire Maintenance and exact obſervance of the *Act of Settlement in Ireland*, is ſo diſhonourable an Inſtance of Injuſtice, as is not to be reconciled with the ordinary methods of Morality: And if the Reader will give himſelf the trouble to look over the Act, lately made in *The Mock Parliament* in *Ireland*, (Entituled, *An Act for the Repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, &c.)* which he may find in the Book lately ſet forth, giving a *Liſt of the Perſons lately Attainted in the Parliament there*, pag. 51. which would be too tedious to recite here at large; he will be convinced, how little or no encouragement there is for *Proteſtants* to expect any ſecurity under a *Popiſh King*, who cannot only at his pleaſure diſpenſe with the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, but can procure a Diſpenſation from a Power (to which he has blindly made himſelf ſubordinate) for the Iniquity of ſuch irregular Actions.

And ſince we ſee that he came by the Power of a *French* Army, to Reaſſume what he had Abdicated, only to ſubject us to the Tyranny of *France* and their Dragoons; what Inducement have we *Hereticks* (as they call us,) (with whom no perſon of his Perſwaſion is to keep Faith) to hope, much leſs to believe, that he will keep or perform any Promiſe for the benefit of a *Proteſtant*, having in ſo many almoſt innumerable Inſtances, before his Deſerting the People of *England*, Violated every Individual part of that Solemn Oath taken at his Coronation?

But as if all that hath been before obſerved, were ſlight and trivial Matters, and not of force ſufficient to undeceive the grumbling Generation of Men, let every wavering and unſatisfied Perſon, duly and without Prejudice weigh and conſider the *Act of Attainder*, lately paſt in *Ireland*, wherein he ſhall obſerve, not only the utmoſt Severity, Partiality, and Injuſtice done to the *Proteſtants*, but manag'd in ſo fallacious a manner, that the whole Proceeding is complicated with Fraud, Trepanning and Circumvention. For the ſecret Machinations of the *Papiſts*, and the open and uncontroll'd Outrages done by them on the Perſons, Eſtates, and Goods of the *Proteſtants*, are too notorious, and may juſtly excuſe them before God and Man, and warrant their voluntary withdrawing themſelves from under the Tyranny of their implacable Enemies and Oppreſſors; yet the Proceſs againſt them hath been managed with ſo much Art, Fallacy, and Surprize, that it is morally impoſſible for any *Proteſtant* to avoid the Forfeiture of Life and Eſtate. Indeed no other Quarter or Uſage could rationally be expected from a Parliament, wherein its to be noted, that Nine parts of Ten were the *Macs*, *O's*, and *Clans*: In a word, The Offſpring of thoſe Vulturs, who for their Rebellion and horrid Treaſon in 1641, juſtly forfeited all they could pretend to; and at the Sitting of this Parliament were not worth one Groat, but what they had ſince *Auguſt* 1688, plunder'd and taken from the *Proteſtants*. For conceiving that the Kingdom was their own, and that they had received the accompliſhment of their Expectations and Attempts for ſeveral Ages paſt, *The total extirpation*

of the Britiſh Names and Blood; they began to exert all the Articles which inveterate Malice, (whetted with an inreconcilable Averſion to the *Reformed Religion*) could ſuggeſt And Firſt, for ſuch as either had not a convenient opportunity to eſcape, or were reſolutely determin'd to abide the Brunt, and continue under their Protection, they found this Expedient to promote, and aſcertain their Deſtruction; They Iſſued out Warrants to the Sheriffs of the reſpective Counties, where the *Eſtates of the Proteſtants* lay, while their Perſons were under their Power, and in their ſight in *Dublin*; and ſo proceeding by way of ſecret Outlawries, they brought them under the Attainder, confiſcated their Perſonal Eſtates, and Seized the Real, delivering over the Poſſeſſion to the old Proprietors, or whom elſe they pleaſed. It were eaſie to demonſtrate this in the caſe of ſeveral Perſons, as——

And as for thoſe whom they term Abſentees, they have dealt with them moſt diſingenuouſly (to ſay no worſe of it) and handled them as Exiles, and proſcribed Perſons; for having collected a Schedule of their Names, they foiſted them into a Proclamation, limiting their return to certain fixt days; ſome in *September*, ſome in *October*, ſome in *November*; but in the mean time they took eſpecial Care, that no Noiſe ſhould be made of it, and leſt the ſound of ſuch a Warning-Piece ſhould reach into *England*, *Scotland* or the *Iſle* of *Man*; They provided ſo, that no ſuch *Proclamation* ſhould be made publick, till the ſeveral days of Grace were Elapſed; And then by virtue of the *Act againſt Abſentees*, they preſently Seized on all the Perſonal Eſtates of ſuch Perſons, and confiſcated them to the uſe of the late King. I ſhall trouble the Reader only with the Preamble, and a few of the firſt Lines in it, being *Entituled, An Act for Forfeiting and Veſting in his Majeſty the Goods of Abſentees.*

Here follows the Act of Attainder, *Paſt in the Parliament Aſſembled in* Dublin *by the Late King* James *in* May 1689; *by which Act, and the moſt diſingenuous Proceedings of that* Parliament *and the* Late King, *Deſtruction is thunder'd againſt Thouſands of all Degrees and Qualities of Men, Women and Infants.*

An Act for Forfeiting, and Veſting in his Majeſty, *the Goods of Abſentees.*

WHereas upon the General Defection of your Majeſties Subjects in *England*, ſeveral of your Majeſties Subjects have Deſerted this Kingdom, and repaired into your Majeſties Kingdom of *England*, and elſewhere; thereby Endeavouring to weaken your Majeſties Intereſt here, and ſhewing an Apparent diffidence of your Majeſties Protection; moſt of which Perſons have Actually taken Arms, under the unnatural Uſurper in *England*; and divers others of your Majeſties Subjects became Rebels and Traytors within this your Realm: And foraſmuch, as the ſaid Perſons have left behind them ſeveral Goods and Chattels, and perſonal Eſtates, part whereof hath been Seized in your Majeſties Name, or otherwiſe by ſeveral Perſons, who have not yet anſwered, or accounted for the ſame to your Majeſty.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that all Goods and Chattels, Corn in Ground, Debts by Judgments, Statutes, Bonds, Bills, Books or otherwiſe; and all Arrears of Rent, belonging to any Perſon or Perſons, in Rebellion againſt your Majeſty, out of this your Majeſties Kingdom; or belonging to any Perſon or Perſons, that by any Act of this preſent Parliament, ſhall be Adjudged and Declared a forfeiting Perſon, or Perſons Abſent, and all other Perſons Abſent out of this Realm, and that Aid, Abet or Aſſiſt the ſaid *Prince* of *Orange*, Minors under the Age of Seventeen years; and ſuch Perſon or Perſons, who are Intituled to ſuch Goods or Chattels, or Debts, as aforeſaid in truſt for others, who are not Abſent, or Joyned with the Rebels; and ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as for ſome Reaſonable cauſe to be allowed of, and approved under the Hands of the Commiſſioners of your Majeſties Revenue in this Kingdom, or the major part of them; within three Months after the Royal Aſſent given to this Act, always Excepted and Foreprized, ſhall from the Fifth day of *November* laſt, be, and hereby are veſted in, and ſetled in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, and that all Perſon and Perſons, who ſince the ſaid Fifth day of *November* laſt, have Seized or poſſeſſed themſelves of any Goods or Chattels belonging, or pretended to belong to any Perſon or Perſons, upon pretence of ſuch Perſon or Perſons being in Rebellion, or Abſent out of this your Majeſties Realm: And all Perſons, who ſince the Firſt day of *May* laſt, have received any Arrears of Rent or Debts, due to any Perſon or Perſons, who are or have been in Rebellion, or now are Abſent out of your Majeſties Kingdom, *Be and are hereby* Declared to be Debtors and Accountants to your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors; and ſuch Perſon and Perſons, ſhall by Proceſs out of your Majeſties Court of Exchequer, to be (Iſſued within two Years and no longer,) be made chargeable and liable as in other Debts, &c.

[*This laſt part is for their own benefit, otherwiſe they might have*

have ſpared the trouble they took in framing the Act; for in March, April *and* May, *before their Parliament Sate, Perſons appointed, and ſome without any Authority came to Abſentees, nay, to ſome wherein the Proteſtants remain'd, and under the Pretence of Abſentees Goods, or Searching for Arms, they carried away what Goods they pleaſed; and the Commiſſioners ſent for the Agents and Servants of the Abſentees, adminiſtring what Interrogatories they pleaſed; and if the Servants refuſed or could not diſcover any thing, they were Committed*; As for Inſtance, One Mr. *Smith*, who (tho' he was a Roman Catholick, yet) out of a Spark of Gratitude, and a Principle of Honeſty, and Integrity to his Truſt; would not diſcover his Maſter the Duke of *Ormonds* Writings and Rentals, or deliver them, whereupon he was confined for a conſiderable time. [See in the Margin of the Book, wherein this Act of Parliament is much to the ſame effect, Fol. 41]

In the next place, I ſhall Recite the Clauſes in the *Act of Attainder*, relating to the Abſentees, and then offer ſome plain obvious Remarks upon them.

And Firſt, The Scene opens Tragically, and Thunders Deſtruction to ſome Hundreds of Lords, Baronets and Knights, together with ſome Thouſands of Gentlemen, and others in theſe words; **Be it Enacted** by your moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That the Perſons hereafter Named, being Perſons who *have Notoriouſly joyned in the ſaid Rebellion and Invaſion*; and ſome of which are upon Indictment Condemned, ſome Executed for High Treaſon, and the reſt Run away or Abſcond, or are now in the Actual Service of the *Prince* of *Orange* againſt your Majeſty, and others killed in open Rebellion, viz.

Francis March Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *James Butler* Duke of *Ormond*, *Richard Boyl* Earl of *Cork*; and then after enumerating ſome Thouſands of Names, (the Act goes on and ſays:) whether Dead or Alive, or Killed in open Rebellion, or now in Arms againſt your Majeſty, or otherwiſe; and

every

every of them ſhall be deem'd, taken, reputed, and are hereby Declared and Adjudged Traytors, Convicted and Attainted of High Treaſon; and ſhall ſuffer ſuch pains of Death, Penalties and Forfeitures, reſpectively, as in Caſes of High Treaſon are accuſtomed; **Provided** that in caſe it happen, that any of the Perſons hereby Attainted, or to be Attainted, do now abide or dwell in this Kingdom, and are ameanable to the Law, that then and in ſuch caſe, if ſuch Perſon and Perſons, do by the Tenth day of *Auguſt*, 1689. without compulſion, of his own accord, come in and deliver himſelf to the Lord Chief Juſtice of his Majeſties Court of Kings Bench in *Ireland*, or to any other of the Judges of the ſaid Court, or any other of your Majeſties four Courts in *Dublin*; or to any Judge of Aſſize in their Circuits, to be charged with any Treaſon; to be Imputed to him or them, That then and in ſuch Caſe ſuch Perſon and Perſons, if after acquitted by the Law of this Land, or diſcharged by Proclamation, ſhall be freed, diſcharged and accquitted from all pains puniſhments and forfeitures by this *Act* incurred, laid or impoſed. Any thing in this Act to the Contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Secondly, A multitude of names are Muſtered up as Abſentees, and their Doom runs thus,

And whereas the ſeveral Perſons hereafter named, viz.

John Veaſy Lord Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, *Arthur Chicheſter* Earl of *Donnegall*, *Falliot Wingfield* Viſcount *Powerſcourt*, *William Morton* Lord Biſhop of *Killdare*, with ſome Hundreds more, as in the former Printed Book of the Names, from page 24 to page 30, (and ſays) have Abſconded themſelves from this Kingdom, and have gon into *England*, or ſome other places beyond the Seas ſince the Fifth day of *November* laſt, or in ſome ſhort time before, and did not return, although called home by Their Majeſties Gracious Proclamation; which abſconding, and not returning, cannot be conſtrued otherwiſe than a wicked and Traiterous purpoſe, and may thereby juſtly forfeit all their Right and Pretenſions to all and every the Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments to them belonging in this Kingdom.

Be

Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case the said person and persons do not by the first Day of *September*, 1689. of his or their own accord, without compulsion, return into this Kingdom, and tender him and themselves to the Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of Kings Bench, or to some other Judge of the said Court, or Judge of Assizes in the Circuit, or any of the Lords of your Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, to be charged with any Crimes to him or them to be imputed, (that then) or in case he or they, upon his or their Return, shall be Convict by Verdict of Twelve Men, or by his or their own Confession, upon his or their Arraignment for Treason, or upon his or their Arraignment stand Mute; such person and persons so absent, and not returning as aforesaid, or after his or their Return, being Convict of Treason, as aforesaid, shall from and after the said First day of *September*, 1689, be deemed, reputed and taken as Traytors convict and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pains of Death, and other Forfeitures and Penalties, as in cases of High Treason are accustomed: But in case such person and persons so Returning, be upon such his or their Tryal *Acquitted* or *Discharged* by Proclamation, then such person and persons respectively, shall from thenceforth be freed, discharged, and acquitted from all Pains, Punishments, and Forfeitures, by this Act incurred, laid, or imposed; Any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

[*This Sentence being past against the Absentees,*]

Thirdly, A multitude of Names [as in the former printed List of Names, pag. 31.] are muster'd up as Absentees, and their Doom runs thus:

And whereas the several persons hereafter named, *viz.* *Robert Ridgway* Earl of *Londonderry*, *Arthur Loftis* Viscount *Loftis* of *Eli*, with about 500 more, before the Fifth Day of *November* last, absented themselves from this Kingdom, and live

live in *England*, *Scotland*, or the Iſle of *Man*, and there now abide, and by not coming or returning into this Kingdom upon your Majeſties Proclamation, to aſſiſt in Defence of this Realm according to their Allegiance, muſt be preſumed to adhere to the ſaid *Prince* of *Orange*, in caſe they return not within the time in this Act preſcribed, and thereby may juſtly forfeit all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which they or any of them are entituled unto within this Kingdom.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That in caſe the ſaid perſon and perſons laſt mentioned, do by the firſt day of *October* 1689. of his and their own accord, without compulſion, Return into this Kingdom, and tender him and themſelves to the Chief Juſtice of your Majeſties Court of Kings Bench, or to ſome other Judge of the ſaid Court or Judge of Aſſize in his Circuit, or to any of the Lords of your Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, *To be charged with any Crime or Crimes*, to him or them to be charged or imputed, that then, in caſe that he or they upon ſuch his or their Return ſhall be convict by Verdict of Twelve Men, or by his own Confeſſion upon his or their Arraignment for Treaſon, or upon his or their Arraignment ſtand Mute; ſuch perſon and perſons *ſo Abſent, and not Returning as aforeſaid, or after his or their Return, being convict of Treaſon, as aforeſaid, ſhall from and after the ſaid Firſt day of* October 1689. *be deemed, reputed, and taken as Traytors Convict, and Attainted of High Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pains of Death, and other Forfeitures and Penalties, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon is accuſtomed:* But in caſe ſuch perſon and perſons reſpectively ſhall return, they ſhall from thenceforth be freed, diſcharged and acquitted from all Pains, Puniſhments, and Forfeitures by this Act incurr'd, laid, or impoſed; any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Which terrible Clauſe in the Act ſeems to be ſweetned by

by a moſt gracious Proviſo extended to a ſelect number of Perſons which goes on in theſe Words: Provided always, That in caſe your Majeſty ſhall happen to go into the Kingdom of *England* or *Scotland* before the ſaid firſt day of *October* 1689. Then if the ſaid Sir *William Meredith*, Sir *Charles Chiney*, Sir *Charles Loyd*, Sir *Algernoon Mayo*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Sir *William Parker*, *Alexander Frazier* Eſq; *John Hollum*, *Daniel* of the Iron-works, *Brook Bridges*, *Charles Vaughan*, *Hugh Merick*, *Nathaniel Huet*, *Heirom Hawkins*, Major *John Read*, *William Trenchard*, *J—— Trenchard* his Eldeſt Son, *Eraſmus Smith*, *Hariſon* of *Balvarneen*, *Achilles Daniel*, *John Lovet*, *John Caſtle*, *Joſeph Rutterton*, *Thomas Valentine* Clark of *Ballyturmey*, *John Cright*, *George Clarke* of *Shaccrelin*, *Thomas Chinucks*, *William Wormsby*, *Richard Cluterbuck*, *Eraſmus Smith*, *William Wats*, *John Evelin*, *Thapcote* of *Loughkent*, *Page* of the ſame, *Thomas Moor*, *Humphry Wray*, *Edward Crafton*, Alderman *Clarke*, *John Clarke*, *Arthur Aneſle*, *William Warwick*, *Purefy Warwick*, Captain *Coaps*, *Robert Boye* of *Kilgrant*, *Hugh Ratclif*, *Edward Nelthrop*, *Robert Dixon*, *Samuel Clarke*, *John Jones*, *Henry Payne*, *George Clark* and *Gilbert Thacker*, whoſe Dwellings and Reſidence always hath been in *England*, ſhall give your Majeſty ſuch Teſtimony of their Loyalty and Fidelity as that your Majeſty will be pleaſed on or before the ſaid firſt day of *October*, 1689. to certifie under your Privy Signet or Sign Manual unto the chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, that your Majeſty is ſatisfied and aſſured of the Loyalty and Fidelity of the Perſons laſt before named, or of any of them; that then, if ſuch Certificate ſhall on or before the Firſt day of *November* 1689, be produced to the chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, and Enrolled in your Majeſties High Court of Chancery, the ſame ſhall be a ſufficient Diſcharge and Acquittal to ſuch of the Perſons laſt before

See in the former printed Liſt of the Names, pag. 30 & 31. *has more names than ought to be in that Clauſe and therefore not true.*

fore named, and every of them reſpectively, whoſe Loyalty and Fidelity your Majeſty will be pleaſed to certify in manner as aforeſaid.

And be it further Enacted, That in the mean time, and until ſuch Return and Acquittal, all the Lands Tenements and Hereditaments within this Kingdom belonging to all and every Abſentee and Abſentees, or other Perſon to be attainted as aforeſaid, ſhall be, and are hereby veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, as from the firſt day of *Auguſt* laſt paſt.

Then comes the Stabbing Clauſe, with a Face like *Janus*, Looking forward and backward both at once, in this tenor. *And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid*, that all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as by any the foregoing Clauſes is, are or ſhall be reſpectively attainted, ſhall be from the firſt day of *Auguſt*, One Thouſand, Six Hundred Eighty and Eight, forfeit unto your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, *all ſuch Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, all Right, Title, Service, Chiefry, Uſe, Truſt, Condition, Fee, Rent Charge, Right of Redemption of Mortgages, Right of Entries, Right of action, or any other Intereſt of what nature or Kind ſoever, either* in Law or Equity, of, in or into any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, within this Kingdom, belonging or appertaining to ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo as aforeſaid attainted, or to be attainted in his or their own Right, or to any other Intereſt for him or them on the ſaid firſt day of *Auguſt*, 1689, or at any time ſince; and all the ſaid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, ſo as aforeſaid forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, hereby, are and ſhall be veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, whether ſuch Perſon or Perſons were ſeized thereof in Fee Abſolute or Conditional, or in Tail, or for Life or Lives, and that freed and freely diſcharged, of and from *all Eſtates Tail, and for Life*; and from all Reverſions and Remainders for Life, for Years,

or

or in Fee Abſolute or Conditional, or in Tail for any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, ſuch Remainders, as by one Act or Statute of this preſent Parliament, Entituled, An Act for Repealing the Act of Settlement and Explanation, Reſolution of the Doubts, and all Grants, Patents and Certificates purſuant to them, or any of them, or by this preſent Act, are ſaved and preſerved, always excepted and foreprized: *Provided always*, that any Remiſſneſs or Forfeiture of any Tenant in Dower, Tenant by the Curteſie, Jointreſs for Life, or other Tenant for Life or Lives in actual Poſſeſſion, ſhall not extend to bar, forfeit, make void or diſcharge any Reverſion veſted in any Perſon or Perſons not ingaged in the Uſurpation or Rebellion aforeſaid, ſuch Reverſion and Reverſions being immediately depending or expectant upon the particular Eſtate of ſuch Tenant in Dower, Tenant by the Courteſie, Joyntreſs for Life, or other Tenant for Life or Lives, any thing in the ſaid Act of *Repeal*, or in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Provided always*, *and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid*, that nothing in this preſent Act contained, ſhall any way extend to be conſtrued, to extend to forfeit or veſt in your Majeſty, your Heirs or Succeſſors any Remainder or Remainders for valuable conſideration limited or ſetled by any ſettlement or conveyance made for ſuch valuable conſideration, either of Marriage or Marriage Portion, or other valuable conſideration whatſoever, upon any Eſtate for Life or Lives, to any Perſon or Perſons not concerned in the Uſurpation or Rebellion aforeſaid, ſuch Remainder or Remainders, as are limited or ſetled by any conveyance wherein there is any power for revoking and altering all or any the uſe or uſes therein limited; and alſo ſuch Remainder and Remainders as are limited upon any Settlement or Conveyance of any Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments commonly called Plantation Lands; and all Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments,

ments, held or enjoyed under ſuch Grants from the Crown, or Grants upon the Commiſſion, or Commiſſions of Grace, for remedy of defective Titles, either in the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, or King *Charles* the Firſt, in which ſeveral Grants reſpectively, there are Proviſoes or Covenants for raiſing or keeping any number of Men or Arms for the King's Majeſty againſt Rebels or Enemies, or for raiſiug of Men for his Majeſties Service, for expedition of War, always excepted, and forepriſed, all which Remainders limited by ſuch conveyances wherein there is a power of Revocation for ſo much of the Lands, Uſes and Eſtates therein limited, as the ſaid power doth or ſhall Extend unto; and all ſuch Remainders as are derived or limited, from or under ſuch Intereſt made of ſuch Plantation Lands, or other Lands held as aforeſaid, under ſuch Grants from the Crown, and all and every other Remainder and Remainders, Reverſion and Reverſions, not herein mentioned to be ſaved and preſerved, ſhall by Authority of this preſent Parliament be deemed, conſtrued and adjudged void, debarred and diſcharged to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever againſt your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors, and yours and their Grantees or Aſſigns, and the ſaid Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments belonging to ſuch Rebels as aforeſaid, ſhall be veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors freed and diſcharged from the ſaid Remainder and Remainders ſaved and preſerved by this Act, and that it may appear with all convenient ſpeed.

Be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the reſpective Perſons Intituled to ſuch Remainders and Reverſions, do within Sixty days next after the firſt ſitting of the Commiſſioners for Examining the ſaid Act of Repeal, and this preſent Act, exhibit their Claims before the ſaid Commiſſioners, and make out their Titles to ſuch Remainder or Remainders, ſo as to procure their Adjudication, and Certificate for the ſame, or the Adjudication or Certificate of ſome Three or more of them; and further,

further, that all Remainders for which ſuch Adjudication and Certificate ſhall not be procured at or before One Hundred and Twenty days after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſhall be void, and for ever Barred or Excluded; any thing in this Act, or other matter to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. All which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, mentioned as aforeſaid, to be forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty by any the Clauſes aforeſaid, and are hereby declared to be ſo forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, without any Office or Inquiſition thereof found or to be found, and the ſame to be to the Uſes, Intents and Purpoſes, as in the ſaid Act of Repeal, and in this preſent Act mentioned and expreſſed.

The Fifth is a wheedling Clauſe to amuſe a certain ſmall number of Women, Widows, Minors and Sick-Perſons with a ſeeming Latitude to return: but their Eſtates are ſure to be veſted in the King till they do, as more at large you may ſee, *viz.*

And whereas the ſeveral Perſons hereafter named, *viz.* *Lyonel* Earl of *Orrery*; Mrs. *Traps*, *Anne* Vicounteſs Dowager of *Dungannon*, *Robert Boyl* Eſquire, *Katherine Woodcock*, *Alice* Counteſs Dowager of *Drogheda*, and the reſt, as in the former Book of the Perſons attainted. *p.* 37, 38, to about the number of Eighty Perſons, are and for ſome time paſt, have been abſent out of this Kingdom, and by reaſon of Sickneſs, Nonage, Infirmities, and other diſabilities, may for ſome time further be obliged ſo to ſtay out of this Kingdom, or be diſabled to return thereunto. Nevertheleſs, it being much to the weakening of this Realm, that any of the Rents or Profits of the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments therein, ſhould be ſent into or ſpent in any other Place beyond the Seas, but that the ſame ſhould be Kept and Employed within the Realm for the better ſupport and defence thereof; *Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid*, that all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments,

Uſe,

Uſe, Truſt, Poſſeſſion, Reverſion, Remainder, and all and every other Eſtate, Title and Intereſt whatſoever belonging or appertaining to all and every the Perſons herein before laſt mentioned within this Kingdom, be and are hereby veſted in your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors. *Provided always*, that if any Perſon or Perſons in the next foregoing Clauſe mentioned, have hitherto behaved themſelves Loyally and Faithfully to your Majeſty, that then, if they or any of them, their or any of their Heirs do hereafter return into this Kingdom, and behave him, or themſelves as becometh Loyal Subjects, and do on or before the Laſt day of the firſt Term next enſuing, after ſuch their return, Exhibit his or their Petition or Claim, before the Commiſſioners for Executing the ſaid Acts, (if then ſitting,) or in his Majeſties high Court of Chancery, or in his Majeſties Court of Exchequer for any ſuch Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, and make out his or their Title thereunto, and obtain the Adjudication and Decree of any of the ſaid Courts of and for ſuch his or their Title, that then and in ſuch caſe, ſuch Adjudication and Decree ſhall be ſufficient to all ſuch Perſon and Perſons, for deveſting and reſtoring ſuch Eſtate, and no other as ſhall be therein and thereby to him or them adjudged and decreed; and that the order of any of the ſaid Courts ſhall be ſufficient Warrant to all Sheriffs, or other proper Officer to whom the ſame ſhall be directed, to put ſuch Perſon or Perſons in the actual Seizing and Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Land, any thing in this Act contained, or any other Statute, Law or Cuſtom whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. *Provided always, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid*, that neither the ſaid Act of Repeal, or this preſent Act, or any thing in them or either of them contained ſhall extend to, or be conſtrued to forfeit or veſt in your Majeſty, your Heirs or Succeſſors, or otherwiſe to Barr, Extinguiſh or Weaken, any right of Entry,

try, right of Action, Uſe, Truſt, Leaſe, Condition or Equity of Redemption, of any Mortgage or Mortgages, which on the firſt day of *Auguſt*, 1688, belonged or appertained to any Perſon or Perſons not being forfeiting Perſons within the true Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Act of Repeal, or this preſent Act, and which ever ſince the firſt day of *Auguſt*, 1688, continued or remained in ſuch Perſons, not being Perſons, or deſcended or devolved, or come from them, or any of them, to any of their Heirs, Executors or Adminiſtrators, not being forfeiting Perſons as aforeſaid, any thing in this or the ſaid Act of Repeal to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Provided always*, that the Perſon or Perſons claiming ſuch right of Entry, right of Action, Uſe, Truſt, Leaſe, Condition or Equity of Redemption, of Mortgage, do and ſhall Exhibit his and their claim for the ſame, before the Commiſſioners for Execution of the ſaid Act of Repeal, or of this preſent Act within Sixty days after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, and procure the Adjudication of them, or any three or more of them thereupon, within one Hundred and Twenty days after the ſaid firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

And whereas, by one or more Office or Offices in the time of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Government, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt of ever Bleſſed Memory, all or a great part of the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments in the Province of *Connaught*, and Counties of *Clare*, *Limerick* and *Tiperary*, were veſted in his Majeſty, and by the Acts of Settlement or Explanation, the ſaid Office and Offices are declared to be null and void; ſince which time, the ſaid Acts have been by the ſaid Acts of Repeal Repealed, and thereby ſome prejudice might ariſe or accrew to the Proprietors concerned in them Lands, if not prevented. *Be it therefore Enacted*, by the Authority aforeſaid, that the ſaid Office and Offices, and every of them, commonly called the Grand Office,

Office, and the Title thereby found or endeavoured to be made out, or ſet up from the time of finding or taking thereof, was and is hereby declared to be null and void to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever: Provided always that nothing herein contained, ſhall any way extend to charge any Perſon or Perſons who hath *bona fide* paid any Rent, or Arrears of Rent, that has been due and payable out of any Lands hereby veſted in your Majeſty; or to charge any Steward or Receiver that Received any ſuch Rents or Arrears of Rent, if he *bona fide* paid the ſame; but that he and they ſhall be hereby diſcharged for ſo much as he or they ſo *bona fide* paid againſt your Majeſty, your Heirs and Succeſſors. *Provided always, and it is hereby Enacted*, that every Perſon not being a forfeiting Perſon, within the true intent and meaning of the ſaid former Act, or of this preſent Act; and who before the Seventh day of *May*, 1689, had any Statute Staple, or Recognizance for payment of Money, or any Mortgage, Rent Charge, Portion, Truſt, or other Incumbrance either in Law or Equity; or any Judgement before the Two and Twentieth day of *May*, 1689, for payment of Mony which might charge any of the Eſtates, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments ſo as aforeſaid forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, ſhall and may have the benefit of the ſaid Statutes Staple Judgments, Recognizances, Mortgages, Rents Charges, Portions, Truſts, and other Incumbrances out of the Eſtate or Eſtates, which would be liable thereunto, in caſe the ſaid former Act or this preſent Act had never been made. *Provided always*, that the Perſon and Perſons who had ſuch Statutes Staple, Judgments, Recognizances or other Truſts or Incumbrances, do claim the ſame before the Commiſſioners, for Execution of the ſaid former Act within two Months after the firſt ſitting of the ſaid Commiſſioners, and procure their Adjudication thereof, within ſuch reaſonable time as the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall appoint for determining

termining the ſame. And to the end that ſuch Perſon and Perſons as ſhall have any of the ſaid Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments ſo to be granted unto him above all Incumbrances, and may injoy the ſame againſt all Statutes Staple, Judgments, Recognizances, Mortgages, Rents Charge, and other Incumbrances, not claimed and adjudged as aforeſaid. *Be it therefore further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid*, that all ſuch Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments as ſhall be forfeited unto, and veſted in your Majeſty, and granted by Letters Patents purſuant to the ſaid former Act, or this preſent, ſhall be, and are hereby freed and acquitted and diſcharged of and from all Eſtates, Charges and Incumbrances whatſoever, other than what ſhall be claimed and adjudged as aforeſaid.

Upon the Firſt I do obſerve, that after they are all marked with a black Coal, and actually *attainted of Treaſon whether Dead or Alive*, *Killed in open Rebellion*, *or in Arms*, *or otherwiſe*; (i. e.) wherefoever they are, or whatſoever they are doing, there is a very merciful ſaving extended to them under theſe favourable conditions: Firſt, They muſt be commorant and reſident *in the Kingdom*. Secondly, That they muſt be ameanable to Law. Thirdly, That they muſt by the Tenth day of *Auguſt*, 1689, ſurrender themſelves to Juſtice. Fourthly, That they ſhall be diſcharged by Proclamation, if they ſhall be acquitted upon their Tryal; while all this is nothing but palpable Colluſion and Banter, they very well knowing, that ſuch as had taken Arms, were either out of the Kingdom, or reſident in the *Proteſtant* Quarters, that it was impoſſible, for them, or the greateſt part of them, to make their appearance by the tenth of *Auguſt* 1689. That no Man who had not forfeited Reaſon and common Senſe, would come in with a Halter about his Neck, and try whether they could find a Hangman; or being ſubject to the pains of High-treaſon, to

make an experiment of the Juſtice of *Popiſh Judges*, and the Mercy of a *Popiſh Jury*.

By the ſecond Clauſe relating to the *Abſcondees*, A time is allowed them to the firſt *of September* 1689. to return and appear: But upon what Conditions? (why) only that they ſhall *of their own accord render themſelves to Juſtice*, and then, *if by the Verdict of* twelve Men *they ſhall be Convicted* of Treaſon (which beyond all doubt or queſtion would be the Fate of every one of them,) they are to be decently, and legally *Beheaded* or *Hang'd*: and if any of them ſhall upon his Tryal be acquitted or diſcharged, then to be freed from all Penalties and Forfeitures, which indeed, in good reaſon ought ſo to be, but ſo much Indifferency and Candor is not to be expected from *Cannibals*. And for my part I would as ſoon believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, or truſt to be ſaved by the Supererogation of other Mens Merits.

The third, which ſeems to have an aſpect only on ſuch as are denominated Abſentees, is as full fraught with Tricks and Deſigns, as it abounds with Miſchief and Malice; for to ſay nothing of that great number of Gentlemen, Merchants and Tradeſmen, who for the neceſſary preſervation of their Lives, have been conſtrain'd to abſent themſelves, and ſeek a Shelter in *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Iſle of Man*; there are many of the Nobility and Gentry of and in *England*, who are expoſed to the reach of this fatal Summons, who never were commorant in *Ireland*, never ſaw the Country, and poſſibly never intended to ſee it, yet they are obliged under pain of High Treaſon, and Forfeiture of Lives and Eſtates, to appear there by the firſt of *October* 1689. and to render themſelves to ſome Magiſtrate, and ſubmit to a Tryal for ſuch *Crimes* as it pleaſes their Enemies to ſuggeſt, and their Proſecutors to urge. Many others of them have been abſent, and ſetled in *England* for divers Years, ſome for above twenty; yet it is expected that they muſt now take upon them a Winter Journy, and

patiently

patiently ſubmit to be hang'd for preſuming to croſs the Seas, when there might be after an unforeſeen occaſion to employ *their Service*; but it hath ſo fallen out, that neither the one nor the other hath been terrified by theſe Threats which they never heard of till long after the day of Grace was expired, but have rather adventured to run the Riſque, and be deveſted of their Eſtates for a while, no way doubting of a Recovery and Reſtitution in good time. Againſt this terrible Storm there is but one Anchor to truſt to; and that to be rely'd on only by a ſelect number, and that is to give *ſuch Teſtimony of their Loyalty and Fidelity to* King James, *in caſe he ſhall happen* to go into *England* or *Scotland* before the firſt day of *October* 1689. as that upon a Certificate from him, and the Inrolment of it in Chancery *before the firſt day of* November 1689. they may be white Boys again: But foraſmuch as the late King hath not thought it fit to come upon the Place, and make his demand, I conceive them abſolved from all breach of Duty, tho at the ſame time they have ſlipt all other Opportunites of purchaſing their Pardon.

The fourth enacting Clauſe is ſo Comprehenſive, ſo armed at all Points againſt all manner of Excuſes, Subterfuges and Evaſions, that whoſoever ſhall flatter himſelf with a hope of Security in that Harbour, will certainly ſplit upon a Rock; He that ſhall wade in that Tempeſtuous Sea, ſhall never be able to ſtem the Tide: For in a Word, All ſorts of Eſtates, Rights and Properties belonging to all ſorts of Men, except the Rebellious and Bloody Iriſh, and ſuch unhappy Perſons as have been bewitched into a Confederacy with them, are doom'd to an irreverſible Forfeiture, and veſted *in the late King*, and that Title thereunto, to commence *from the firſt of Auguſt* 1688. when all Things were quiet, *in alta Pace*, and many Months were paſt after that day, before there was the leaſt umbrage given of any Oppoſition, or Defection, but then to clap in an uſeleſs Proviſo, where-

by all Perſons *claiming any Reverſions* or *Remainders*, are ſtinted to exhibite them within ſixty days after the firſt ſitting of their new fangled Commiſſioners, and to *procure an Adjudication or Certificate* from them within one hundred and twenty *days after the firſt ſitting*, is a Rule ſo Repugnant to Reaſon, Law and Equity, that it evidently appears to be contrived on purpoſe to jeer and ridicule the poor Sufferers; For could it be imagined that any *Proteſtants* would adventure to go among them during the Flames of a raging War, to make a demand of a preſent or future Title, and ſtay there if they might be ſuffered, till that very precious Court for Adjudication of Claims ſhould ſit, and be eſtabliſhed? *but the burden of the Song is, let all be veſted in his Majeſty.* And thus, whether they be attainted as *Abſentees*, or found guilty upon the Tryal, or rejected in their Claims before the Commiſſioners, all is ſummoned up in one and the ſame Concluſion, the whole Eſtates of the *Proteſtants* Real and Perſonal, muſt be forfeited, and the *King muſt* have them towards a *Repriſal* of what he *abdicated* in *England*.

The ſame Spirit and Humor runs in the fifth declarative and enacting Clauſe, pretending a Shadow of Favour to certain Perſons therein named by reaſon of Minority, Widowhood, or Sickneſs, but canting in the ſame ſtrain with the former Clauſe and Proviſo's, ſo that all Sexes and Degrees, according to their Deſign and Contrivance, are irrecoverably barred from all Poſſeſſion, Right, Remainder or Reverſion, ſo long as they can be proſperous in this Holy War, which is apparently grounded upon a National, as well as a Religious Quarrel.

I am very unwilling to imploy the Reader with a nauſeous Repetition of any Matter couched in the precedent Obſervations, which cannot be avoided if I ſhould go about to make a direct Anſwer to the Abſurdities in each ſingle Paragraph, of that famous Act of Attainder whereby the *Iriſh* have fully and apparently demonſtrated

to

to the world, that as *Engliſh Men*, they look upon us as Intruders; as *Proteſtants*, they treat us as Miſcreants and Hereticks. And ſince neither the horrible Murder perpetrated in the laſt Rebellion, nor the preſent burning of Houſes, deſtruction of Plantations, general depopulation of the Country, are like to be available to extinguiſh the Families, and ſubvert the Religion; They have now tryed their utmoſt effort, by Seizing and Confiſcating all Perſonal Eſtates, and by the abſolute alienation of all their Rights, Titles, and Intereſts, ſo that from henceforth it was intended that no *Engliſh Proteſtant* muſt dare to ſet his Foot in *Ireland*, nor his Children call to mind that ever any of his Forefathers had a footing there.

Nevertheleſs upon the review of the remaining part of the *Act of Attainder*, it will not be amiſs to offer a Diverſion to the Reader, by making ſome brief Remarks on the injuſtice, ſubtilty and partiality comprehended in it. For Men after they are actually attainted, are invited to appear and ſhew cauſe why they ſhould not be Executed; their Appearance is limited to certain days and times. And leſt any inconſiderate Man ſhould be ſo Fool-hardy, as to adventure on his Purgation, there is no publick notice given of the Appearance required, till the days are Incurred and paſt; they are obliged to put in Claims, and to ſolicite an Adjudication before certain *partial and prejudicated Commiſſioners*, who are to meet, none knows when; and will determine none knows what: Nay, in ſome caſes, they are poſitively appointed to put in their claim within Two Months after the firſt ſitting of ſuch Commiſſioners, and afterwards *to procure their Adjudication within ſuch Reaſonable time, as the Commiſſioners ſhall appoint for determining the ſame.*

And becauſe a private Act paſt in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, in favour of the Renowned *Duke of Albemarle*, whereby ſeveral *Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, are conveyed to him*, in teſtimony of the greateſt and moſt impor-

important ſervice that ever was performed by a Subject, yet becauſe *the ancient Proprietors of the ſaid Lands*, (i. e.) thoſe notorious Rebels, and Murderers, who juſtly forfeited for their Treaſon, are thereby barred and deprived of their ancient Eſtates, that Act muſt be repealed, and the ancient Proprietors reſtored; which is a high piece of Ingratitude to the memory of that Illuſtrious Perſon, who under God, effected the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, and even of their very King *James* himſelf; the Reader may be pleaſed to peruſe the Clauſe itſelf, and Judge of the reaſonableneſs and Civility of it.

And whereas by one private Act of Parliament, Entituled, *An Act for ſecuring of ſeveral Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments to* George *Duke of* Albemarle, which Act was paſt in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, ſome Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments on this Kingdom, which on the Two and Twentieth day of *October*, 1641, belonged to ſome ancient Proprietor or Proprietors, who were diſpoſſeſſed thereof by the late Uſurped Powers, were ſecured or aſſured unto the ſaid *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, by means whereof, the ancient Proprietors of the ſaid Lands may be barred and deprived of their ancient Eſtates, unleſs the ſaid Act be Repealed; though ſuch ancient Proprietor or Proprietors, be as juſtly Intituled to Reſtitution, as other ancient Proprietors, who were diſpoſſeſſed by the ſaid Uſurper, and barred by the late Acts of Settlement and Explanation. **Be it therefore Enacted**, That the ſaid Act for ſecuring of ſeveral Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments to *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, be and is hereby Repealed to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; and that the Proprietors of the ſaid Lands and their Heirs and Aſſigns be reſtored to their ſaid ancient Eſtates in the ſame manner, with the ſaid other ancient Proprietors, their Heirs and Aſſigns.

If any of the *ancient Proprietors*, (i. e.) the Heirs of thoſe *Barbarous Rebels*, (who in 1641, exceeded the ſharpeſt *Turkiſh* Cruelty) have been ſo thirſty as to purchaſe their old Eſtates, or any part of them, they ſhall be repriſed, and reinburſt their purchaſe Mony out of ſome honeſt Gentlemans Eſtate, and this ſurely was Mony well laid out. *Viz.*

And whereas, ſeveral ancient Proprietors whoſe Eſtates were ſeized and veſted in Perſons deriving a Title under the ſaid Acts of Settlement or Explanation, have in ſome time after the paſſing the ſaid Acts, purchaſed their own ancient Eſtates or parts thereof, from the Perſons who held the ſame under the ſaid Acts as aforeſaid, which old Proprietors would now be reſtored to their ſaid antient Eſtates, if they had not purchaſed the ſame. And for as much as the ſaid ancient Proprietors or their Heirs, ſhould receive no benefit of the ſaid Act of Repeal, ſhould they not be reprized for the Mony paid by them for their ſaid ancient *Eſtates*.

Be it therfore Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all and every the ancient Proprietor or Proprietors, or their Heirs, who have laid out any Sum or Sums of Mony for the purchaſe of their own ancient Eſtates, or any part thereof as aforeſaid, ſhall receive out of the Common ſtock of Repriſals, a ſufficient recompence and ſatisfaction for the Mony laid out by him or them for the purchaſe of their ſaid ancient Eſtate, at the rate of Ten Years purchaſe, any *Clauſe, Act or Statute* to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Such as that Serene Government has been pleaſed to mark with the names of Rebels, are tyed to a certain fix'd time for procuring Certificates of their Innocence, and Inrolling their Pardons, though at the ſame time the Commiſſioners and other Miniſters may chuſe whether or no they will grant either, till the time (allowed) be elapſed; but in the caſe where the other good Subjects, *i. e.* the Blood-ſuckers of 1641, their Heirs or Aſ-

ſigns

ſigns are delayed in obtaining Letters Patents purſuant to the Act of Repeal, there a Certificate ſhall be of as great force, and bear the ſame Authority as Letters Patents under the Broad Seal, as appears by what follows.

And for prevention of all unneceſſary Delays, and unjuſt Charges which can or may happen to the Subjects of this Realm, (*viz. the Rebels of* 1641. *their Heirs and Aſſigns*) before their full and final Setlement, **Be it therefore Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid,** That where the Commiſſioners for Execution of the ſaid Act of Repeal, or any three or more of them, ſhall give any Certificate under his or their Hands and Seals, to any Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, in order to the paſſing any Letters Patents according to the ſaid Act, and ſhall likewiſe return a Duplicate of ſuch Certificate unto his Majeſties Court of Exchequer at *Dublin* to be there enrolled, and the Perſon and Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, to whom ſuch Certificate ſhall be given, ſhall during the ſpace of ſix Months next enſuing the date thereof, dilligently proſecute the having and obtaining Letters Patents accordingly, but ſhall be thereof delayed and hindred by the neglect of any Officer or Officers, that then and in ſuch Caſe the ſeveral and reſpective Perſon, Bodies Politick and Corporate, to whom or in whoſe behalf ſuch Certificate ſhall be given or granted, ſhall hold and enjoy the ſeveral Meſſuages, Mannors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments in the ſeveral and reſpective Certificates mentioned and allotted according to ſuch Eſtate, and under ſuch Rent as are therein mentioned, *as fully and amply to all intents and purpoſes, as if Letters Patents thereof had been granted and perfected according to the direction of the ſaid former Act*, any thing in this or the ſaid former Act, or any other Law, Statute or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding. That thoſe dutiful Subjects may have no cauſe of complaint, ſee the following Clauſe, viz.

And

And whereas by the hardſhips and Oppreſſions introduced by the ſaid Acts of Settlement and Explanation, ſome ancient Proprietors who would have been reſtorable by the ſaid Act of Repeal, have been neceſſitated to accept of Leaſes for Life, Lives, or Years, or Gifts in Tail, or other Conveyances of their reſpective Eſtates, and have contracted to pay ſome Rents, Duties, or other Reſervations out of ſuch their ancient Eſtates, by which acceptance of Leaſes, or Gifts before mentioned, and by the ſaid Agreements to pay Rents, Duties or Reſervations for the ſame; the ſaid ancient Proprietors may be barred, or ſtopped, and excluded from the benefit of Reſtitution intended for ancient Proprietors, by the ſaid Act of Repeal.

Be it therefore Enacted, that the acceptance of any ſuch Leaſe or Leaſes, Gift or Gifts intail, or other Agreement or Agreements upon any ſuch account for payment of Rents, Duties, or other Reſervation for any ſuch their ancient reſpective Eſtate or Eſtates ſhall be no way prejudicial, or binding, or concluſive to any ſuch ancient Proprietors, or to his or their Heirs, Executors or Adminiſtrators, any thing herein, or in the ſaid Act of Repeal to the contrary notwithſtanding.

In a Word to render the Complyance of the Proteſtants (if any were ſo minded) altogether impoſſible; it is provided that all Letters to be granted of any Office, or Lands, ſhall contain a Clauſe, compelling the Inrolment in the Chancery in *Ireland*, viz. And it is further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That all Letters Patents hereafter to be granted of any Office or Lands whatſoever, ſhall contain in the ſame Letters Patents, a Clauſe requiring and compelling the ſaid Patentees to cauſe the ſaid Letters Patents to be enrolled in the Chancery of *Ireland*, within a time therein to be limited, and Letters Patents wherein ſuch Clauſes be omitted, are hereby declared to be utterly void and of none effect.

By the ſubſequent Clauſe they gave their King a Power

to the 1st day of *Nov.* 1689. to pardon, with this Reſtriction, that the ſaid Letters Patents of Pardon, ſhall be enrolled in the Rolls Office of the Chancery in *Ireland* before the laſt of *Nov.* 1689. or elſe to be void and of none effect; a thing that was never known or whiſpered in *England*, or in the Proteſtant Quarters in *Ireland* till the Year 1690. and that the Maſter of the Rolls, and that obliging Attorny General of whom you have had a ſhort Diſcription, page may not be hopeleſs of good Griſt to their Mills, it is provided, that no Letters Patents of Pardon may contain above one Perſon: And that the Reader may be Judge of the Matter of Fact, here it begins thus:

Provided always, That if your Sacred Majeſty at any time before the firſt day of *November* 1689. by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of *England* reſiding there, or by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of *Ireland* during your Majeſties abode here, ſhall grant your gracious Pardon or Pardons to any one or more of the Perſons herein before mentioned, or intended to be attainted, who ſhall return to their Duty and Loyalty, that then, and in ſuch caſe, ſuch Perſon and Perſons ſo pardoned, ſhall be, and are hereby excepted out of this preſent Act, as if they never had been therein named, or thereby intended to be attainted, and ſhall be, and are hereby acquitted and diſcharged from all Attainders, Penalties and Forfeitures created or inflicted by this Act, or the ſaid Act of Repeal, *Excepting* ſuch ſhare or proportion of their Real or Perſonal Eſtates as your Majeſty ſhall think fit to except or reſerve from them; any thing in this preſent Act, or in the ſaid Act of Repeal to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, that every ſuch Pardon or Pardons be purſuant to a Warrant under your Majeſties privy Signet, or Sign Manual, and that no one Letters Patents of Pardon ſhall contain above one Perſon; And that all and every ſuch Letters Patents of Pardon and Pardons ſhall be inrolled in the Rolls Office in your Majeſties

High

High Court of Chancery in this Kingdom (of *Ireland*) at or before the ſaid laſt day of the ſaid Month of *November*, or indefault thereof, to be abſolutely void and of no effect, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided likewiſe, that if any Perſon or Perſons ſo pardoned, ſhall at any time after the date of the ſaid Pardon, joyn with, or aid, or aſſiſt any of your Majeſties Enemies, or with any Rebels in any of your Majeſties Dominions, and be thereof convicted or attainted by any due Courſe of Law, that then, and in ſuch caſe they ſhall forfeit all the benefit and advantage of ſuch Pardon, and ſhall be again ſubject and lyable to all penalties and Forfeitures inflicted on them, and every of them by this or the ſaid Act of Repeal, as if ſuch Pardon or Pardons had never been granted; Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to veſt in your Majeſty any Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, or other intereſt of any ancient Propriotor, who by the ſaid Act of Repeal is to be reſtored to his ancient Eſtate, but that all ſuch Perſon or Perſons, and all the Right, Title and Intereſt are, and ſhall be ſaved, and reſerved according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid Act, any thing in theſe Preſents to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Dublin Jan. 24*th.* 1689. Examined *per L. Lealby.*

And now by what's here truly Copied out of their Originals, and from the ſhort Remarks made thereupon; I hope the Reader will not think it tedious or improper by way of Concluſion, to give a ſummary Account of ſome late Tranſactions in and about *Dublin*, and the Miſery the Proteſtants were in, both there and in the Country; The late King's tame Submiſſion, and truckling to the French, their Inſolency, Pride and Haughtineſs, as well to the Papiſts as Proteſtants, and many other Paſſages.

From that time, the Lord Mayor put his witty trick on the Country People about their Corn, *&c.* It was obſerved that the Markets were very ill furniſhed, and ſeldom Five Barrels of any kind of Grain ſeen on any Market Day. Then it's agreed on in their Councils to Erect publick Stores through the Kingdom, for gathering in Wheat, Malt, and all ſorts of Grain, and alſo for Leather, Wool, Butter, Cheeſe, and what elſe they thought fit; and under pretence of furniſhing and filling Stores, to ſupport an Army, (as you ſee in their Proclamation for that end,) Seized all the viſible effects of thoſe poor Proteſtants that were under their wings, ſending ſuch quantities of all ſorts to *France* as the Ingroſſer pleaſed. The late King was not the only Merchant, but under his Licenſe many Tranſported great quantities; as *Delabody* had a Licenſe for *Fifteen Thouſand Pound* value. Many of the Dealers knowing it to be *Felony* to Tranſport Wool into *France*, were cautious how they dealt in that Commodity; it was hoped that ſome of them that were taken by King *William*'s Fleet, would be made Examples to deter others from falling into the like Errour.

Before *March* laſt, they had Seized above *Thirty Thouſand Barrels* of Wheat within two Miles of *Dublin*, and *Six Thouſand* Barrels in the County of *Weſt-Meath*, beſides other ſorts of Grain; and we heard that the like Methods had been put in Execution in all parts of the Kingdom under their Power. One Mr. *Babe*, Surveyer General, was commanded to Seiſe all the Malt in *Dublin* for the King's uſe, which he diſobeying, as not belonging to his Office, and unwilling to Plunder his Fellow Proteſtants, was diſplaced as a Diſ-affected Perſon, and one put in that would obſerve *Popiſh Orders*.

By Ingroſſing the Corn and other Proviſions, it was believed and ſaid by ſome *of the Popiſh Party*, that it was to Starve all the Proteſtants; and ſome of them ſwore in Coffee-Houſes, it would never be well with the good Catholick Subjects, till the one half of

the Proteſtants were Hanged and the other half Starved.

Some others ſay, that nothing ſhould be ſold out of the Stores to the Proteſtants, but for Gold and Silver, by which means they would certainly get it; for although they have tryed many ways, yet none look'd ſo effectual as this, unleſs putting them to the Rack and their Oaths to diſcover what Silver or Gold they had; with which they have been long threatned, though ſome Providence has ſtill averted it. Fleſh was ſold at Six Pence a Pound, and all proviſions very dear; yet there was enough to be had for Mony, till the Markets were abuſed by wheedling and fooliſh Proclamations.

The Proteſtants in the Country having ſome foreſight of the ſcarcity they might endure, and remembring the miſeries ſome of them had ſeen, and ſome others had heard their Anceſtors endured in 1641, thought it prudence to provide good Stores of Hang'd Beef, Bacon, Dryed Fiſh, Peaſe and Beans, which by order from the Government (under the name of Seizing) was by the Souldiers plunder taken from them. Some others of them having got Braſs Mony, laid it out on Wool, Hides, Butter Cheeſe, and Tallow, which was likewiſe taken from them; and when thoſe Poor, Naked, Pillaged Creatures ſought redreſs, they were mock'd and ſcoft at by thoſe that gave orders to plunder them.

Such of the old Proprietors as pretended any claim to the Eſtates of the Abſentees, they took Leaſes from the Commiſſioners for Executing the Act of *Repeal*; and about *May* laſt, when they were to be put in Poſſeſſion, they held on, and ſo prevented the Sheriffs trouble.

Such of the Proteſtants as were reſolved to abide and endure the brunt of things, care was taken to frighten them away; the Government iſſues *a ſecret Order* to the ſeveral Lieutenants of the Counties, to turn the *Proteſtants* out of ſuch Eſtates as the Papiſts had any claim to, and put them in, who were ſure would not let the *Proteſtants*

teſtants carry away one Pennyworth of their Goods, keeping them as ſome ſatisfaction for the mean profits. Thus they dealt with the Lord Primate *(Boyl,)* who loſt about Ten Thouſand Pound value in the furniture of his Houſe at *Bleſſington*, and Killed all the Deer in his Park, though the Fleſh at that time was of no uſe; this was not ſo much to be admired, when by authority under the Government, they Deſtroyed all the Deer in *Rafernum* Park, and in the Park by *Chappell-Izzard*.

And if yet ſome of the Proteſtants remained on their Eſtates, to which thoſe old Proprietors could make no Claim, on thoſe the Lieutenants by the aforeſaid Order might quarter Soldiers at diſcretion, which they did to the great grief of thoſe Gentlemen, who as long as they could, gave free Quarters to ſuch Numbers as were placed on them; but not being able to endure this Oppreſſion and the abuſes put on themſelves, Wives and Children, were forced to fly with their Lives. And this exceeded even the *French* Dragooning; thus to be forced to abandon their fair Buildings, Orchards, and other Improvements, was more untollerable, than the loſs of what was taken from them before, hoping in time to recover ſome of their Eſtates and other Loſſes, but never their Improvements; which thoſe Ruffians (knowing their Reign to be but ſhort) deſignedly defaced, rooted up, burnt and deſtroyed, and which had been brought to yield profit as well as pleaſure by great Charge and Induſtry, ſince the Settlement after 1641. Who would not be afflicted thus to be turned out, to make room for his Cow-boy or Swine-Herd, and ſee them decide his Manſion Houſe into Seven or Eight ſeveral Dwellings, for thoſe Brutes whoſe Fore-Fathers never lay on any other or better Bed than a few green Ruſhes, or a little Straw, and after this manner have they divided that noble Building of *Eyres-Court* in the County of *Gallway*.

The Proteſtants being perſecuted from Place to Place in the Country, at length fled to *Dublin*, where indeed to ſay truth,

truth, the Proteſtant Citizens have been ſo liberal, both to the Proteſtant Priſoners, and thoſe that were not, that it is to be admired how their Purſes held out; at one Collection on a Sabbath day, it was uſual to receive Fifty or Sixty Pound, and had it not been for ſuch large Collections, it had gone hard with the Country Gentry, who had not received any Rent from *May* 1688, and always Improving their Eſtates, kept but little Money by them, which they were forced to ſpend in the defence of Law Suits, and other vexatious troubles put on them by the Implacable *Papiſts*; and thoſe that after all had ſaved ſome in conſiderable Sum, which though never ſo thriftily managed, yet by the ſcarcity and dearneſs of things in *Dublin*, it was ſoon ſpent, and thence they became greater Objects, as being really in a worſe condition than the meaner ſort, who could work for Victuals; however as ſoon as their Poverty was made known, (which was not before they had almoſt periſhed,) there was a competent Dividend of the publick Collection ſent by a private hand; and thus by the mutual ſenſe and Fellow-feeling of our Diſtreſſes, we ſupported one another.

That Order ſent to the Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties, to quarter Men and Horſes at Diſcretion on the Proteſtants, was never ſhew'd to any of us, ſo that we could never come by a Copy of it; but yet they freely told us the Contents, and put them in Execution, with all the ſeverity imaginable, to our great Grief and Loſs never to be repaired.

By the late King's being in Poſſeſſion of *Dublin*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, gained great credit with *France*, though it has been uſed as if deſigned for Flames, when no longer tenable by the late King and his Adherents; Fifty Thouſand Pounds would not Repair the Damage done to the Buildings thereof before *March* laſt; without opening of a Gate or Door, one might have walked, nay almoſt rid from one end to the other of the Colledge.

A briſk Trade was kept up with the *French*, who ſent great quantities of Fruit, Wine, Brandy, Hops, Tobacco, and other groſs Commodities; for which they carried away the beſt that was in *Ireland*, as Butter, Cheeſe, Wooll, raw Hides and Tallow; the late King releaſed 11 *l.* 10 *s.* Impoſition on every Tun of Wine, and this was done in favour of his Army, who before paid Two Shillings a Quart, and then but one.

The 14*th* of *April*, when Sir *Clouſly Shovel* appeared before *Dublin* with the Fleet under his Command, great quantities of the Proteſtants Goods being Seized, and ſeveral Ships Loaded, and a Loading with them, the late King and his Crew were under terrible apprehenſions at firſt, believing that ſome Land-Men would be ſent from the Ships to Reduce *Dublin*, but ſeeing they only attacked the Ships in the Pool, and fearing they might come into the Harbour where the Loaded Ships lay, all Hands were imployed to unload; but Sir *Clouſly* going off with a ſmaller Priſe than was expected, and the Coaſt being clear, all Hands were again made uſe of to Load all the Ships in the Harbour with the Proteſtants Goods; which being done, they ſet Sail under the Convoy of the late King's whole Fleet, conſiſting of Four Ships, one of Eighteen Guns, one of Sixteen, one of Twelve Guns, and a *French* Privateer. That ſhew made by Sir *Clouſly*, had like to have been fatal to the Proteſtants, whoſe Countenance being ſomewhat chearful, immediately it was proclaimed Death to a *Proteſtant* found out of Doors; on ſome it fell heavily, as upon a Gentleman of my Acquaintance being on a Viſit among ſome Relations in the Inns beyond the Bridge, not knowing the danger, going homeward, was ſtopp'd on *Eſſex* Bridge, receiving a Cut above Seven Inches long on his Head, which for Two Years before, aked moſt violently, but to his great eaſe, the ſame pain has not viſited him ſince his Recovery. And what were we to have in exchange for all thoſe choice Commodities? Arms and Ammunition to Murder us; and indeed we could

expect

expect no other, that being the Exchange agreed upon before-hand.

Silver and Gold became one of the greateſt and beſt Commodities in *Dublin*; between Buyer and Seller, a *Guinea* before *May* laſt was ſold at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* and an Ounce of Silver at Three Crowns of Braſs Mony, and ſo proportionable for other quantities of Gold and Silver. And although the *French* brought great quantities of Braſs and Copper, yet it was not enough; ſo that they began to reduce the Weights of what was already Coined, by melting it down, and making it leſs in the new Coin; the value of Braſs Mony fell daily, before *March* Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds was Coined.

The Mint has been of late altogether managed by Proteſtants; ſome time ſince there being Papiſts in one branch, were diſcovered to cheat above Five Hundred Pound a Week in the Six-pences, for which they were ſlightly puniſhed, and ſo turned off; which had been Death in a Proteſtant. And not only in this, but in all other common ordinary Affairs, the Proteſtants were forced to contrive things for the Papiſts.

The neceſſary Charge of the Army, came to Eleven Hundred Thouſand Pound *per Annum*, and the Revenue of the Kingdom never came to above Three Hundred Thirty Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; therefore, if the late King had been pay'd all he could pretend to, the Twenty Thouſand Pounds Subſidy would not half ſuſtain'd his Army; ſo that of neceſſity there muſt have been Coined Yearly, Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds in Braſs Mony, which having no way to circulate, muſt be ſo much Loſs to the Kingdom, and in ſhort time come to nothing. But to prevent this, he offered to pledge or pawn his Quit-Rent, for Braſs Mony, at Six *per Cent*; but no body has truſted him.

Whilſt this Braſs Mony paſt, it was of extraordinary benefit to the Diſtreſſed Proteſtants, all that had it, were ready to Lend thoſe that wanted, otherwiſe ſome Hundreds would have periſhed, that through meer ſhame could not diſcover their condition, to receive of the publick Charity.

Of late the Proteſtants could not come by a bit of Bread, but what they purchaſed at triple rates from the Soldiers, a Dozen or Twenty of them being placed about every Bakers Houſe to prevent the *Proteſtants* from coming by any; of which cruel dealings, the late King being informed, he anſwered that his Army muſt not want Bread whoſoever did; this was ſome of his tenderneſs to his Proteſtant Subjects; but they made one ſhift or other to get it till the *French* came, and I fear from thence, many were Starved for want of Bread.

The Proteſtant Tradeſmen were all Imployed, though they had rather ſate Idle, being ill payed for their Labour, and that in Braſs Mony, which they freely gave to their Fellow Sufferers that wanted moſt.

From the whole, it is eaſy to obſerve the Caſe of the Proteſtants to be very deplorable, being Robbed and Plundered of all they had in the World, enſlaved and ſubjected to thoſe they hated and deſpiſed. And although the late King or his Army, could not ſubſiſt one day without the *Proteſtants*, yet were they nevertheleſs abuſed, ſlighted, oppreſt, and had more barbarous uſage than could been expected from *Algereens*; we were ſenſible they only ſpared our Lives whilſt ſerviceable to them, and afterwards our certain Deſtruction was deſigned: In the mean time, the Proteſtants were forced to ſtrengthen and ſupport their Enemies.

If the Proteſtant Butchers, Brewers, Bakers, Clothiers, Weavers, Taylors, Shooe-makers, Hat-makers, Smiths, Carpenters, and other Artizens, had been removed from them,

them, they could not have had Meat, Bread or Drink, Cloaths to wear, nor Carts to carry Proviſion, Arms or Ammunition into the Fields; nor would the late King had a Mint, Braſs or Copper to Coin in it: ſo that they had ſuſpended all thoughts of turning out the Proteſtants, as it was often moved in their Councils. The Governour *Luttorel* told the *French* Ambaſſador, that if the Proteſtants were turned out of *Dublin*, the Papiſts muſt quit it; and when they quitted *Dublin*, they muſt quit *Ireland*. It was the City that almoſt maintained and ſupported the late King's Army laſt Winter, it being able to quarter above Twenty Thouſand Men at one time: And therefore it was no wonder they were unwilling to part with ſuch a Place. But however the matter went, they were reſolved as ſoon as King *William* took the Field, to confine all the Proteſtants to the Churches, Hoſpitals and Goals, which it ſeems they did; aud which was their common practice on every ſlight Alarm.

About the Twelfth of *March* laſt, the *French* Fleet conſiſting of about Forty Men of War, and about Sixty Tenders and others, came into *Cork* Harbour, with about Five Thouſand *French* Land-men; for which as you have heard, as many of the Brave Old Heroick Bog-trotters were to be ſent to the *French* King; but many of them according to their uſual cuſtom run away, in the place of whom many Proteſtants were Preſſed for that Service to their great grief. It was then diſcourſed, that as ſoon as they returned to *France*, an Additional Fleet would Join them, and that they intended to bring Ten Thouſand Land Men with them for the late Kin's Service; which doubtleſs is the Fleet on our Coaſts. Some of the Nobility about the late King, diſcourſing of the *Engliſh* and *French*, ſaid they to him, *Sir, Is not the* French *Fleet in great danger to be met with by the* Engliſh; to which he Replied, *That he during his time, had taken*

care that the Engliſh ſhould not have any great ſtrength by Sea ; and now to equip and fit out a Fleet, would be tedious, beſides the expences ; and that he did not doubt but the French would maſter them ; the French had not been well landed at *Cork* when ſome peſtilent Diſtemper carryed off above five hundred of them, they ſoon began to murmur, ſaying, They were promiſed great Matters before they left *France*, of which, ſince their coming they ſaw but ſmall appearance, about three Months Pay in Silver and Gold was ſent with them from *France*, which was of a very courſe Metal, and a third part leſs in the intrinſick Value, than as it formerly paſt in *Ireland*.

Three Battalions of the French marched towards *Dublin*, appointed as General *Lauzuns* Guards ; the late King having promiſed his Guardian (*i. e.*) the French King, that the French General ſhould have the poſſeſſion of *Dublin*, and of all the places of any Strength in *Ireland*; accordingly on the the 3d of *May Lauzun* ſent to the Governor *Lutterel* to deliver the Keys of the City and Caſtle, to whom *Lutterel* anſwered, he would firſt acquaint the King, who forthwith accompanied the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to addreſs the King, telling him they had thitherto ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes in his Defence, and therefore hoped he would not ſtill confide in them to govern *Dublin*, and would not make them abſolute Subjects to the French, to whom he reply'd, That he had engaged, and paſt his Word to his Brother *Lewis*, that *Lauzun* ſhould have the Government of *Dublin*, and could not recede from it; thereupon the Keys of the City was delivered, but the *French* would not mount the Guards till they had likewiſe the Keys of the Caſtle, which being alſo comply'd with, on the fourth of *May*, the French poſſeſt themſelves of City and Caſtle, ſwearing they had no King but *Lewis*, nor would they obey any other, and under him their General *Lauzun* : from thence they grew ſo very Rude and Inſolent, not only

to

to Proteſtants, but to Papiſts, that the later grew mighty melancholy and dejected, frequently complaining to their King, who had no power to help himſelf or them, having by his degenerate and mean Spirit truckl'd his Authority, and became ſubject to the power of *France*, and contented himſelf to be nominal King.

Of which, the better and more ſober ſort of Papiſts were ſenſible (foreſeeing a ſuddain change of Government) could never be perſwaded to take on them the leaſt Office or Employment under him, even that of Conſtable, but reſolved to lay hold on the firſt Opportunity, and throw themſelves at the Mercy of our moſt Gracious King, which ere now they have had a good opportunity to embrace.

And though how ill ſoever the Iriſh Papiſts reſented the Inſolence of the French, yet the Majority were reſolved to bear with all rather than by expreſſing their inward diſlike or diſcontent, giving encouragement to the Proteſtants, to hope for any advantage that might happen from Diſcords among Papiſts, and therefore careſt and treated the French, who called them ten thouſand Cowards, and ſaid, they were beaten by a Prieſt and a few Boys, meaning that valiant Colonel *Walker*, and thoſe matchleſs Hero's that ſuffer'd with him.

There being above ten thouſand Proteſtant Men in *Dublin* able to bear Arms, beſides Women and Children, and being barr'd of the liberty of the Markets by the French, who would not ſell Bread to the Proteſtants as the Iriſh Papiſt Soldiers did; it is a Miracle if thouſands the Proteſtants had not periſhed.

The French as they paſt by any of our Clergy, threatened them ſadly; on which the Clergy held frequent Conſultations how to ſecure themſelves, and deliver'd their poor Flocks from the daily Threats and Menaces of the French Vultures.

It was moved that the Clergy ſhould diſguiſe themſelves in Frieze Coats, not finding it probable to eſcape the then impending Dangers in their Gowns; this Motion was rejected by the Majority, and ſtill depending on his Protection, who ſtills the Winds, and the raging of the Seas.

The French had not been two days in *Dublin* when they murdered two or three Proteſtant Clothiers, in a part of the City called the *Comb*; for that great Crime of protecting their Wives from being made Proſtitutes to the French, of which Inhuman Act no notice was ever taken, more than if two Dogs had been ſhot. About the ſame time ſome of them took a Country-Maid that came to Market with her Father, and defloured her in the open Street at Noon-day. Many ſuch barbarous pieces of Villany has been perpetrated by thoſe Blood-ſuckers, whoſe continual Practice was in all Parts of the World where they have been, to burn and demoliſh ſuch Places as were not tenable by them; and ſo they moved in their Councils, that that famous City of *Dublin* ſhould be dealt with; firſt to ſhut up the Proteſtants in the Churches and Hoſpitals, and then if they loſt the day, to ſet Fire to all, whereby not only the City, but the Proteſtants alſo ſhould be deſtroyed; whereupon the Iriſh City Papiſts, and thoſe of the Army apply'd themſelves to their King, and told him they ſhould ſuffer in that Expedition, as well as the Proteſtants; and that they would not draw a Sword in his Defence, unleſs all thoughts of burning the City were ſet aſide, and declared that as ſoon as they ſaw or heard of any appearance of Fire, they would fly from his Service and ſubmit to King *Williams* Mercy, of which, now they have had a good Experiment, and we hope to have that account of thoſe uſurping, intruding Ruffians, which *Count D'avaux* propheſied at the landing of General *Lauzun* and the French; ſaid *D'avaux* to *Lauzun*, You are come

to

to be a Sacrifice for a poor ſpirited and cowardly People, whoſe Souldiers will never Fight, and whoſe Officers would never obſerve Orders, and therefore they would meet with the ſame Fate his Maſters Army met with at the Siege of *Candia*, that is, to be waſted and deſtroyed, thoſe that came to relieve not ſtanding by them; and thus we ſee the wonderful Work of God (who has protected the Proteſtants in *Dublin*) delivered them from *Pharoah* and his Hoſts on the fourth day of this Inſtant *July*. Our gracious Deliverer King *William*, and his Royal Conſort Queen *Mary* were proclaimed KING and QUEEN in *Dublin*, by the command, and in the preſence of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, without any great loſs on our ſide, and with wonderful ſatisfaction, and unexpreſſible Joy to thoſe poor Proteſtants, who were upon the ſame Day releaſed from their Bondage.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Hiſtory of the Wars in *Ireland*, in Two Parts; by *Richard Cox*, Eſq; Attendant on King *William* in this Expedition: Publiſhed by Authority. Printed for *Joſeph Watts*, at the *Angel* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard.

A Liſt of Perſons Attainted by the Late King *James* and their Eſtates Confiſcated, *&c.* Printed for *Robert Clavell*, and *Joſeph Watts*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard.

The Preſent Settlement Vindicated, and the late Miſgovernment proved by Sir *J. Temple.* Printed for *Joſeph Watts* at the *Angel* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard.

12

TO

King William

AND

Queen Mary,

GRACE and PEACE.

THE

Widow Whitrow's

Humble Thankſgiving to the LORD of Hoſts, the King of Eternal Glory, the GOD of all our Mercies, unto whom be Glory, Glory, and Praiſe for the King's ſafe Return to *England.*

And Jabes *called on the* GOD *of* Iſrael, *ſaying, If thou wilt bleſs me indeed, and inlarge my* Coaſt, *and that thine Hand be with me to keep me from Evil. And* GOD *granted him that which he requeſted.*——In the Margent, *Then would he perform his Vow which he had Vowed* 1 Chr. 4. 10.

Printed: And Sold by moſt Book-ſellers in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 169$\frac{2}{1}$.

Multum in Parvo:

THE

SERVICE and BEVIL:

OR,

Man's Duty

AND

Sin's Danger

IN

To *King William* and *Queen Mary*.

GRace, Mercy and Peace from GOD the Father, and His beloved Son our blessed LORD and Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath been a Tower of Salvation to the KING and QUEEN; Glory be to Him forever, unto HIM who hath Delivered the KING from many Deaths, praises forever. Give Thanks unto the LORD with me, and let us Exalt his Name together, who doth wonderful things; for His Mercy endureth forever: *O LORD, who shall declare thy mighty Acts! neither can the Heaven of Heavens celebrate Thy Praise: how much less we poor Mortals that are but Dust before THEE; before THEE the Eternal One, who art infinitly Better and boundless beyond all thanksgiving and praise; yet of Thy Holy clemency and unspeakable goodness hath vouchsafed Sinners to Approach unto THEE.*

Therefore, Oh come let us fall down before the LORD our Creator, the Mighty GOD, and worship Him at His foot-stool with Rended Souls, with broken and contrite Hearts, that our Cries may pierce the Heavens to the Throne of His Grace, to move His Glorious Majesty, to send forth his Light and Truth, that may break through the thick clouds of Ignorance and gross Darkness, that hath covered the Hearts of the People of these Nations, together with his invincible Power to break down, root up, and destroy with an utter Destruction that Spirit of *Atheism* which hath Corrupted both Priests and People of these Nations: *O GOD! Race it, Race it, I beseech Thee, to the Foundation thereof, together with that Accursed thing, the Spirit of Covetousness, Hypocrisie, Malice and Deceit; that Thy Throne may be Established to a thousand Generations. Thou Creator of all things from Everlasting to Everlasting, take Thy Dominion, and Rule by Thy Eternal Power, till Thou hast made All Thy Enemies Thy foot-stool: for why LORD should they Rob Thee of thy Right, and Give Thy praise to their Idols, their horrible Lusts and cursed Pleasures. O GOD Arise! O God Arise! that Thy Enemies may be scattered, that all that hate Thee may fly before Thee; which way Thou pleasest LORD: But if it be for Thy Glory, save the Creature, and destroy the Iniquity, that there may be no End of Thy Praise.*

For what Great things hath the LORD done for us, who hath

delivered poor Afflicted diſtreſſed *Ireland* from the hurtful Sword, and thrice brought the King ſafe to *England* again. And preſerved this Nation in ſafety in the King's Abſence, *Glory be to* GOD *on high, and on the Earth peace and good-will to Men, in Thee Oh England.*

Oh *England* ! *England!* that thou didſt know in this thy Day the things that belong to thy Everlaſting Peace, but they are hid from thy Eyes: yet for the ſake of ſome in Thee am I thus concerned. And ſeeing the LORD hath done ſuch Great things, what remains on the KING and QUEEN's part, and of thy Inhabitants, Oh Land? But to walk in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs before His Holy Divine MAJESTY, all the days of your Lives; for ſo his HOLINESS commands, ſaying, *Be ye Holy, for I the LORD your GOD am Holy.*

Therefore, Hear Oh Kings! and Give Ear ye Judges of the Earth; Serve the LORD with Fear, and Rejoyce before Him, the LORD of Hoſts the Mighty GOD with trembling: and not as the Atheiſtical Heathen Chriſtians do, who rejoyce not as the Angels of *Light*, but as the Angels of Darkneſs or of the bottomleſs Pit, *For whom is the blackneſs of darkneſs Reſerved:* A Juſt Recompence of Reward for ſuch prophane Rejoycing, who were as if they would tear His Majeſty out of His Throne, to come in Flames of Fire as He did in *Sodom*, to Execute Vengeance on ſuch Offences, on ſuch horrible Offenders: Oh the Helliſh Noiſes! the Outragious Cries, Prophane Swearing, Curſing, Drunkenneſs and Whoredom, Fighting, and threatning to Murder one another, Deſtroying the good Creatures, conſuming them upon their Luſts, whilſt their Neighbours want Bread: and theſe are the Swearers *by the Blood of the Immaculate Lamb of GOD that takes away the Sins of the World*, who cries *Rot* and *Damn them*; whoſe Damnation is Juſt, ſeeing nothing leſs will ſerve their turns: Theſe are ſome of the crying Sins of this Nation, which will bring ſwift Deſtruction, and Provoke the High GOD to turn the fruitful Land into a barren Wilderneſs, for the Sins of them that live therein.

For be it known to the KING, the Night before he came to *London*, which was *October* 18. I being in my Bed in the dear injoyment of GOD's heavenly Life and Divine love; and in this ſweet heavenly Repoſe, falling aſleep, a dreadful Apparition appeared, Horrible and fearful, Aſtoniſhing and Amazing; inſomuch that my Heart failed, Fearfulneſs took hold on me; for the Night of my pleaſure had He turned into Mourning, Sorrows took hold on me,

yea,

yea, the Sorrows of a travailing Woman; but crying vehemently to the LORD, I was delivered: The *Vision* I muſt not declare till the Appointed time. But thus far I have liberty to call all to prepare to meet the LORD, whoſe *Day* is come, wherein He will Appear in Flames of Fire to Execute Vengeance on the Wicked and Ungodly, to Give them the Reward of their wicked and ungodly Works. But Oh! that the KING and QUEEN might live forever in that Life which the Judgment is not to. For, *Said the* LORD *to the Angel that was clothed in Linnen, who had the Writers Inkhorn by his ſide, Go through the midſt of the City, even through* Jeruſalem, *and ſet a Mark upon the Foreheads of them that Mourn and Cry for all the Abominations that be done in the midſt thereof. And ſaid He to the other Angels, Go ye after him through the City, and ſmite; let your Eye ſpare none, neither have pity, Deſtroy utterly the Old and Young, the Maids, Women and Children; But touch none upon whom is the Mark; and begin at my Sanctuary. Then they began at the Antient Men that were before the Houſe.* And ſo goes on, *Ezek.* 9.

Now you may ſee, if your Eyes were opened, who they are that ſhall be hid in the Day of the *LORD's Wrath*; not the Wiſe and Prudent of this World, although they may have a whole Library of the Serpent's Wiſdom, nor the Antient in a profeſſion of any Religion whatſoever: for the older they are in a Profeſſion of any Worſhip, and do not live the Life of what they know, the greater is their Iniquity; and then the greater muſt their Judgment be.

Therefore, to you, O ye Judges, Juſtices, and Officers of all ſorts, that do not fulfill the Will of GOD, nor Execute the QUEEN's pious Commands, which is to ſuppreſs Swearing, Drunkenneſs and Whoredom, with all the reſt of the Abominations with which the Land ſwarms: Horribly and ſpeedily will He come upon you, and give you the Reward of your Evil works, who mind your Earthly Honours, your Profits and Pleaſures, with all the reſt of your Self-intereſts, and ſo takes up your Reſt in theſe enjoyments; but neglects your Duty in the weighty matters of the Law, to Execute Juſtice and Judgment.

Is this the Thanks you return to the LORD for all His wonderful Mercies, for the deliverance of the Nations, and the giving you your Lives and Liberties, to turn his gracious Goodneſs into wantonneſs, conſuming his Excellent Creatures which he of his bountifulneſs hath beſtowed on you, for that end, for you to ſerve Him and his Creation in all holy Reverance and humble Thanks-giving; to

his

his Divine MAJESTIE; And not to ſpend them waſtfully upon your vain pleaſures, and ſinful delights.

How many poor deſtreſſed Families both in City and Country would be glad and rejoyce to have that Firing to warm and refreſh them and theirs in cold and bitter Weather; that was ſpent in waſte when the KING came home to graſſifie the humors of an ungodly Crew, who one day cries *Hoſanna*, *Hoſanna*; and the next day with a louder Vote, *Crucifie*, *Crucifie*; ſo unſtable as waters is this Viperous Generation, as hath been evedently ſeen upon all occaſions as there Intereſt ſerves; therefore what Truſt or Confidence can be put in the Arm of Fleſh; But in the Living GOD, who alone can carry on His Work without the help of Mortals, or make choice of whom He pleaſes, even the meaneſt and moſt contemptable in the eyes of Fleſh to carry on His great *Work*, His wonderful *Work*; for the deſtruction of *Babilon* and all the graven Images of Her Gods will HE throw to the Ground; yea, into the bottomleſs *Pit* for Ever, where ſhe ſhall never riſe more, Amen; Halalujahs to the LORD our GOD for Ever.

Then will the LORD Return to the People a pure Language, Holineſs to the LORD; yea, upon every door of the LORD's Houſe ſhall be writ Holineſs, and upon all the Veſſels therein; for the Knowledg of His Virtuous Life and Heavenly Power ſhall cover the Earth as the Waters cover the Sea; Glory be to our GOD and to the LAMB for Ever. And to the KING and QUEEN Grace and Peace be multiplied, the Eternal GOD be there Refuge, that under His Arms they may be preſerved forever, that by loving the LORD their GOD, by obeying His *Voice*, and by cleaving unto HIM, there days may be prolonged in the Land which the LORD their GOD hath given them: For, what great things hath the LORD done for you? Oh! That the Greatneſs of His Love may draw you forth into a holy admiration of His goodneſs! For, who is like unto Thee, O LORD! May the KING and QUEEN ſay, among the GODS who is like unto Thee, Glorious in Holineſs, fearful in Praiſes, doing Wonders; the LORD is a man of War, JEHOVAH is His Name: the right Hand of the LORD hath done valiantly: the Right Hand of the LORD is Glorious in Power, which hath ſubdued the Nations, and Brought the KING home in Peace. [Oh: admirable Goodneſs.] the Archers have ſhot ſore at him, and hated him on every ſide; but his Bow hath been made ſtrong through the HANDS of the Mighty GOD. The Right

Hand

Hand of the LORD hath done Valiently; the right Hand of the LORD is Glorious in Power, who hath bound up the King's Life in the bundle of Life with the LORD, that the Everlasting GOD may be feared, loved, obeyed and Exalted above all forever; and the KING and QUEEN humbled at HIS Feet, casting there *Crowns* at the Feet of the LAMB: for wherewithal else should they come before the LORD, and bow themselves before the High GOD, but with broken and contrite Hearts, Worshipping and Adoring HIM in the innermost part of their Souls, and there Sacrificing their Pleasures and Honours, withal the Intrests of a perishing World, and desiring nothing, but that the Will of GOD may be done in your Earth, as it is in Heaven; And that you may be the Instruments to bring it forth in the World, that as GOD hath honoured you, and done great things for you, and for the Nations; so you may make it your whole study and business to Exalt the Name of GOD in the Earth, by your holy, humble, and self-denying Lives. And that you the Magistrates of the HIGHEST may not bear the Sword of the LORD in vain, but make use of your Power which GOD hath given you, who are His Vice Gerents here on Earth, to Execute Justice on such as rebel against His divine MAJESTY, Begining at your own *Court* first, and there to suppress every appearance of Evil; and this is but your reasonable service (and no more then what your Greatness requires, that your Subjects yield Obedience to you in all things) And whatsoever is less then this, is to offer the *Blind*, the *Lame*, and the *Sick*; *And offer this to thy Prince, saith the LORD, and see if he will be content with Thee, or Except thy person*? Malachi 1. 8. And in vain is all your Praying, Praising, Preaching and Hearing, if this Work be not done: Search the Scriptures, I beseech you, and see if you can find that ever any thing was Acceptable to GOD but a Holy and Righteous Life; and there you may find plentifully that GOD rejects all their outward dutys, both of *Jews*, *Pharisees* and *Christians*; although He HIMSELF instituted them, and throws them quite away, saying, *Bring no more your vain Oblations*: And so goes on; *But wash you* (saith He) *make you Clean*, &c. Then to the Pharisees, *Ye Hypocrites, make clean the inside first.* : To the Christians; *Thou hast a Name that thou livest, but thou art dead*, Rev 3. So that its not the Name of any sort whatsoever, but the Life. Therefore, O KING and QUEEN, for the Glory of GOD and honour of His Most Holy and Glorious NAME, And your prosperity in this

World;

World, And your Everlasting Happiness in that which is to come. Be not negligent in this Great Work, which all your Happiness and the Nations depends upon.

Therefore, O KING, be Valiant for the Truth upon Earth, and come Thou forth to help the LORD against the Mighty, for His contorversie is with *the man of sin*, and He will plead with all Flesh. It is written, *Curse ye* Meroz, *Curse him bitterly, because he came not forth to help the LORD against the Mighty.* But that the KING may be Blest with an everlasting Blessing; let Him joyn with the LORD in this great Work, with all His strength, and with all His might to destroy Sin and Iniquity in his Dominions, and to bring in and set up Everlasting Righteousness to Reign: And in this Work he shall be more then a Conquerer, through the Power of CHRIST, which shall certainly be with Him, if He sets about it Coragiously and Manfully, not fearing man, nor trusting in the Arm of Flesh: And this will bring more Glory to GOD and Honour to the KING then if he conquered Nations by the Sword: For that destroys, but this saves mens Lives, and destroys the Iniquity: And in this WORK he shall be Greater then *William* the *Conquerer* or all the Monarchs of the World: and his *Fame* shall go to the furthermost parts of the Earth: And in this Work shall the most HIGH rejoyce, And all His Heavenly Host: for saith CHRIST *There is more Joy in Heaven for one sinner that repents and turns from the Evil of his wayes, then in Ninety and Nine Just persons that need no Repentance.*

And if the KING is faithful to GOD in this Work, he shall conquer and overcome all his Enemies; for if their Sins be overcome, then they are overcome, because it is their Sins that causes them to Rebel; For from whence comes Wars, saith the Apostle, come they not from your Lusts? Them it seems take away the lusts, and Wars will cease: so heres great necesity for the KING to be fervently fixed in this Work to take away the Cause, that the Disease may cease: And this let the KING know, that whomsoever he is made an instrument to in this Work, to overcome their Vices, their hearts shall be knit to Him as *Jonathan's* was to *David*, who loved him as his own Soul: And that blessed Propheste of *Daniel* shall be fulfilled on the KING, which saith, *Blessed are those that turns many to Righteousness, for they shall shine as the Stars in the Firmament of GOD'S Power forever.*

And here the KING shall be a Nursing-Father and the QUEEN a

a Nurſing Mother; & then more ſhall be the Children of the deſolate, then of the married Wife; And *GOD* will bring their Sons from far and their Daughters from the furthermoſt parts of the Earth; yea, many People, Kingdoms and Nations ſhall ſay, *Come, let us go up to the Mountain of the* LORD, *and He will ſhew us His Ways, and we will walk in His Paths*: Then Endleſs Praiſes and Everlaſting Halalujahs ſhall be to GOD on HIGH, and on the Earth Peace and Good-will to men: But if this Work be not Done, there is no Peace to the Wicked, ſaith the LORD: But we muſt expect Wars and Rumours of Wars, as CHRIST ſaid; and the End not to be yet, till the Cauſe is removed; nor can it be Expected that the KING ſhould conquer and overcome his Enemies Abroad, whilſt his ſtrong and moſt Potent Enemies Reign at Home. And indeed it is unreaſonable that the KING ſhould Require that of his LORD and SOVERAIGN, the LORD of all MAEJESTY, to fight his Battels abroad, when the KING doth not Execute the Power GOD hath put into his hand at home, for the Suppreſſing *That* which HIS Righteous Soul abhors.

And further, the Command of GOD is; *When thou goeſt out to War with thine Enemies, then take heed, ſaith the* LORD, *that there be no wicked thing in Thee*: Mark that, O KING! no *wicked thing*: that is, not only, no Wickedneſs in the Cauſe, nor no Self-intreſt, nor Self-honour: But no perſonal Impieties in the Perſons that carries it on; not only groſs Impieties, as Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, Swearing, and the like: But all manner of vain and fooliſh Talking, Joaking and Jeſting, are things not allowed to *Chriſtians*; for if *Chriſtians* are not allowed to think their own Thoughts; how much leſs Vain Words? But, *Let your Words be few*, ſaith CHRIST, *ſeaſoned with Salt, that they may adminiſter Grace to the Hearers*. And *David* ſaith, *Set a watch before my Mouth, and be Thou LORD the Door-keeper of my Lips*. And ſaith he, *I ſaid, I will look to my Ways, that I offend not with my Tongue*: Oh! how intent was he! ſaying, *O GOD my Heart is fixed, I will ſing*, &c. His mind was ſtaid upon the LORD: here was no room for vain words, light, airy and frothy diſcourſes; he abhorred all ſuch Impieties, his mind was ſet on divine things, his Affections were ſet on things Above, and not on Earthly things: His converſe was with GOD, and his communion with the HOLY ONE: and here he was a man after GOD's own Heart: He enjoyed Heaven whilſt he was here on Earth; for where the preſence of the LORD is, there is Heaven: he loved the LORD dearly, and therefore took delight to do His

Will, and keep His Commandments: And by doing this, ſaid he, *Thou haſt made me wiſer then all my Teachers*; yea, ſaith he, *I have more Wiſdom then the Ancients.* And why was it ſo? becauſe GOD was his Teacher: *O GOD*, ſaith he, *Thou haſt taught me from my Youth even until now, therefore will I tell of all thy Wonderous Works.* And becauſe of *David*'s love and faithfulneſs to GOD, the LORD made a Covenant with him and with his Seed for ever: That is, with the Faithful that loves the LORD, and walks in His Ways, as *David*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* did. And theſe *Holy Ones* made a Covenant with the LORD, to ſerve Him all the days of their Lives: They did not make a Covenant with Death and Hell, as this Generation doth, to ſerve their horrible Luſts and vain wicked Pleaſures: No, no; but quite contrary: *O how I love thy Law*, ſaith David, *its my Meditation all the day: I will wait continually and will praiſe* THEE *more and more*; *my Mouth ſhall daily rehearſe Thy Righteouſneſs and Thy Salvation, for I know not the ſum of them.* (No, for they were beyond number.) *Be* THOU *my ſtrong Rock, whereunto I may always reſort.* THOU *haſt given Commandment to ſave me, for THOU art my Rock and my Fortreſt*; (Take notice of that, O KING, and of what follows) viz. *Deliver me, O my GOD, out of the hands of the Wicked, out of the hands of Evil and Cruel men: for* THOU *art my Hope, O LORD, even my Truſt from my Youth*; *upon THEE have I been ſtaid from the Womb, my Praiſe ſhall be always of* THEE; *And* THY *Righteouſneſs, O* GOD, *will I Exalt*; *for* THOU *haſt done great things, who is like unto THEE, THOU wilt increaſe mine Honour, therefore will I praiſe* THEE *for* THY *faithfulneſs: Upon the Vial unto* THEE *will I ſing, O* HOLY ONE *of Iſrael, for my Soul haſt* THOU *delivered*, &c. Oh! how *David* was filled with the living ſence of the Goodneſs of GOD and the ALMIGHTY Exalted in his Soul! But, *What hath the Wicked to do to take My* NAME *into their Mouths*, ſaith GOD, *ſeeing they hate My Holy Spirit to inform them: They hated all my Counſel, and would have none of my Reproof.* Yet the Atheiſtical Chriſtians, in their unclean Lives and Idolatrous ways, ſings to the Vial, and invents to themſelves Inſtruments of Muſick like *David*, although they hate and abhor his Holy, Suffering and Self-denying Life, by which he obtained the Victory over all his Enemies both within and without.

And further, I affirm in the Name of the LORD, that whoſoever follows this Way which I [by the Spirit of GOD] have directed to (having the holy Scriptures, the Life of Chriſt, His Prophets and Apoſtles, bearing me Record thereunto) whoſoever puts

puts this Way into Practice, ſhall quickly be without care, and ſhall have no need to go to the beſt of men for Teaching or Counſel, much leſs to the worſt.

But this I humbly Adviſe the KING and QUEEN, as my own Soul, to keep down all Self, all your own Knowledge, Wiſdom and Parts; and come before the LORD as a little Child, as *Chriſt* ſaid: This is the ſtate you muſt come to, before you can enter the Kingdom of GOD; and this is the ſtate *Adam* was in before his Fall, before he Eat of this forbidden Tree, the tree of Knowledge which was never given for Food; for ſaith GOD, *In the day thou eats thereof thou ſhalt Surely dye.* But had he ſtood in the Will of GOD where he was placed, and not have Entred into his own Will and Imaginations, there had been no need for the *Flaming SWORD* to have been placed to keep the way of the Tree of Life: The *Flaming Sword* that turns every way to ſeperate you from your Lovers, and all your Delights, before you can Eat of the Tree of Life which is in the midſt of the Paradiſe of GOD. And this *flaming Sword* is the *Croſs* of *Chriſt*, and the *holy Croſs* of *Chriſt* is the Power of GOD, which muſt crucifie you to the world, and the world to you: And when all this is done, you muſt be in the profoundeſt Humility that ever man or woman was in, turning your ſelves into the very Duſt from whence you came, and there to be nothing for ever: For if You are any thing, then GOD the Eternal BEEING cannot be All, who is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt and laſt, bleſſed for ever, Amen: Yet in this Bleſſed ſtate, are you a drop of that Ocean from whence Endleſs Bleſſings flow: for ſaith our LORD and Bleſſed Saviour; *Bleſſed are the Poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of GOD.* And if you continue loving the LORD with all Your Hearts, and with all Your Souls, with all Your ſtrength & with all Your might. But, take notice I beſeech you, HE muſt have All; All your Love and Affection; for if any thing elſe whatſoever hath it beſides the LORD, you rob GOD of his Right, and this is that which will ſtop the Springs from flowing from this Endleſs Fountain of Life and Love. Therefore I humbly Beſeech You in the Bowels of the Love of GOD, that Above all things, and at all times, with all the ſtrength of Your Souls, in all Your Thoughts, Words and Works, that you purely love and intend for the Honour and Glory of GOD, who is the Eternal Happineſs and Bleſſedneſs of all men, and your own portion for ever. And that you may this the better do, you muſt moſt ſtrictly Obſerve your ſelves within; *Keep thy Heart* (ſaith the *Prophet*) *with all diligence, for*

out of it comes the Iſſues of Life: Therefore ſink you down into the innermoſt parts of your Souls, and there ſtop all the out-goings of your minds to any thing, but to GOD alone: And in ſilence, hear what the LORD ſaith within you, and with JESUS, depart from the multitude, avoiding all Imployments and multiplicity of Buſineſs as much as is poſſible, you ſhall reſt with GOD in unity, ſhutting up all your Sences in quietneſs, continually Praying, and calling upon GOD, your Eye being fixed on Him, (as *David*'s was) in all your actions, you ſhall enjoy His preſence in every Place, Time and Thing, admitting nothing within your ſelves but GOD continually, that you may continually receive the Heavenly Influence of His divine love into your Souls.

And as I have the Life and Doctrine of *Chriſt* my LORD, and all his Holy Ones in former Ages to bear Witneſs to this my true and faithful Teſtimony of a holy & retired Life; ſo I ſhall inſtance one of late years, *Abraham Cowley*, who as its reported, was a man of ſweet and ſingular Wit, great Learning, and an even Judgment, that had known by large experience what Cities, Univerſities and Courts afford; and that not only at home, but in divers Nations abroad; wearied with the World, he broke through all the intanglements of it, and which was hardeſt, innumerous Friendſhip and a perpetual Praiſe, and retired to a ſolatory Cottage, near *Barn-Elms*, whence he gives us this following Doctrine of Retirement, and may ſerve for an account how well he was pleaſed in his Change. "The firſt "Work (ſaith he) that a man muſt do, to make himſelf capable of "the good of Solitude, is the very Eradication of all Luſts: for how "is it poſſible for a man to enjoy himſelf, whilſt his Affections are "tyed to things without himſelf? The firſt Miniſter of State hath "not ſo much buſineſs in publick, as a Wiſe man hath in private: If "the one hath little leaſure to be Alone, the other hath leſs lea-"ſure to be in Company: The one hath but part of the Affairs of "One Nation, the other all the Works of GOD and Nature under "his conſideration.

The next I ſhall inſtant, is *Marcus Aurilius Antoninus*, a good and famous Emperor; he firſt treats, how he ought to behave himſelf in his Empire: And after that (ſaith he) "As for GOD and "ſuch Suggeſtions, Helps and Inſpirations, as might be expect-"ed, nothing did hinder me but that I might have begun long "before to live according to Nature, or that even now that I am not "yet partaker and in preſent poſſeſſion of that Life. And he gives the Reaſon why, "In that (ſaith he) I did not obſerve thoſe inward

Motions.

"Motions and Suggeſtions, yea, and almoſt plain apparent Inſtructions "and Admonitions of GOD, was the only cauſe of it. And ſo he goes on moſt Excellently. "I that underſtood the Nature of that which "is good (ſaid he) that it is to be deſired; and of that which is bad, "that it is odious and ſhameful. And further ſaith, "They are idle in "their Actions who toil and labour in this Life, and have no certain "ſcope which to direct all their Motions and Deſires to. And then treating of ſome that buſied themſelves in diving into things of Philoſophy. "Yet (ſaith he) of this is not ſenſible that it is ſufficient for a man "to apply himſelf wholly, and confine all his Thoughts and Cares to the "tendence of that Spirit which is within him, & truly & really to ſerve "him. (For ſaith this worthy Prince) Philoſophy doth conſiſt in this, for "a man to preſerve that Spirit which is within him from all manner of "Contumelies & Injuries, and the ſacred Myſteries of Virtue which iſſu- "from it, carefully, ſolidly, and ſhall not intermix any other buſineſs, "but ſhalt ſtudy this to preſerve thy Spirit unpoluted and pure; and "as one that were even now ready to give up the Ghoſt, ſhall cleave unto "Him; and from this there's no man can hinder thee. And further this Excellent man, "Without relation to GOD (ſaith he) thou ſhalt "never perform aright any thing humane, nor on the other ſide, any "thing Divine, at what time ſoever thou wilt, it is in thy power to "retire into thy ſelf, and to be at Reſt: For a man cannot retire any "whither for to be more at reſt and freer from all buſineſs, then to his "own Soul. Afford then thy ſelf this Retiring continually, and thereby "refreſh and renew thy ſelf. A noble Prince, worthy of double honour. And then Exhorting, "That whatſoever they did, might "be Juſt and Holy: Neither (ſaith he) muſt he uſe himſelf to cut off "Actions only, but Thoughts and Imaginations alſo, that are unneceſ- "ſary; for ſo will unneceſſary conſequent Actions the better be pre- "vented and cut off. He is poor that ſtands in need of another, and "hath not in himſelf all things needful for this Life. Conſider well "whether Magnanimity rather, and true Liberty, and true Simplicity, "Equanimity and Holineſs, whether theſe be not moſt kind and natu- "ral? And farther this bleſſed Prince, "Let thy GOD, that is in thee "to rule over thee, find by thee that he hath to do with an Aged man, "a Sociable man, a *Roman*, a Prince, one that hath ordered his Life, "as one that expecteth as it were nothing but the ſound of the Trum- "pet, ſounding a retreat to depart out of this Life with all readineſs. "What is it (ſaith he) thou doſt ſtay for, an Extinction, or a Tranſla- "tion, for either of them with a propitious and contented mind: "but till that time comes, what will content thee? What elſe but

"to

"to Worſhip and Praiſe *GOD*, and to do good unto men?

Here is a Preſident for Kings, Queens and Potentates of the Earth to ſquare their Lives by. This worthy Prince was more Philoſopher than Emperor, his Dominions were greater within then without, and by his Holy Life and Vertuous Principles was fit to govern the whole World.

Solon, a noble Philoſopher and Law-giver to the *Athenians*, was ſo humble, that he refuſed to be Prince of that People: And being asked by *Creſus*, King of *Lydia*, (when ſeated on his Throne, Richly clothed and magnificently attended) If he had ever ſeen any thing more Glorious? He anſwered, *Cocks, Peacocks and Pheaſants, by how much their Beauty is Natural.* "Fly Pleaſures, (ſaith he) for they bring Sorrow: Converſe "not with wicked Perſons, but meditate on ſerious things: That it "was the perfection of a man to fore-ſee and prevent Miſchief. That "they that would govern a State well, muſt govern their Families well. "That we ought not to flatter Great men, leſt we exalt them above "their merits and ſtation. A Prince (*ſaith he*) muſt not take up his "time about tranſitory and mortal things; Eternal and Immortal are "fitteſt for him.

O noble PRINCE and PRINCESS, I humbly beg of you Obſerve theſe Heavenly Maxims.

Periander, Prince and Philoſopher, would ſay, "That Pleaſures are "Mortal, but Vertues Immortal. Puniſh the guilty (*ſaith he*) and re- "ſtrain men from Sin. That Common-wealth is beſt ordered (*ſaith* "*he*) where the Wicked have no command.

Therefore moſt Honoured and moſt endeared PRINCE and PRINCESS, for ſo you are in my Heart, becauſe of the Greatneſs of GOD's Love, which I have received and delivered to you above all before you in my time; and ſhall be ſo, if you receive the Love of GOD adminiſtred, and put into Practice theſe His Commands and Precepts; firſt in your own Example, and then Executing the Power GOD hath given you, which may eaſily be done, by turning out thoſe that will not Obey your juſt and lawful Commands, and put in ſuch in their room that will; That the KING and QUEEN may not be guilty of that Iniquity as *Saul* was guilty of, to ſave alive that which GOD commanded to kill, which was the Cauſe that the Kingdom was rent from him, and given to one more worthy, that is, which did the will of GOD, And is the very cauſe why your Predeceſſors were turned out before you, and you brought in their room, to try whether you will do His Will, and perform all His good Pleaſure; which if you do, GOD will make you the Glory of Nations. For this know, O KING & QUEEN, and that from the LORD, the day is come, that GOD will have His

Will

Will done in Earth, as it is in Heaven; and that which ſtands in oppoſition to it, will He overturn, and throw the Earth upſide-down: And all the Monarchs in it will he break to pieces as a Potters-Veſſel, for the bringing in of His Dominion, which is an Everlaſting dominion, and He ſhall Reign for evermore; *Amen.*

And this I humbly Supplicate to the LORD, if it may be for the Glory of His Holy Name, That the KING and QUEEN may be the worthy Inſtruments thereof, and that they may not be guilty of *Saul*'s Tranſgreſſion, who feared the People, and ſo cauſed him to break the Commandment of the LORD, which proved to his deſtruction: So he paid dear for his fearing the People, and the People paid dear for his Rebellion againſt the Command of GOD; for it coſt him his Life, and thouſands more of theirs. For here lay the caſe; the command was to ſlay All, but the People counſelled him to ſave the beſt of the Oxen and Sheep, and the chiefeſt of the things, which ſhould have been deſtroyed, to offer to the LORD thy GOD, as *Saul* confeſſed to *Samuel*, ſaying, *I have ſinned; for I have tranſgreſſed the Commandment of the* Lord, *and thy Words, becauſe I feared the People and obeyed their Voice.*

The writing of this Confeſſion, makes my Heart melt, and breaks me into Tears; the conſideration thereof, how dangerous a thing it is for any to tranſgreſs [much more PRINCES,] the Commands of the LORD in ever ſo little a thing. And *Saul*'s repeating over again the reaſon why they ſaved them alive that ſhould have been deſtroyed, was, *To offer a Sacrifice to the LORD.* But alas! all Coverings will be to ſhort, but that which is covered with the Spirit of the LORD, in the Day of Account, when the Iniquity is brought before the Judgment-ſeat, which muſt there ſtand the Tryal, to be Arragined and Condemned by the JUDGE of all the Earth: No pretence will ſerve them, be it never ſo ſpecious by the art and cunning of men: for indeed what higher could be, then pretence of Worſhipping GOD, to offer Sacrifice to the LORD? But what was the LORD's anſwer? *Hath the LORD more delight in Sacrifice and Offering, then in Obeying the Voice of the LORD? To Obey is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken to the Voice of the LORD then the Fat of Rams: For Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and Tranſgreſſion is Wickedneſs and Idolatry: Becauſe thou haſt caſt away the Word of the LORD, therefore hath He caſt away thee from being King.* A heavy ſentence, and worſe recompence of reward, for his Life went for theirs. Here we may ſee, we need not go to *Rome* for Idolatry; for whoſoever tranſgreſſeth the command of the LORD may find it at home.

But

But *Saul*, instead of deep Humiliation and thorow Reformation, in [illegible] tryte heartedness as *David* did, and destroying what he had saved alive, he [illegible] shipping, to pacifie his concerns that way. There are many *Saul's* now a[illegible] up their evil Consciences that way, and goes on making such a noise with th[illegible] ping, that the cries of the oppressed in them cannot be heard; and so goes on [illegible] the LORD of Life afresh, by their often quenching the motions of His Holy Spir[illegible] till at last His Holy Witness lies slain in their *Sodomite* hearts, and then they triu[illegible] make merry over it, and send Gifts one to another, and drink Iniquity as an O[illegible] Water, without reproof, when the Witness is slain. But alas, all this will but serve [illegible] their time is out; for this *Sore* thus healed will break out again: for the Spirit of Lif[illegible] GOD shall enter the Witness, and then shall the Book be opened, wherein is w[illegible] LAMENTATIONS AND WOES. Therefore the Prophet *Samuel* knowing th[illegible] things, refused to go with *Saul* to worship the LORD, although he so earnestly b[illegible] and intreated him, for he knew the worshipping in that rebellious Spirit was Abo[illegible] tion to the LORD, notwithstanding his confession, that *he had sinned*: And besides [illegible] *Samuel* know there was something else to do before worshipping, to appease the W[illegible] of GOD. *Bring me hither* (said he) *Agag, the King of the Amalakites.* Then said [illegible] *As thy Sword hath made Women childless, so shall thy Mother be Childless among Women.* [illegible] Samuel *hewed Agag to pieces before the LORD.* Let none mistake me in this Simil[illegible] I do not mean that the Lives of any should be taken away; no, no, for I would not [illegible] the least hurt to the greatest of all my Enemies; for that was not the Work of Chri[illegible] LORD, who came not to destroy mens Lives, but to save them, and to destroy th[illegible] Iniquities; and for this I am offered up in Body, Soul and Spirit, which is the hig[illegible] Sacrifice I can pay, and happy should I be to be counted worthy to be an Instrument [illegible] this blessed Work of Reformation, to hew *Agag* to pieces before the LORD, the Prince of the Power of Darkness which rules in the Children of D[illegible] Disobedience. And this is it that I have laboured so much for, and made so many h[illegible] Addresses to the KING and QUEEN, that they may not neglect this great [illegible] but that they may be the happy Instruments in this blessed work of Reformation, that [illegible] Will of GOD may be done in them, and throughout their Dominions, to the Glory [illegible] GOD and the Exaltation of His ever Blessed NAME, and the happy establishing th[illegible] in Holiness and Righteousness all the days of their Lives, which is the humble Pray[illegible] of the LORD's Servant, and your true & faithful Subject according to the will of G[illegible]

From one that is of no Sect or gathered People, yet have I sought the LORD *from my t[illegible] until this day; And having found the only good, which is* GOD, *to be my Teacher,* [illegible] ALMIGHTY *to be my Counseller, who is my Captain of Rest: And to His Holy P[illegible] unspotted Life, I have unity and fellowship with all that are in this throughout the E[illegible]*

JONE WHITROWE.

Pulney, *New-years Day*, 1691.

This following was writ by another, who desired to have it inserted here.

If any one (though misleading well) should be so inticed as to strengthen that decei[illegible] vable, murmuring, discontented Spirit, that would stir up strife and Division amo[illegible] the Heads of the Nation, they may expect trouble upon trouble, until they for[illegible] Repent, and give Glory to Him, who searcheth the Heart and tryeth the Reins, [illegible] whom it is in vain to strive.

THE END.

13

A Short Memorial

To the Nobility and Gentry of *England*:

Demonstrating

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By Undeniable Arguments and Clear Proofs, That it has been the Custom for the *English* Nobility and Gentry to attend their Kings in their Wars abroad.

AS it is the Office of the Kings of *England* (according to the Learned *Fortescue*) *Pugnare bella populi sui*, to fight the Battels of their People, which our present King has perform'd above and beyond most of his Predecessors; so is it the Duty of all the *English* Nobility and Gentry, (as the great *Justinian* describes it) *Domi legis, & foris Arma quam optimè callere*, to be excellently well skill'd in the Art of War abroad, and in the Laws of the Land at home; and so was it the Art of our Immortal Ancestors; 'twas that which made us triumph over Three Kings at once: But alas, the Genius of our Nation is since depraved! and whoever will take upon him to consider the present Circumstances of *England*, and the Humours and Inclinations of *English men*, and to compare them with the same, but a very few Centuries ago, may sadly pronounce of them, as *Virgil* describing the pale Ghost of the *Trojan* Hero,

—— *heu quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore*, &c.

Certainly Old *Rome*, in all her Glories, when ſhe diſpoſed of Crowns, and the Fates of Kings was not more different from *Rome* ſacked by the *Gauls*, *Rome* enſlaved by its Tyrants, and what is worſe, Effeminate, and Prieſt-ridden, than *England* under the *Edward*'s, the *Harry*'s, and the great Heroin *Elizabeth*, *ultima Regum*; from the ſame *England* under a Race of *Caledonian* Princes, all *Spaniſh*, or all *French*, (but *nihil bonum ab Aquilone*) Princes, eſpecially the laſt, who through the whole courſe of his ſhort Reign, aim'd at nothing more than to make us Papiſts, Slaves, and himſelf Abſolute; a Prince not content with the forced Sacrifice of our Lives and Fortunes, unleſs we abhorred our Liberties, abhorred our Charters, abhorred Parliaments, the beſt of Conſtitutions; and abhorred thoſe brave Patriots (but few God knows) who at the expence of their Lives ſtood in the gap to ſtop a mighty Torrent. Then 'twas that *Engliſh-men* (who till then better merited the Title of *Franks*, than all the reſt of the *Europeans*, on whom the *Turks* indifferently beſtow that name) forgetting their ancient Valour, and truckling to Tyranny, from Active *Engliſh men*, became Paſſive *French-men*, and Obedient Aſſes.

Thus was the Race of Heroes almoſt extinct in *England*, till Heaven raiſed up the only Hero of *Europe*, able to break our Chains; a Prince, whoſe Anceſtors made Tyrants and Oppreſſors tremble; A Prince that ſeem'd to be born for the Relief of diſtreſſed Princes, and oppreſſed Subjects; A Prince, who by making us a Free People, is made himſelf the moſt Potent, and moſt Conſiderable Monarch of *Europe*; who for our ſake is contented

tented not only to expose his own Lands and Principalities, where he is Sovereign, his own Native Country that adores him, to all the Efforts of a most Cruel and Inexorable Tyrant; but even his most precious Life, the Soul of the Confederacy, and the Fate of Christendom, which during the whole course of the War, has been so much the more obnoxious to dangers than the Life of any of the Common Soldiers, by how much Stabbing, Poisoning, and such like Treasons, are more inevitable than Musket-shots, or Cannon-bullets. Can *English-men* abandon such a Monarch? Can they let him cross the Seas, and take the Field, without an Escorte of the Flower of their Nobility; for so our former Kings us'd to cross the Seas, accompanied with the Flower of the *English* Nobility, to demand the Crown which the Tyrant that wears it has doubly forfeited? 'Twas then for Honour we fought; 'tis now *pro Aris & Focis*, for our Liberties and Religion, the dearest Treasures of this World. In those time there were Noble and Publick Spirits, who at their own Expences raised Troops and Regiments for the Prince's Service, and went in person to head them; then they that had good Estates vied who should first offer his Purse and Person to a leading Monarch; this Honour dictated; how much more are we then oblig'd in Honour and Conscience too, to defend by Arms, our Country, Laws and Religion, so lately invaded, and still in danger, without a vigorous Resistance?

In former Ages, if any lusty young Fellow should have refus'd to have taken upon him the Crusade, and follow *Peter* the Hermit, or some such godly Guide, to the recovery of the *Holy Land* forsooth, he would so far have forfeited his Reputation, that he had scarce ever been esteem'd a good Christian, or a man of Courage again; the Freak was then so universal, that scarce a Prince or Nobleman in *Europe* to make this most Christian Cam-

paign, did not ſell, pawn and mortgage their Eſtates, our Kings themſelves (for ſo did the *Engliſh* and *French* King together) neglected their Government to ſignalize themſelves againſt the Infidel's *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere* —— The Propagation of our Religion then amongſt Barbarians, was ſo much dearer than the defence of it now even in our own Country, or at leaſt in our Neighbours. And believe me, thoſe Campaigns were not like *Dutch* or *Iriſh* Campaigns; there were Voyages of a great many Weeks at Sea to make, or many Months Journies over vaſt Tracts of Land, and Climats as different from ours, as the Cuſtoms and Manners of thoſe Barbarians from the moſt Civiliz'd in *Europe*; and all before we could open our Campaigns; whither we ſent ſo many thouſands, and from whence ſcarce hundreds or tens return'd; Were thoſe Infidels Maſters then of the *Mediterranean Seas*, and all the Iſles therein? was the great Heatheniſh *Turk* with an Army of two or three hundred thouſand men before the Walls of *Vienna*, or the moſt Chriſtian Turk with a brave Fleet of a hundred Sail at the Mouth of our River? No, but on the contrary, our Poſſeſſions in *Aſia* cover'd *Europe*; the *Eaſtern* Empire cover'd the *Weſtern*, and *Conſtantinople*, *Vienna*, the Chriſtians then were Maſters of the *Morea*, Maſters of all *Greece*, Maſters of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and all the Iſles in thoſe Seas: And we *Engliſh*, Maſters of *Normandy*, *Britanny*, *Guienne* and *Gaſcoign*, the beſt part almoſt of *France*.

Shall we then open our Purſes, or draw our Swords in defence, and in ſight of our dear Countrey, leſs freely than our Anceſtors, who did it to carry on a War three or four thouſand miles off, for the honour of a Popiſh Cruſade? I'm ſure the King, and the Cauſe we fight for, require much more at our hands: Can *Lewis* the XIVth

hat great and famous Tyrant, command a hundred houſand Swords at pleaſure; and ſhall *William* the Juſt, he Valiant, and the Pious, want an equal number? Are he Merits of his Cauſe or Perſon inferior to King *Lewis*? hat Prince who has bath'd his hands in the blood of ſo many thouſand innocent Perſons; that Prince ſo fam'd or his Cruelty towards his own Subjects, and for his Perfidy and Treachery to his Neigbours; that Prince of whom *Grotius* (inſpir'd ſurely) at his birth mentions n a Letter to one of his Friends, that he was born with Teeth; and adds, *Caveant vicini à Mordacitate hujus Principis*, Let his Neighbours beware, he'l ſurely bite 'em; A Prediction which he has too ſadly verify'd in the whole Courſe of his Life, in which he has all along acted the part of a Boutefeau; an Incendiary, and common Enemy of Mankind; who in his Wars in *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Low Countries*, and his own *France*, has conſum'd bove a million of Chriſtians, who began and continued moſt of thoſe Wars (as even his own Manifeſts and Declarations confirm) *pour ſa Gloire*, and becauſe ſuch and ſuch Towns or Principalities lay extremely convenient; *& à la Bienſeance de la France*; like that covetous Wretch in *Horace*, *O ſi Angulus iſte parvulus addatur qui nunc deformat agellum*. A Prince, who when by the Rapid Courſe of his Victories he had rous'd the Courage of his Lethargic Neighbours, and join'd 'em in a Confederacy againſt him, clapt up Truces and Peaces which he never did, nor never intended to obſerve, this his Fawning, Slaviſh, Paraſitical Curs call *donner la Paix à l' Europe*, whilſt their Grand Monarch proſtitutes the Honour and Credit of *France*, and makes their *Gallica Fides* as weighty amongſt Chriſtians, as the *Punica* with the *Romans*. And yet this good King ſhall never want Soldiers as long as he has Subjects, nor Aſſes as long as he has Burthens to

lay

ſay on them; nay, though he uſes them as his Brother Turk does his *Muſſelmans*, throw 'em into Ditches for want of Faſcines, in order to the ſtorming any Town; for has he not uſed his Proteſtant Subjects as bad; and yet I have heard ſome of thoſe poor Slaves glory in the progreſs of his Arms againſt their own Protectors the Confederates, and ſtill contented to be Slaves and Aſſes if they can but ſay, *Notre Roy peut tout*, *Louis le Grand eſt Invincible*, our King's Almighty, *&c.* Now let us change the Scene, and take as ſhort a view of our own King, and that Cauſe which has ſet all *Europe* together by the Ears. When *England* by an unparallel'd Generoſity (if it can deſerve ſo good a name) had lifted into the Throne the Man that had vow'd the ruin of the Nation; who truer to his Principles, truer to Popiſh Superſtition and Bigottry, than to his own Intereſts, and the ſolemn Oaths and Promiſes he had made us, endeavour'd to ſubject us to *Rome* and *France*; then, and not till then, we began to be ſenſible of the ill and impious uſe ſome made of that Primitive Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance; then we began to ſigh and wiſh for a Deliverer in our great diſtreſs; then even thoſe who now are mortal Enemies to our beſt of Kings, began to kick and wince when gall'd with the thoughts of loſing their own Religion; then who ſo forward as they to call in a Foreign Prince to ſave and defend the Proteſtant Religion; and none did they judge more proper, than him they now ſo ungratefully reject; and indeed there was not a Prince of *Europe* beſides that could have ſaved us; whoſe Intereſt was ſo blended with ours, and whoſe Right was ſo apparent, as well in behalf of himſelf, as of his moſt vertuous Princeſs, in danger to be excluded by a ſpurious Iſſue impoſed upon our Nation, that all *Europe* had already voted him the Man, the Saviour.

But had this very Prince had no more Claim to *England* than his Anceſtors to *Holland*, yet that ſublime Generoſity inherited from them, that Courage, that Conduct and Piety intail'd and innate to that moſt Illuſtrious Family, would have alone intituled him to this great Work; for none but the Off-ſpring of that great Prince that lopt the Aſpiring *Spaniſh* Monarchy, was capable of putting the Hook in the Jaws of the *French* Leviathan, of breaking the Chains of *Europe*, and of being our Guardian Archangel againſt the proud Inſulting *Lucifer*. And accordingly our Indefatigable Prince, with the choiceſt of the Land and Sea Forces of *Holland*, in the worſt of Seaſons, haſtned to ſave a ſinking State, leaving at the ſame time his own Native Country quite deſtitute of its beſt men, as well as his own Principalities, whilſt the *French* in the mean while were at their doors with a mighty Army, might have ſwallow'd the *Low Countreys* almoſt at once, as they did 20 or 30 years ago; and had done it, had they dream'd of any thing leſs than embroiling us in another 12 years Civil War; which to prevent, our Pious and merciful King, then reigning, thought fit to withdraw, and rather to Abdicate an Army of 40 thouſand men, and a Fleet of 50 brave Sail, than to cauſe the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood, and ſo *exit Jacobus* with his Deareſt Conſort, and little *Perkin*, to ſeek an *Aſyle* with that kind Prince, who once before, at the inſtigation of a bold Uſurper had caſt out him and his wandring Brothers.

Thus did the ſhameful Exit of one make room for the glorious Entrance of the other, who might well ſay, *Veni, vidi, Deus vicit*, for nothing but the immediate Hand of God could ever have produced ſo ſtupendious an Effect, ſo unparalell'd a Revolution, which all *Europe* lookt on with admiration, adoring the wonderful Providence of God,

and

and puzled to determine, whither the Juſtice of th
Cauſe, or the Greatneſs of the Prince's Fortune ex
ceeded.

Hitherto things went well, and *ex Voto*, nay, perha
beyond expectation, we had caſt out the Dregs of *Ro*
and *France*, and inſtead of involving our ſelves in a lo
and tedious Civil War, as *Lewis* ſo much deſired and ex
pected, we had put our ſelves into a poſture of makin
a vigorous effort, and carrying the War into the ver
heart of the Enemy's Country: And we had certainl
effected it, had we been true to our ſelves, true to the In
tereſt both of our Confederates, and of all *Europe*. Th
French had not then braved us with their Arms in *Irelan*
nor with their Fleet at the Rivers Mouth, nor take
Towns in *Flanders* before our Faces, if the Race of Heroes ſo
numerous one Century ago, were not now almoſt extin
at leaſt their Virtues and Noble Qualities, or if *England* di
not ſwarm now with Cowards, and Traytors, as much
as former Ages abounded with brave Fellows, true Patri
ots, who thought nothing more great or becomming than
to ſacrifice their Lives for their dear Country. Had thoſe
brave Fellows of the laſt Age any advantage above us
I don't know, I am ſure the greateſt was common to
both; for we have as brave a Prince to head us as ever
England, or the World could ſhow; what's the matter
then? why our Country's grown barren, by having had
a Race of Arbitrary Lords, and a Deſpotical Govern
ment, which puts me in mind of the Proverb; *Where*
the Great Turk's Horſe has trampled, there never grows
Graſs more in that place; and ſo it is with us, The Free
Engliſh Courage is quite blunted, we are almoſt all be
come Slaves, Paraſites, and poor little Cringing Rogues
like our Brethren the *French*.

Since

Since this Nation has been ſo Baſtardis'd, our Nobili-
y and Gentry, which uſed ſo freely and voluntarily to
pend their Money, and ſacrifice their Lives for the Ho-
our of their King and Country, either under his immedi-
te Command (or his Generals) now think it their great-
ſt Glory to ſpend their time in Drinking, Gaming, *&c.*
nd even ſuch as are not guilty of theſe Vices, do take it
or an Honour to be thought ſo; 'tis the Life of a *Beau*,
which Name they value more than any title that Virtue or
Courage can beſtow on them; and this lazy, cowardly,
lebaucht Humour is ſo Epidemical and Univerſal in *Eng-
land*, that out of almoſt Three hundred Lords in theſe
Three Nations, and near a Thouſand Baronets, and Two
or Three thouſand Knights, and above Twenty thouſand
Gentlemen in *England* only, not the twentieth Man is at
his preſent juncture aiding in Perſon, and aſſiſting our
King; and ſuch of them as will not grudge to ſpend their
half Crown every day at the Play, and their Crown at
Pontac's, and his Guinea or more in a Baudy-houſe, will
at the ſame time defraud *Cæſar* of his Taxes.

In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time the young Lords and Gen-
lemen vyed who ſhould be moſt forward in her Ma-
eſties Service; *they knew ſhe lov'd a* Soldier, and took it
as an Invitation to win Honour, together with her Maje-
ſty's Favour, by expoſing themſelves in the Wars; and
we have many Inſtances of the Sallies of the Nobility
and Gentry, and that without her leave, even to the
riſquing of her Majeſties Favour, of which take this
following ſtory. 'My Lord *Montjoy* having ſtoln away
'two or three times without the Queens knowledg into
'*Brittany*, where under Sir *John Norris* he had then a
'Company; ſhe ſent a Meſſenger to him, with a ſtrict
'charge to the General to ſee him ſent home: When
'he came into the Queens preſence, ſhe fell into a kind

'of Reviling, demanding how he durſt go over without
'her leave: Serve me ſo, *quoth ſhe*, once more, and I
'will lay you faſt enough for running; you will never
'leave until you are knockt on the Head, as that incon-
'ſiderate Fellow *Sydney* was: You ſhall go when I ſend
'you; in the mean time ſee that you Lodge in the Court,
'where you may follow your Book, Read and Diſcourſe
'of the Wars*.

* *Vid. Fragmenta Regalia, p.* 31. *&* 32. Written by Sir *Robert Naunton.*

This was a truly brave Fellow; but ſhow me now any young Lord or Gentleman in *England*, that dares ſteal a Campaign, ſteal forbidden Honour, if our King ſhould once frown at the bold Attempt; but that was an Age as fruitful of Heroes, as this is barren. For inſtance whereof, I muſt beg the Readers Patience, if I give him a ſmall Liſt of the braveſt of that Reign only both by Land and Sea, amongſt which he may peradventure find both his Name, and his Anceſtors; which if it ſhould warm his Blood, and ſtir him up to ſome noble Exploit of the like Nature, I ſhall have attain'd the Ends I propos'd my ſelf. To begin them then without other method, as they occur to my thoughts, comes firſt Lord *Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Sheffield*, Lord *Seymore*, Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Robert Dudley*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Robert Mansfield*, Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *William Winter*, Sir *William Borroughs*, Sir *John Wingfield*, Sir *Henry Palmer*, Sir *William Monſon*, Sir *Richard Greenvill*, Sir *Edward Denny*, Captain *Fenner*, Capt. *Vavaſor*, Sir *Thomas Vavaſor*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Richard Lewſon*, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Thomas Baſkerville*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *John Perrot*, Capt. *Clifford*, Capt. *Savil*, Capt. *Throckmorton*, Sir *Fulk. Grevel*, Sir *Tho-*

ma

mas Shirley, Capt. *Slingsby*, Capt. *Forteſcue*, Capt. *Gore*, Capt. *Trevor*, Capt. *Sommers*, Capt. *May*, and a hundred more, whoſe Names if I ſhould inſert them all, or any of their brave Actions, would lengthen this Paper beyond what I intend; but peruſe their Lives at large in our *Engliſh* Hiſtories, and *Fac. Simile*.

My Reader may ſee by thoſe I have juſt now cited, that I need not have gone beyond the laſt Century to fill the Stage with Hero's. But to ſhew that all the brave Fellows of *England* were not born or brought up under a Petty-coat, I'll mount an Age or two higher, and conclude this ſhort Diſcourſe with an Alphabetical Catalogue of ſome Worthies born under the ſame Conſtellation, as the moſt Warlike of our Kings; and ſuch were, *Arundel*, *Audley*, *Baſſet*, *Beauchamp*, *Berkley*, *Bertu*, *Blount*, *Chandos*, *Cheney*, *Clifford*, *Courtney*, *Devereux*, *Greenvil*, *Grey*, *Howard*, *Knowles*, *Liſle*, *Mohun*, *Mounſon*, *Morgan*, *Nevil*, *Ogle*, *Piercy*, *Sackvil*, *Savage*, *Spencer*, *Talbot*, *Vere*, *Umphrevill*, *Warcup*, *Willoughby*, &c. All theſe great Names are ſtill extant, and have ſome, who (if their Mothers in this debaucht Age have not plaid falſe) have ſtill the ſame Blood running in their Veins. And why may we not hope, according to *Pythagoras*'s Notion, to find in their Poſterity the Souls of their Anceſtors, ſince the ſame *Metempſychoſis* is ſo abundantly verified in *William the Great*, in whom are concentred the Courage and Piety, as well as the Blood of all the greateſt Princes in *Europe*; and in his moſt Illuſtrious Conſort Queen *Mary*, who in the ſmall Snatches and Intervals of Government, has ſhow'd us a *Heroin* as great as the till-now unparalell'd *Elizabeth*.

THE END.

LONDON: Printed for **Richard Baldwin** near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. 1693.

D'Auvergne [illegible] 14

A RELATION

Of the Moſt

Remarkable Tranſactions

Of the Laſt

CAMPAIGNE,

IN THE

Confederate Army,

Under the Command of

His Majeſty of GREAT BRITAIN;

AND AFTER,

Of the Elector of *BAVARIA*,

IN THE

SPANISH NETHERLANDS,

Anno Dom. 1692.

LONDON:
Printed for *Dorman Newman*, at the *King's-Arms*, in the *Poultrey*. 1693.

To the Right Honourable

John Earl of Bathe,

Viſcount *LANSDOWNE*,

Baron Granville *of* Kilkhampton, *and* Biddiford, *Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties of* Devon *and* Cornwall, *Governour of Their Majeſties Royal Citt adel of* Plimouth, *Colonel of one of the* Engliſh *Regiments of Foot in the* Low-Countries, *and one of Their Majeſties moſt Honourable* Privy-Council, *&c.*

My LORD,

THE deſire I have to do ſomething as may expreſs that Reſpect I owe to your Lordſhip, is the chief reaſon that I have undertook the Relation of the laſt Campaigne; for ſince thoſe Years which your Lordſhip has ſo ſignally ſpent in the Service of the Crown, and thoſe important Governments you have

in

in this Kingdom, at this Juncture of time, do not only diſpence, but even oblige your Lordſhip not to be preſent with your Regiment in the *Low Countries*; I hope this *Relation* may be acceptable to your Lordſhip, in which your Regiment has not had a ſmall ſhare, in the moſt remarkable Occurrences of the Campaigne.

There may be ſome Solæciſms in Soldiery in this *Relation*; but I hope your Lordſhip will be pleas'd to Pardon them, ſince they proceed from a Clergy-man, who may be allow'd ſuch Miſtakes, and who ventures upon ſo Forreign an Undertaking to his Function, (which ought to have been perform'd by abler Pens, to expreſs the Honour of *Engliſh*-men) to aſſure your Lordſhip, that I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and obedient Servant and Chaplain,

ED. D'AUVERGNE.

TO THE
READER.

WHEN I drew up this Relation, I was far from designing to publish it: What I did was for the particular Satisfaction of some Persons to whom I am obliged. But since I have finished it, a great many Friends have desir'd Copies of it, which I found both tedious and chargeable to get written over. This is the particular Reason as makes me comply with their Desires to have it Printed. For I declare, that 'tis with some Reluctancy that I appear in publick in this case. However, since 'tis done, I must needs let the Reader know, that as I had no Design of having this Relation publick, so first, this is the Reason that it has been so late coming out, when the French *by their early and active Motions do already enter upon the following Campaign: And besides, this is the reason that I have expressed my self with more Freedom in the following Relation, which, though 'tis an Argument of its being so much the more impartial, yet it may be the less taking for it.*

As I am a Clergy-man, I think that there is a greater Obligation upon me to speak Truth, and nothing but what is Truth: And therefore, if there is any thing in this Account that is not so, or if I have said any thing that may detract from the Reputation of any Man or Country; or if I have done them any Injustice in

not publiſhing their Merits, I ſhall be very ready to give both them and Truth Satisfaction as publickly as I do them wrong. However, I think my ſelf obliged to declare, that I have endeavoured to know the Truth; and what I do not know of my ſelf to be ſo, I have in that made uſe of creditable Informations from Parties concerned.

If I ſay little of Foreign Nations concerned in the Alliance, and which made by far the greater Number of our Army, 'tis not out of any Principle of Partiality to my own Countrey-men, but 'tis becauſe I cannot be ſo well inform'd of their Actions as of our own, they being Strangers to me.

What I ſay of Grandval *concerning his having killed the* Mareſchal de Humieres *Nephew, and his Adventures in* Savoy; *as alſo what I ſpeak concerning the Prince of* Brabançon, *and of the Elector's Deſign to take him into the Field the laſt Campaigne, to withdraw him by this piece of Policy from the Government of* Namur, *I would have no more ſtreſs laid upon the Truth of it, but as a common Report.*

If the Publick does kindly accept theſe my Endeavours, it will oblige me to be more exact and curious the next Campaign, if God grants me Life and Health; and I ſhall be more early in ſatisfying my Countrey with it. And I pray God ſo to unite the Hearts, Counſels and Powers of our Allies, under the Conduct of our glorious Monarch, as may anſwer his Endeavours and our Expectations, that we may ſee the French *Power reduc'd to ſuch Limits as may procure a laſting Peace to Chriſtendom.*

A

RELATION

Of the Moſt

Remarkable Tranſactions

Of the Laſt

CAMPAIGNE.

HIS Majeſty endeavouring to be before-hand with the *French* this Campaigne, came very early over from *England* to the *Hague*, about the beginning of *April*, where having ſpent ſome time in Conferences with the Miniſters of the Allies, His Majeſty afterwards went to *Loo*, to take ſome Divertiſement, before he enter'd upon the Fatigues of the enſuing Campaigne, expecting till matters were in a readineſs to take the Field; which prov'd not ſo early as (may be) was deſign'd, both by reaſon of the foul Weather that happen'd the latter end of *April*, and the beginning of *May*, and of the great remoteneſs, as well as ſlow motion of ſome of our Confederate Forces.

The *French King*, who owes his great Succeſs, chiefly, to that quickneſs and activity wherewith he can execute his Undertakings, and which is proper to the Nature of his Government, began very early to move with his Forces, threatning both *Flanders* with ſome conſiderable Siege, and *England* with an Invaſion, to reſtore the late King to his pretended Dominions. To this end he cauſes moſt of his Forces to march towards *Flanders*, and to rendezvous about *Mons*, leaving the *Rhine* entirely deſtitute of Troops, to render the Army in *Flanders* the more powerful and formidable, being pretty ſecure both by the ſlowneſs of the *Germans* to take the Field, and that Intereſt he had among ſome of the Princes of the Empire, that nothing could be undertaken upon the *Rhine* by the Confederates, before the execution of his Deſigns in *Flanders*; to compaſs theſe vaſt Undertakings, the *French King* not only drew off his Forces from the *Rhine*, but likewiſe moſt of thoſe he had in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, leaving Monſieur *Catinat* ſo weak, that he hath not been able to attempt any thing this Campaigne, but even to ſuffer the Duke of *Savoy* to enter into *Dauphiné*, and to leave it expos'd to the Fury of the *Germans*, who have plunder'd burnt and deſtroy'd, where-ever they have been in it.

By this means the *French King* has not only been able to bring a very numerous and powerful Army in *Flanders*, to undertake ſo conſiderable an Attempt as the Siege of *Namur*, but alſo to think of reſtoring the late King to the Throne of *England*; to this end he cauſes an Army to march towards the Coaſts of *Normandy*, pretending at firſt, that it was to ſecure his Coaſts from a Deſcent, of which they ſpoke very much in *England*, and for which they made ſome Preparations. This Army conſiſted of between 16 and 20000 Men, both

French

French and *Iriſh*, which encamp'd at the *Hogue*, a little Village by the Sea-ſide, between the Cape of *Barfleur*, and the Bay of *Caen*.

The *French King* to cover this Invaſion, as well as to help the tranſport of his Troops, made all poſſible diligence to ſet out his Fleet, to execute this great Deſign, before ours and the *Dutch* Fleet cou'd be in a readineſs to joyn; which probably might have been, if a contrary Wind had not kept Vice-Admiral Count *D' Eſtrees* in the *Mediterranean* twenty one days together, with the *Toulon* Fleet. The *French King* therefore ſeeing that *Tourville* had already ſtaid ſo long for the *Toulon* Fleet, that the *Engliſh and Dutch* were ready to joyn, order'd Admiral Count *De Tourville*, to ſail with what Fleet he had ready, and to enter the Channel, the Troops being embark'd in *Normandy*, and he only expected to tranſport them over to *England*; with this Order *Tourville* came into the *Channel* with Fifty four Men of War, making ſtrait to *Normandy*, to joyn the Tranſport-ſhips.

In the mean while, every body wonder'd to ſee the King ſo unconcerned at *Loo*, and his Kingdoms ſo nearly threatned with an Invaſion; every body thought, that His Majeſty would not be ſo ſollicitous for the Safety of the *Low Countries*, but that he would at leaſt go over for *England*, and look after the preſervation of his own; which (may be) was the very thing the *French King* would have, and which he more deſign'd in this Project, than the Reſtauration of King *James*: for 'tis very plain, that His Majeſty's Preſence, and his *Engliſh* Troops in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, put a great ſtop to his Proceedings; whereas in the other War, when the *Engliſh* were not in the Alliance, *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and St. *Omer*, would be the work but of a Month's Cam-

 paigne,

paigne, but now his Conqueſts cannot go on ſo faſt, in a Country which he pretends of Right to belong to the *Dauphiné*.

However, tho' His Majeſty was at *Loo*, yet his Cares were not from *England* in this dangerous Conjuncture, but he ſent my Lord *Portland* (who in this Voyage was accompany'd by his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Eſſex*) over to *England*, with ſome Inſtructions to the Queen, to prevent this intended Invaſion, about which Her Majeſty had already taken very effectual Cares, in ſetting out our Fleet with all ſpeed, in raiſing the Militia of the Country, and ſeizing ſuch Perſons as were moſt liable to ſuſpicion in this matter: His Majeſty on this ſide of the Water took the ſame care of the *Dutch* Fleet, and order'd Colonel *Selwyn*'s, *Beveridge*'s, and *Lloyd*'s Regiments to be ſent back to *England*, to reinforce our Army there; and likewiſe countermanded ſeveral Regiments of *Horſe*, which His Majeſty had order'd over for *Flanders*. Thus by the Cares of Their Majeſties in *England* and *Holland*, the two Fleets joyn'd time enough to oppoſe the execution of the *French King*'s Deſigns upon *England*, and ſooner than His *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* expected; for not thinking that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* could be ſo ſoon joyn'd, he order'd Monſieur *Tourville* to fight, and engage with our Fleet where-ever he met it, if they offer'd to oppoſe his Undertaking in *England*, with that Number of Men of War he had then along with him; which he afterwards did accordingly; and I think pretty well to the *French King*'s Coſt. Things began now to look with a little better aſpect in *England*, and to promiſe the *French King* but little ſucceſs in his Invaſion, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets being joyn'd, and being in a better Condition than ever to do buſineſs, conſidering the number

and bigneſs of our Men of War, and the Seamen they had on Board; whereas *Tourville* was in our Channel with about Fifty Four Men of War, which could give us but little reaſon to fear his Undertaking.

This was the Poſture of Affairs about the opening of the Campaign, the King having left *Loo*, and paſs'd by *Breda*, came to *Duffel*, where his Majeſty tarried two or three Days, and the Elector of *Bavaria* went there to wait upon the King, and to Complement him upon his Arrival in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as well as to confer upon the preſent State of Affairs: But the *French* Army growing daily in Number about *Mons*, and the *French King* being come to head his Army in Perſon, oblig'd the King to haſten to *Bruſſels* to forward the Rendezvous of our Forces, which gathered part between *Anderleck* and *Dilbeck*, having *Anderleck* upon the Left; and the other part between *Dendermonde* and *Ghendt*, under the Command of Major General *Zuyleſteyn*; and after a March or two, they were joyn'd by Lieutenant General *Mackay*, who took the Command of them.

The King coming to *Bruſſels*, lay one Night at his *May* 8. 18.
own Houſe, (*l' autel d' Orange*) a Palace belonging of old to the Counts of *Naſſaw*, and Princes of *Orange*, not far from the Court, and which his Majeſty has of late beſtow'd upon Prince *Vaudemont*: The next Day the King took his Quarters at *Coukelbergh*, a little *Chateau* or Caſtle without *Flanders Port*, where his Majeſty remained till the marching of the Army from *Bruſſels*. The *French* at this time gave us by their Motions equal Reaſons to ſuſpect *Charleroy* and *Namur*, as the Place before which they would ſet to form a Siege; wherefore the Elector of *Bavaria* or-

der'd

der'd the Counts of *Thian* and *Brouay*, the firſt to *Namur* to aſſiſt the Prince of *Brabançon* the Governour, and the other to do the ſame thing at *Charleroy* with the Governour of that Place,

May 17. The Army having left *Anderleck*, march'd this day
27. through *Bruſſels* to *Deegham* towards *Louvain*, whilſt Lieutenant General *Mackay*, with about 16000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* which had rendezvous'd about *Dendermonde* and *Ghendt*, came up very near the Army in order to joyn it the next March; the *French* at this time leaving us but little reaſon to doubt, but that *Namur* was the place they intended to attack.

18. This Day the Army march'd, and came pretty near
28. *Louvain*, the King taking his Quarters at *Bethlehem-Abbey*. This Day we were likewiſe Joyn'd with the Forces under the Command of Lieutenant General *Mackay*, they incamping in the Line with the reſt of the Army. His Majeſty was inform'd in this place of a Deſign againſt his Life, which tho' it had miſcarried the Year before, was again ſet on foot by the ſame Perſons, *viz.* one *Grandval*, *Levendael*, and *Du Mont*, of which we ſhall give an Account, when we come to ſpeak of the Execution of *Grandval* at *Hall-Camp*, he being the only one of the Three that ſuffer'd the Puniſhment due to ſo villanous an Attempt. The Second merited the King's Pardon, by his diſcovering of the Plot to one of his Relations in *Holland*, who immediately gave an Account of it to my Lord of *Athlone*. *Du Mont* gave an Account of this Deſign much at the ſame time to the Duke of *Zell*, who likewiſe gave Notice of it to the King, which, as it was an Argument of his Sincerity in diſcovering of it, and likewiſe upon the Duke of *Zell*'s Interceſſion, he was alſo pardoned. The ſaid *Du Mont* came up afterwards

terwards to the Army, to give his Evidence, upon the Aſſurance his Highneſs of *Zell* gave him, of a ſafe Conduct. This *Du Mont* having given *Grandval* the meeting at *Endhoven*, not far from *Bois-leduc*; upon *Levendael*'s Diſcovery, my Lord *Athlone* ſent a Detachment of 110 Horſe thither, who ſeized both the Priſoners, I mean, *Levendael* that diſcover'd it, and *Grandval*, and carried them to *Boiſleduc* to the Prince of *Naſſaw Sarbruck* Governour of the Place. *Grandval* at firſt made as if he were very ignorant of the matter, and altogether innocent; but when the Prince of *Naſſaw Sarbruck* ask'd him if he knew one *Du Mont* at the Court of *Zell*, the other own'd the matter, and reply'd, That his Life was in his Majeſty's Power.

The *French* King having at laſt inveſted *Namur*, opened the Trenches before the Town, attacking of it with all the Vigour imaginable, and the Beſieged on the other ſide making a ſtout Reſiſtance. This Town is ſituated upon the *Brabant*-ſide of the *Sambre*: The Caſtle is very ſtrongly ſeated upon the Aſcent of a Hill, which makes a Nook of Land, caus'd by the meeting of the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*; looking towards the Town, and oppoſite to the Caſtle on the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, as you go up to *Dinant*, is a ſmall Suburb of Old Houſes. This Garriſon was compos'd of Ten *Dutch* and *Brandenburgh* Battalions, which had been there all Winter in Quarters, beſides ſome *Spaniſh* Regiments, between which there happen'd, during the Siege, ſome Diſcord, which forwarded very much (as 'tis ſaid) to the yielding of the Place. 'Tis very probable that the *French* King deſign'd this Siege very early in the Spring, if the foul dirty Weather that follow'd the Rigour of the laſt

May 22. *June* 1.

laſt Winter had not prevented it; or even in the Winter it ſelf, if it had not been ſo ſevere; for he had gain'd in his Intereſt the *Baron de Berſé* Lietenant, Governour of the Place, a Gentleman (if I may call a Traytor ſo) born in the *Franche-Conté*, and who had been (as is reported) Forty Five Years in the King of *Spain*'s Service. The Inhabitants of *Namur* rely'd very much upon him; and indeed, more than the Prince of *Brabançon* their Governour, whom they ſuſpected, becauſe a great part of his Eſtate lay in the *French* Conqueſts between the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*. This Lieutenant Governour was ſo much truſted, that he took care of all the Magazines, Proviſions and Ammunitions that were in the place, and ſuch Care, that he left them almoſt unprovided. Whether it was, that things were ripe for the Deſign, if a kind Seaſon had ſeconded it, or that he ſaw that he had gone ſo far, that he could ſtay no longer in the place for fear of being diſcovered, he took occaſion one day to go and viſit ſome Out-poſts, and by this Pretext got himſelf intercepted by a Party of the Garriſon of *Dinant*, where he was carried Priſoner, to cover the Plot; but his being ſo eaſily perſwaded to take the *French* Service, does very plainly prove, that his being taken Priſoner was but a Sham. It is ſaid, he did very great Service in this Siege, in directing the Attacks where he thought they would be moſt convenient, who knew ſo well the State of the Fortification. Upon this Treacherous Governour's deſerting of the Place, which gave reaſon to ſuſpect ſome Deſign, the Magazines were immediately viſited, and found in a very bad Condition; upon which Orders were ſent to the Governour of *Maeſtricht*, to ſend forthwith a Convoy of all ſorts of Ammunition, as Powder, Ball, Match,

Match, &c. and Seven Pieces of Canon, which was ſent under the *Eſcorte* of a very ſtrong Detachment of the Garriſons of *Maeſtricht*, *Liege*, and *Huy*, and Quarters thereabouts, being commanded by Count *Cerclaes* of *Tilly*, who ſafely got the Convoy into *Namur*, about the latter end of *February*, or the beginning of *March* laſt.

But to return to our Army: Whilſt we were incamp'd at *Bethlehem*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the King of *Spain*'s Troops, lay incamp'd within two Miles of us, on the way, between *Louvain* and *Bruſſels*, which afterwards, with his *Bavarian* Curiaſſers, made our Right Wing of Horſe, that being ſtill the Elector's Poſt of Command.

The King, early in the Morning, had by an Expreſs the happy News of our Victory at Sea, by Admiral *Ruſſel*, over the Count *de Tourville*, the *French* Admiral, which tho' it gave but a confus'd Relation as yet, of the *French* loſs, and our advantage over them, the Expreſs being ſent immediately after the *French* Fleet began to make off; yet it was a Victory of ſuch conſequence, that in the Evening the King caus'd all the *Engliſh* Artillery (which had joyn'd us but little before, if not that very day) to be drawn upon the top of a Hill, upon the Right of our Army, looking towards *Namur*; the *Dutch* Artillery was likewiſe plac'd on the ſame Hill, upon the Left of ours; and Orders were given for the drawing out of the whole Army in the Evening, to expreſs our Joy for the Victory, by the triple Diſcharge of our Artillery and Small-ſhot, and at the ſame time to give Notice of it to the *French*, who were very buſie in proſecuting the Siege of *Namur*, the Wind ſtanding very fair for that purpoſe. The whole Army in expreſſing their Joy for this Victory, ſhew'd ſuch an

May 23. —— *June* 2.

alacrity and eagerneſs to be with the Enemy, to ſecond this great Succeſs of our Fleet, and not to be behind-hand with our Maritime Forces, that we had all the reaſon in the World to expect great Matters, if they had been ſet on the Enemy.

This day we were likewiſe joyned by the *Daniſh* Troops, commanded by Prince *Wirtemberg*, conſiſting of Eight Battalions of Foot, and a proportionable number of Horſe; Col. *Earl*'s Regiment came in likewiſe the ſame Day, and Orders were given out this Night, for our marching the next Morning.

24. *June* 3. We marcht from *Bethlehem* to *Park*, another Abbey on the other ſide of *Louvain*, as you go to *Namur*; in this March the Second Line mov'd through the Firſt, becauſe we marcht upon the Right, and fronting another way at *Park*, towards the Enemy. The Second Line by this motion remain'd in the Rear, when we came to our ground; where we halted the next Day, in which we were joyn'd by the *Bavarian Curiaſſiers*, about 1400 ſtrong, who took their Poſt in the Right Wing of Horſe, immediately upon the Right of the *Engliſh* Foot-Guards. The King reſolving to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to raiſe the Siege of *Namur*, gave Orders this Day for all the heavy Baggage of the Army, as Carts, Waggons, and Coaches, to be ſent away to *Arſchot*, a Captain of every Brigade in the Army, with a proportionable number of Men, being commanded to guard it, and Orders were likewiſe given this Evening, for the Army's marching the next day.

26. *June* 5. The Army marcht to *Meldert*, making our way towards the *Mehaigne*, as well in order to joyn the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Forces, and thoſe of the Biſhop of *Liege*, under the Command of Baron *Fleming*, Velt-Mareſchal General to his Electoral Highneſs, and of

Count

Count *Cerclaes* of *Tilly*, the Biſhop of *Liege*'s General; which Junction the *French* Army could otherwiſe have hinder'd, if we had marcht the direct Road to *Namur*, theſe Forces coming from the *Paiis de Juliers*, and that of *Liege*, ſo that the *French* would have remained between them and us: As alſo becauſe the *French* Army had deſtroy'd all the firſt Forrage about *Gemblours*, where they incamp'd for a conſiderable time. This Day His Majeſty by a Second Expreſs, which came to him upon the March, receiv'd the Particulars of our Sea-Engagement, together with the Account of Admiral *Ruſſel*'s, having burnt Thirteen Men of War at the *Hogue*, and Sir *Ralph Delaval* the *Royal Sun*, and his Two Seconds, at Cape *Wyke*; which good News His Majeſty was pleas'd to order thoſe about the Court, to diſperſe about the Army that Day: which was likewiſe confirm'd to Prince *Vaudemont*, in ſeveral Letters from *France*, to the Princeſs his Wife, Daughter to the late Duke of *Elbœuf*, of the Houſe of *Lorrain*.

The Army having decamp'd from *Meldert*, marcht to *Liſſam*, where the King firſt form'd the *Corps de Reſerve*, ordering in the March Twelve Squadrons, and Six Battalions to encamp in the Rear of the Line, which at that time cover'd His Majeſty's Quarters at *Liſſam*; this *Corps de Reſerve*, as I have now ſaid, conſiſted of Twelve Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, and Six Battalions, *viz. Churchil*, *Bath*, *Saxe Gotha* Two Battalions, *Frieſem*, and *Anhalt*; this Body was then put under the Command of Count *de Lippe*, the *Landtgrave* of *Heſſe*'s General, who before the opening of the Campaigne upon the *Rhine*, had come to offer his Service to His Majeſty, as a Voluntier, who had Baron *Wartenſteben* for his Lieutenant-General, and for Brigadier the Prince of *Anhalt*.

27.
June 6.

May 28. This Day we were joyn'd by the *Brandenburg* and
June 7. *Liege* Forces, about 14000 ſtrong, under the Command of Baron *Fleming*, and Count *Cerclaes* of *Tilly*; for which reaſon the Army made a motion, to bring them within the Line, as alſo the *Spaniſh* Forces, under his Electoral Highneſs of *Bavaria*, which hitherto had made a Camp apart, marching ſtill as we did, and incamping at a ſmall diſtance upon our Right; the Army therefore to bring theſe Forces within the Line, mov'd towards the Left. In this motion we could perceive, that the *French* Army, under the Command of Mareſchal *de Luxemburg*, was marching towards the *Mehaigne* as well as we, by the great Duſt it rais'd in the Air, it being now dry and hot Weather; thus by the joyning of theſe Forces, our Line of Battle was form'd, we being computed about Fourſcore thouſand ſtrong, the King commanding the Main Body, the Elector of *Bavaria* the Right Wing, and Prince *Waldeck* the Left; and Orders were given for our marching the next Day, without Quarter-Maſters, to go before and mark out our Camp, we being then too near the Enemy.

29. We marcht on towards the Enemy, and about Two
June 8. of the Clock in the Afternoon, we came in ſight of one another, the *Mehaigne* remaining between us; our Left Wing, which in this March had the Van, being ſomething more forward than the Right of the *French* Army; upon our coming near the *Mehaigne*, we immediately poſſeſs'd ourſelves of all the Poſts upon the River, ſo far as our Lines reach'd, in order to paſs it over, as ſoon as the Bridges could be made. But the *French* on the other ſide, were poſſeſs'd of two Villages, about a quarter of a Mile from the River, which were ſurrounded with ſtrong Hedges and Thickets, between which

which Villages was a ſmall Plain, not half a Mile broad, where ſeveral *French* Squadrons had advanc'd themſelves, coming very cloſe to the River-ſide; but we having rais'd a Battery of Cannon on our ſide, we ſoon diſperſed them, and oblig'd them to retreat to their Body, which kept out of Cannon-ſhot: at the ſame time we planted Batteries of Cannon at all thoſe Poſts upon the River, as we had poſſeſs'd ourſelves of, placing an Officer and a proportionable Guard at every Poſt, by which means we were ſo far Maſters of the River, that the *French* Soldiers could not come for a drop of Water.

The King, during this Camp, took his Quarter at *Villeer*, otherwiſe *Ville*, an old rotten Village not far from *Hannuy*, a decay'd Market-Town, ſurrounded with ruinated Ramparts; in the Evening His Majeſty gave Orders for the building of Bridges over the *Mehaigne*, in order to paſs it the next Day, to attack the Enemy; the Picquet-Guard of the Army being drawn out to cut down Trees and Timber, and ſuch other Materials as they could find in the Woods, Barns, or Houſes fit for that purpoſe; every Regiment as they ſtood, firſt and ſecond in the two Lines, being to build a Bridge for to go over, that thus the whole Army might paſs the River in a Front, and at the ſame time.

Tho' things were ſo well diſpos'd to attack the Enemy the next Day, yet this glorious Undertaking was ſoon hinder'd by the great Rains that begun that very Evening; this being St. *Medard*'s Day, it being an obſervation among the People of this Country, that when it Rains upon this Day, it holds more or leſs for the Forty Days following; which prov'd not altogether falſe this Year: for whilſt we were incamp'd in this

29. / *June* 8.

place,

place, for eight Days together, it rain'd almoſt continually, the Wind blowing at the ſame time very boiſterouſly, which quickly ſwell'd this little River, ſo that though it be very deep, and pretty high Banks, yet it ſoon overflow'd the neighbouring Meadows, ſo that as we could not keep our Bridges over the River; ſo at the ſame time, the ways by the exceſſive Rains, became impracticable for our Cannon.

This River *Mehaigne* has its Spring about *Gemblours*, a Mile or ſo *W. N. W.* and is there but a little Brook, as a Man may very eaſily leap over; but by the help of ſeveral other little Brooks which fall into it, particularly from that ſide of the River which lies towards *Namur*, after a courſe of four or five Miles, it makes a very deep, tho' narrow River, and at length falls into the *Meuſe*, about a League higher than *Huy*. The Left of our Line in this Camp, reach'd as far as *Lattine*, within five Miles of *Huy*, which being flank'd by the *Corps de Reſerve*, the General Count *de Lippe* had his Quarter in this Village. From this Village, as far as the *Meuſe*, the *Mehaigne* runs between very ſteep Hills, which renders it impaſſable below this place, as the *Meuſe* lies between *Namur* and *Liege*. The Line of our Army extended itſelf from this Village very near ſix Miles upon the Right, having left a Bottom empty behind a riſing Ground, where our Troops could not have been ſeen from the Enemies Camp; therefore to make our Line appear the longer to the Enemy, we left in this place an Interval in the Second Line, which prov'd almoſt between the Body of the Army, and the Left Wing of Horſe; by this Method, the Left of our Line outwing'd conſiderably the Right of the *French*.

Whilſt

Whilſt the two Armies were thus facing one another, the *Mehaigne* lying between us, abundance of Deſerters came daily from the Enemies Camp, ſometimes Two or Three hundred a Day, not only Forreigners, as *Suiſſers*, *Germans*, and *Montferrins*, but a great many of their own Native Troops, all complaining of a general want of Forrage and Proviſions in the *French* Camp: for they had laid ſo long already about *Namur*, that they had conſum'd moſt of the firſt Forrage; and their Proviſions coming to them from *Mons*, *Maubeuge*, and *Philipville* and *Dinant*, they were daily moleſted by Parties from the Garriſon of *Charleroy*, ſo that they could not come but very ſeldom, and that under the *Eſcorte* of very ſtrong Convoys. We were likewiſe told, That the Mareſchal *de Luxemburg* to make his Army the greater, and in a condition to oppoſe ours, drew out all the Troops that were in the Lines at *Namur*, relieving the Lines of Circumvallation and Trenches from his own Army from time to time, the Left being not far from *Namur*; ſo that tho' our Army was ſo ſtrong and numerous, yet *Luxemburg* out-did us in number. As for our ſide, very few Deſerters went over to the Enemy: whether it was, that we ſo maſter'd and commanded the River, that they could not paſs, or their own inclinations that kept them in their Duty; for deſerting is a very common thing on both ſides, when Armies are near one another.

Whether it was true or not, that Proviſions were ſo ſcarce in the *French* Army, however they ſoon had plenty, by the ſurrender of the Town of *Namur*, which was yielded to the *French* during this Storm of Rain and windy Weather, which had hinder'd us from doing any thing for its Relief, and before they were oblig'd to it by any ſtreſs of their Condition; but the command-

manding Officers thinking that they could make a longer Defence in the Caſtle, if they did not harraſs their Forces in the defence of the Town, were induced by this Conſideration to deliver it to the *French*, and to withdraw all the Garriſon in the Caſtle for its defence: the Condition upon which the Town was ſurrender'd to the *French*, was, that a kind of Neutrality ſhould be obſerv'd between the Town and the Caſtle, whilſt the *French* attack'd the latter place; that is, that the *French* ſhould not annoy the Caſtle from the Town, nor the Beſieg'd to do any prejudice to the Town from the Caſtle. The yielding of this place prov'd at laſt the loſs of the Caſtle; for tho' the Beſieg'd might be in a better condition to make a vigorous defence in the Caſtle, by yielding the Town, yet that depriv'd us even of a poſſibility of doing any thing, in which we could expect ſucceſs, to relieve the Caſtle; whereas the relieving the Town was not a Work ſo difficult, but might have been done by our Troops, who all ſhew'd a very great eagerneſs to be with the Enemy: for whilſt the *French* beſieg'd the Town, they had very large Lines of Circumvallation to keep, which were likewiſe commanded by ſeveral Eminencies about the Town, which they muſt either yield to us, if we had attempted to raiſe the Siege, or defend with their own Troops; which would have leſſen'd the Number of the Enemies Army we ſhould have had to engage, and if we had beaten, the Siege muſt have been rais'd of courſe; ſo that by yielding of the Town, *Luxemburg* had all thoſe Troops which were employ'd in the Lines at *Namur*, to reinforce his Army, which now cover'd the Siege of the Caſtle, where the *French* King was in Perſon to Command, taking his Quarter at the Abbey of *Salſen*, upon the *Sambre*. The Caſtle of *Namur* (being

(being built upon that Nook of Land which is made by the meeting of the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*) is a Fortification conſiſting of three parts within one another, going up from the meeting of the Rivers, till you come to the Deſcent of the Hill on the other ſide; which makes almoſt the Figure of Three Horn-works within one another. Towards the *Sambre* lies an Eminency or little Hill, which becauſe it was ſo near the Caſtle, that it could be very prejudicial to it in caſe of a Siege, Colonel *Coehorne* commanding a *Dutch* Regiment in this Garriſon fortify'd it lately with a Horn-work, *An.* 1691. which was called *William's Fort*, or the *Coehorne*, and brought it within the Communication of the Caſtle by a cover'd way; beyond all this, towards the *Boys de Marlagne* lay a kind of Redoubt or Block-houſe, call'd the *Devil's Houſe*; that ſide of the Caſtle which lies upon the *Mues* being a meer Precipice, is liable to no Attempt upon that ſide, either for taking or relieving of it.

Much about the ſame time Count *de Lippe*, the *Landtgrave* of *Heſſe*'s General, and Lieutenant General Baron *Wartenſleben* left the Command of the *Corps de Reſerve*, to go to their proper Command upon the *Rhine*, the Confederates beginning now to take the Field there, and making two ſeparate Bodies, the one commanded by the *Landtgrave of Heſſe*, and the other by the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh Barieth*. Count *de Lippe* having left the *Corps de Reſerve*, Brigadier *Iſelſthein* had the Command of it. Prince *June* 6. *Waldeck* being indiſpos'd, went from this Camp to 16. *Maeſtricht*, whereof he is Governour, being but ſix Leagues from this place.

The Army march'd this day upon the Right as far *June* 7. as *Perteys*, the King taking his Quarters at *Ramely*, 17.

otherwiſe *Ramey*, and our Left extending it ſelf to the Paſs of *Brançon* upon the *Mehaigne*, the *French* marching at the ſame time on the other ſide of the River, halted with us, to form their Camp on that ſide of the River. When we came both to our reſpective Grounds, the Left of our Army, and more particularly the *Corps de Reſerve* (which was juſt upon the Paſs of *Brançon*, which it had upon the Right, flanking the Left of our Line) was almoſt within Muſquet-Shot of the Enemy's Right; but when they came to pitch their Camp, they retreated conſiderably towards a Wood that was in their Rear. His Majeſty coming this Evening to view the Lines, found the Infantry of the *Corps de Reſerve* too much expos'd to the Enemies Canon, particularly Brigadier *Churchill* and the Earl of *Bath*'s Regiments, which were encamp'd juſt upon the very River ſide, order'd them to decamp in the Night, and to march on the other ſide of the *Grand Cauſey*, which they had juſt upon their Left; this being a *Cauſey-way* that goes, as 'tis ſaid, from *Cologne*, by *Maeſtritcht*, to *Mons* and *Cambray*, and ſo to *Paris*: This Cauſey-way being very high in this place, cover'd then very well the *Corps de Reſerve*.

June 9. 19. The *French* having their Camp in this place upon a riſing Ground, making a Deſcent from their Front towards a River, and in their Rear towards the Wood, made a Motion one Afternoon, which made us believe they had a Deſign to March, upon which Orders were immediately given for the drawing out of the *Piquett* Guard of our Army, and the whole Army to be in readineſs to march; but we found quickly that it was but a Faint, their Deſign being only to retreat on the other ſide of the Riſing Ground towards the Wood, to remove their Camp out of our ſight,

ſight, that thus they might march when they pleas'd, without our Knowledge. They left in this Motion Five or Six Squadrons upon their Right, facing towards our Camp, as if it had been their Rear-guard upon this March: Whereupon my Lord of *Athlone* was commanded with 10 Squadrons to paſs the River at *Brançon*, and to obſerve them, being accompanied by the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Richmond*, my Lords *Portland*, *Overkirk*, *Eſſex*, *Hide*, *Dalkeith*, &c. as Voluntiers. Ours and the *French* Squadrons faced one another a quarter of an hour, wheeling ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another: But the Earl of *Athlone* finding that the *French* Army was encamp'd juſt on the other ſide of the Riſing Ground, did not think it fit to charge the *French* Squadrons; and thus commanded back his Ten Squadrons to our Camp; no Action happening in this buſineſs, except the firing of a Carabine or two.

At the ſame time as *Luxembourg* made this Motion, we obſerv'd that the *French* were very ſilent about the Caſtle of *Namur*, their Fire having ceaſed this day, which inſpir'd us with very different Paſſions of Hope and Fear of the Sieges being rais'd, or the Caſtle ſurrendred; but we heard afterwards, that the reaſon was, becauſe they had chang'd their Attacks upon the *Coehorne* or *William's Fort*, (as it afterwards prov'd) in a more ſucceſsful place.

The Garriſon of *Charleroy* hearing that a great Convoy of Bread, Meal, Oxon and Sutlers, went from *Mons* and *Maubeuge* to the Enemy's Army, made a very ſtrong Detachment, which fell ſo ſucceſsfully upon the Convoy, that they took moſt of the Waggons, loaden with Wine, Meal, and other Proviſions, and about 150 fat Oxen, making a very conſiderable Booty.

June 10. The *French* Army having march'd upon the Left
20. towards *Gemblours*, their Right, which is made up of their beſt Troops, being then not far from the Right of our Army; and the *Mehaigne* being here very narrow and inconſiderable, the King order'd the Infantry of the *Corps de Reſerve* to interline in the Right Wing of Horſe, under the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Command, to re-inforce it. A day or two after we heard a very terrible Blow at *Namur*, like a Clap of Thunder, and a great Smoak riſing afterwards, gave us reaſon to fear the blowing up of ſome of the Beſieged's Magazines.

June 12. This day the Army march'd to *Sombref*, going
22. through the Right of that Ground, in which the *French* had encamp'd the Day before, and leaving in this March *Gemblours* upon the Left Flank of our Columns, where a *Brandenbourg* Trooper ſhot a *French* Safeguard that *Luxembourg* had given to the Abbey of this place, which, as it was an Infraction of the Rules of War, it was reported, that his Majeſty would ſend the Trooper to the Mareſchal of *Luxembourg* to puniſh him as he pleas'd. In this March we heard that the *French* had made themſelves Maſters of the little Fort, call'd the *Devil's Houſe*. We reſted at *Sombref* the next day, nothing happening extraordinary.

14. This Day the Army march'd from *Sombref* to *Mel-*
24. *lé*, having *Fleury* upon our Right, where the Elector of *Bavaria* took his Quarter. About this time the
12. *Coehorne* or *William's Fort* was yielded to the *French*,
22. by a ſpecial Capitulation, the like, may be, having been hardly heard of before, that an Outwork ſhould make a particular Capitulation for it ſelf, which indeed was not very honourable, the Troops that were in it being to go to *Ghendt*; but making a long turn thro' moſt of the Frontier Garriſons, as *Dinant*, *Philipville*, *Maubuge*,

Maubuge and *Mons*, as ſo many Triumphs to proclaim the *French* Kings Glory. Colonel *Coehorne* being very much indiſpos'd by his continual Fateigues in the Defence of his own Work, refus'd to Sign this Capitulation. The Beſieged ſay for themſelves in this buſineſs, That the *French* having cut off the Communication between this Fort and the Caſtle, they were obliged to make this ſeparate Capitulation: For the *French* finding all their Attacks unſucceſsful upon this Horn-work, chang'd them upon the cover'd way, that made the Communication between the Caſtle and the Fort; and at length, after many Aſſaults, they lodg'd themſelves between the Fort and the Caſtle, and forc'd by this means the *Coehorne* to ſurrender.

We made a conſiderable Detachment from our Army to cover our Foragers, who went about *Treſigny* on the *Sambre*; and we made this Detachment ſo much the ſtronger, that the next, in which we had ſome other Deſigns than to cover our Foragers, ſhould give no ſuſpicion to the Enemy. Captain *Luke* of Brigadier *Churchill*'s Regiment, being in this Detachment, had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner; he was poſted with a Guard upon the Wood, in which (it ſeems) there was a *French* Party, who beat both the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* March, as if they had been ſome of our own Detachments: One of their Soldiers came, and when he was challeng'd by the Sentry, he deſir'd in *Engliſh* to ſpeak with the Officer. Whereupon Captain *Luke* coming to him, he was thus drawn in an Ambuſcade, that made him Priſoner juſt by his Guard, and was afterwards carried to *Namur*. *June* 20. 30.

This Evening we heard a great Firing in *Luxembourg*'s Army, the meaning whereof we ſoon ſuſpected, that it was for the Surrender of the Caſtle of *Namur*, which capitulated this day very early in the Morning. *Capi-* 20. 30.

Capitulation of the Caſtle of NAMUR, *June* $\frac{20}{30}$, 1692.

Articles propos'd by the Prince of *Brabançon*, in behalf of the Garriſon and Inhabitants.

I. *THat His* Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty *ſhall maintain the Burgers and Inhabitants in all their Priviledges.*

II. *That the Prince of* Brabançon *ſhall have twenty four hours time, to let the Elector of* Bavaria *know the State of the place; after which time, if he is not reliev'd, he ſhall deliver one of the principal Ports to the King's Troops.*

III. *That he ſhall have two days time to put the Garriſon in a readineſs to evacuate the place.*

IV. *That the Garriſon compos'd of* Walloons, Spaniards, *and* Brandenburgers, *ſhall leave the place, the Infantry to march out of the Breach, Drums beating,* &c. *and to be conducted the neareſt way to* Louvain, *under a ſufficient* Eſcorte, *to ſecure them from all Inſultations and Hoſtilities.*

V. *That the Garriſon ſhall have granted them a ſufficient Number of Waggons, of ſix Horſes each, for the carrying away their Baggage, Effects, and all other Equipage.*

VI. *That thoſe Effects ſhall not be viſited, particularly three cover'd Waggons, in which the Governor ſhall ſend out what he thinks convenient, with all ſecurity.*

VII. *That*

VII. *That the Intendant, Treaſurer, and the reſt of the King's Officers, ſhall be compriz'd in this Capitulation.*

VIII. *That the Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſon, ſhall have the liberty to retake what they left in the Town, when they ſurrender'd it, to retire in the Caſtle.*

IX. *That the Garriſon going, ſhall not be oblig'd to the Payment of any Debts, and that they ſhall have leave to buy in the Town what they ſhall want.*

X. *That the ſick and wounded as ſhall not be able to go to* Louvain, *ſhall remain in the Hoſpitals of the Town, and ſhall be nouriſh'd and lookt after, at His* Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's *Expences, and after they are recover'd, they ſhall have Paſſes granted them to retire where they ſhall think fit.*

XI. *That the Garriſon ſhall march out with Six Pieces of Cannon, and Four Mortars, with all things neceſſary to carry them to* Louvain, *beſides Powder and Ball for Six Shots.*

XII. *That all Perſons whatever, without any exception or diſtinction of the Dependencies of* Namur, *as ſhall be willing to leave the place, that they ſhall have liberty to go where they pleaſe, with their Goods and Effects.*

XIII. *That the Priſoners made on both ſides during the Siege, ſhall be releas'd without any Ranſom.*

And as for Major-General Wymberg, *commanding the* Dutch *Troops, as made part of the Garriſon.*

XIV. *That His* Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty *ſhall allow thirty Barks, or other Veſſels, with a good Convoy, to conduct ſafely the Officers and Soldiers in the States Service, with all their Effects, by the* Maes *to* Liege.

XV. *That he ſhall have Four Pieces of Canon, and as many Mortars,* &c. *as in the* 11*th Article.*

ARTI-

ARTICLES granted by the *French* King.

I. *Granted.*

II. *That the Governor ſhall have but Six Hours time to regulate his Capitulation ; and that for this effect, he ſhall deliver to His Majeſty's Troops, one of the Stairs of the Dungeon, and the right of the Court, the reſt remaining for the Garriſon.*

III. *That the Governour ſhall be oblig'd to evacuate the place the firſt of* July, *at Three in the Afternoon, and that then the Caſtle ſhall be deliver'd in His Majeſty's Hands.*

IV. *That the Garriſon, made up of* Spaniards, &c. *ſhall march out of the Breach, Drums beating,* &c. *the Horſe to go through the Town, and that they ſhall be conducted in four Days to* Louvain ; *upon Condition, that they ſhall not ſerve in the Allies Army in three weeks time ; that they ſhall have Ammunitions, and other Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtence given them by the King, till they come to His Catholick Majeſty's Territories.*

V. *Granted : And becauſe His Majeſty has not Waggons enough at preſent, they ſhall have them in a Fortnight's time,* viz. *three Waggons with four Horſes* per *Battalion, and one for the Field Officers.*

VI. *Allowed ; and ſince theſe Waggons are not yet ready, the Effects of the Garriſon ſhall be put in ſuch places of the Hoſpitals, or Monaſteries, as His Catholick Majeſty's Intendant ſhall find convenient , there to be kept, and till then, with all ſafety, and that His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Troops ſhall not touch them.*

VII. *That*

VII. *That the ſaid Officers ſhall remain Hoſtages, till the Inhabitants of* Namur, *and Dependencies, ſhall be reimburs'd of all thoſe Sums, as they have advanc'd for his Catholick Majeſty's Uſe.*

VIII. *Thô His Majeſty had declar'd all ſuch Effects forfeited, as the Officers and Soldiers who withdrew into the Caſtle had left in the Town, nevertheleſs he is willing they ſhould have them again without impediment, upon condition, that neither they nor their Wives or Children ſhall have liberty to remain in the Town.*

IX. *Granted: That they ſhall have leave to buy in the Town,* &c. *but that ſix Officers* per *Battalion ſhall remain Hoſtages for the payment of their Soldiers Debts.*

X. *Granted: And that His Majeſty's Officers ſhall not force them (after they are recover'd) to quit the Service of the Allies.*

XI. *That they ſhall have but four Pieces of Cannon with the King of* Spain's *Arms, and two Mortars,* &c. *in ten days, to be conducted to* Louvain, *and Powder and Ball for ſix Shots.*

XII. *That for fifteen days time, every Body, without diſtinction, ſhall have leave to withdraw themſelves with their Effects: and what they ſhall not be able to ſell within that time, to be forfeited to the King; the other Inhabitants that are abſent ſhall be recall'd.*

XIII. *Granted: Except thoſe who are the King's Subjects, who ſhall be retain'd.*

XIV. *Refus'd: And 'tis His Majeſty's Pleaſure, That the ſaid* Wymberg, *with the* Dutch *Infantry under his Command, ſhall march out of the Breach, Drums beating,* &c. *with the reſt of the Garriſon, to* Louvain, *that their Effects ſhall likewiſe be kept ſafely in ſuch place as they ſhall deſire till Waggons can be provided.*

XV. *That they ſhall have but Two Pieces of Canon with the States Arms, if ſuch can be found, to be carried to* Louvain. *Other Demands to be regulated according to theſe Articles.*

Given at the King's Camp before *Namur*, the 30*th* of *June*, about Noon.

Thus the *French* King became the quiet Poſſeſſor of *Namur*, covering by this means his Conqueſts with the *Meuſe* and the *Sambre*, and ſecuring all that he hath between them from the Incurſions of the Enemy, which before were very much moleſted by the Garriſon of *Namur*. By this Conqueſt *Bruſſels* is left open to the Enemy, and *Charleroy* as good as block'd up between *Namur* and *Mons*, and the Winter Quarters the *French* have ſettled at *Fleury* and *Gemblours*, which cuts all Communication between it and *Bruſſels*. This indeed ſeems to be one of the greateſt Actions that the *French* King hath ever done, to take this, which was reckon'd the ſtrongeſt place in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and a Man may ſay, the very Key of it; a place which had been never taken before, unleſs we reckon it taken when ſurpriz'd by *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who pretending to viſit the Queen of *Navarre* as ſhe paſs'd through this place, going to the Baths of *Aix la Chapelle*, wreſted this place by ſurprize out of the Hands of the States of the *Seventeen Provinces*, contrary to the Pacification of *Ghendt*, and the perpetual Edict, which renew'd the Wars of *Flanders*; and not only that the *French* King ſhould take this Strong Place, but in the Preſence of the beſt and fineſt Army that the Confederates have ever had in the Field, which, as the *French* deviſe upon the Medals ſtamp'd for

Vide du Maurier *in the Life of* William I. *Prince of* Orange.

for this occaſion, ſerv'd only as a Witneſs of the *French* King's Victories.

But if we conſider the Complication of Misfortunes that prevented our Attempts to raiſe this Siege, the Action will not appear ſo great; as, the Deluge of Rains that overflow'd the River *Mehaigne*, juſt when we came to it; the Surrender of the Town during thoſe Storms, which made us abſolutely uncapable of relieving the Caſtle, without defeating *Luxembourg* firſt, who, though he was more numerous before, yet his Army encreas'd now to a far more conſiderable Number, by the Junction of thoſe Troops, which were employ'd in the Siege of the Town; and without Beſieging and taking the Town afterwards, or hazarding our Army, the other ſide of the *Sambre*, in the *Defilés* of the *Bois de Marlagne*, between the *French* King and *Luxembourg*'s Armies; in which caſe we muſt have beaten both, or been ruined our ſelves: So that the Surrender of the Town may be reckon'd the Fundamental Misfortune, which occaſion'd the Loſs of the Caſtle, which was then in a manner inveſted by its own Scituation between the *Sambre* and the *Meuſe*, leaving but very ſhort Lines of Circumvallation for the *French* King to keep. Let us likewiſe conſider the weak Defence of the Caſtle, after the Loſs of *William's Fort* and the *Devil's Houſe*, yielding when there was ſcarce a Breach in the firſt *Envelope* of it; and therefore in almoſt as good Condition as it was in the beginning of this War, before the building of *William's Fort*.

It is certainly a very ſurprizing and wonderful thing, that a place of ſuch Importance, in which, as ſeveral *Walloon* Officers ſay, there was to be a conſtant Magazine of Ammunitions and Proviſions for

Ten Months for 8 or 9000 Men, ſhould now be forc'd to yield, after a Fortnight or three Weeks Siege, for want of it; and particularly, when before the ſurrendring of the Town, 'twas in their power to command as much Proviſions from the Town, for the ſubſiſtence of the Caſtle, as they thought fit themſelves. This is too plain an Argument of a wilful Negligence; for though there was no probability of relieving the Caſtle, after they had ſurrendred the Town, yet we could expect, that they would make the more vigorous Defence for it in the Caſtle, as 'twas pretended, when they yielded the Town to the Enemy: And nevertheleſs we find it ſurrendred, when the Body of the place remain'd entire, hardly a Breach being made in the outermoſt Work of the Three. The Beſieged ſay, that their greateſt Want was Water, which the Enemy ſpoil'd by the Directions of the Baron *de Berſé* to level their Bombs to the Well. It is likewiſe reported, that the Diſſentions between the Spaniſh and Auxiliary Troops did not a little contribute to forward the Surrender of the place.

Whatever the Prince of *Brabançon* the Governour might have to juſtifie his Conduct in this Siege, yet ſince he lies under Confiement in the Cittadel of *Antwerp*, till the Court of *Spain* be inform'd of the matter. Yet 'tis thought, that though he were guilty, yet being of the Houſe of *Aremberg*, one of the moſt conſiderable of the *Low Countries*, and Ally'd with moſt of the *Grandees* of *Spain*; and beſides, being Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which exempts him from all other Judicatures in Criminal Caſes, but that of his Knights Companions of the Order, with whom he hath very much Intereſt, by reaſon of his great Alliances: (I ſay) that for theſe Reaſons

ſons, 'tis thought he will very ſoon be reſtor'd to his Liberty.

It hath been reported by ſome, who pretend to underſtand the Affairs of the Court of *Bruſſels*, that the King had deſir'd the Elector of *Bavaria* to withdraw this Prince of *Brabançon* from his Government of *Namur*, acquainting the Elector at the ſame time with the Reaſons his Majeſty had to ſuſpect his Conduct; and that this might be done without diſobliging the Prince, who is ſo conſiderable both in this Country and *Spain*, by reaſon of the great Alliances of his Family, it was agreed, That the Prince ſhould be deſir'd to make the Campaign with the Elector. And this went on ſo far, that the Prince was at *Bruſſels* in order to accompany the Elector in the Field; but the *French* threatning to ſet down before *Namur* before the opening of the Campaign on our ſide, the Elector could not refuſe his going to his Government when the Prince deſired it, leſt he ſhould diſcover the Miſtruſt he had of him. However, at the ſame time the Duke of *Bavaria* order'd the Count *de Thian*, Major-General of the *Spaniſh* Forces, to accompany him in this Siege, giving him ſome particular Inſtructions.

We made a very ſtrong Detachment, which conſiſted of Captain, Lieutenant and Enſign, and Sixty Men of every Battalion in the Army, which were then about a Hundred, and a proportionable Number of Horſe, their pretended buſineſs being to cover our Foragers the next day; but the real, to endeavour to ſurprize *Mons*, of which we had ſome Hopes, by the Intelligence we had amongſt many of the conſiderable Inhabitants, who being ſtill *Spaniards* in their Hearts, long'd to be deliver'd from the *French* Yoke, and who inform'd, that the Garriſon was weak, and *June* 22. / *July* 2.

moſt

moſt of them *Swiſſers*, who would be as willing as they to joyn in the buſineſs. Therefore as ſoon as our Foragers were returned the next Day, Scaling-Ladders, Proviſions, and other neceſſary Materials were ſent, with a Re-inforcement, to Prince *Wirtemberg*, who commanded this Detachment: A Serjeant of *Fagel's* Regiment, who had been in *Mons* when it was beſieged, being to ſhew the way, and the Attempt to be made upon a Breach, as the *French* had not repair'd ſince they took *Mons*. According to theſe Directions Prince *Wirtemberg* march'd the 23*d* all Night, and came about One of the Clock in the Morning, the 24*th*, within an Hour of *Mons*, where having made an Halt, he ſent for Sir *Robert Douglas* and Collonel *Farrel*, who commanded the *Engliſh*, to come and ſpeak with him; but as they went back, it being very dark, they went a little too much upon the Right, and fell amongſt a Party of Horſe of the Garriſon of *Mons*, who made them Priſoners, and carry'd them away with all ſpeed to their Garriſon; for they confeſſed themſelves as much ſurpriz'd as the Priſoners themſelves, to be even within our Out-guards. Captain *Francis Sterling*, who accompany'd Sir *Robert Douglas* as a Voluntier in this Action, was of the number of the Priſoners. The Count *de Vortillac* Governour of *Mons*, being inform'd of our Deſign the Over-night, had ſent out but an hour before this Detachment of Horſe, under the Command of a Captain, to hear News of us, he himſelf ſitting up all Night to be ready, in caſe of an Attack. But Prince *Wirtemberg* hearing that the Marqueſs *de la Vallette* was hard by the Town, with a ſtrong Detachment of Fifty two Squadrons of Horſe, return'd back the Twenty Fourth to the Army.

The

The *French* upon our March to *Mellé*, in caſe we ſhould have a Deſign upon *Mons*, had order'd this Detachment to go towards it, and to receive Orders from the Count *de Vertillac* Governour of *Mons*, when he ſhould have occaſion for them; who accordingly, upon the firſt Notice of our Deſign, ſent an Expreſs to the Marqueſs *de la Vallette*, to require him to come to his Aſſiſtance; who made no delay, but came immediately, and arriv'd at *Mons* as ſoon as Sir *Robert Douglas* himſelf; and the Party that made him Priſoner and they came to Town between Three and Four in the Morning.

Sir *Robert Douglas* and the other two Priſoners being come to *Mons*, were treated with a great deal of Civility, the Governour coming himſelf to give them a Viſit, and took them afterwards with him in his Coach to Dinner, after he had given them the Liberty both of their Swords and the Town; but they could not make much uſe of the latter, by reaſon they were ſo much taken up in the Civilities of the Governour, Intendant and Major, that they had ſcarce time to ſee it; but yet they ſaw enough to find, that the Garriſon was not in that caſe as had been repreſented; that there was but two *Swiſſe* Companies in the place, and five or ſix *French* Regiments; that it was true, that whilſt we were upon the *Mehaigne*, the Garriſon had been weak, but re-inforc'd upon our March to *Mellé*.

Whilſt we were in this Camp, ſix or ſeven days before we left it, our heavy Baggage which we had ſent to *Arſchot*, from the Camp at *Park*, came to us under the Convoy of a Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons, that had been ſent for that purpoſe.

The *Corps de Reſerve* was order'd to march to *Genap*, to guard the Train of Artillery, which was ſent before *June* 27. / *July* 5.

before, becauſe the ill Weather which continued hitherto, had made the ways ſo bad, that 'twas impoſſible for the Army and Artillery to march in the ſame day. The whole Army follow'd the next day, and incamp'd
26. in the little Plains of *Genap*, a very difficult, and there-
6. fore ſtrong Ground, by reaſon of the Woods that are upon the Right and Left, and the *Bois de Sogne* in our Rear, and the Ground itſelf very unequal, by reaſon of the many little Hills that are in ſome places very ſteep; as we had in this Camp the *Bois de Sognes* in our Rear, ſo we had the little River *Dyle* in our Front, which riſing ſomething higher than this place, goes through *Genap*, and ſo to *Louvain*, and *Macklen*, and at length falls into the *Scheld*. The King had his Head-Quarter at *Genap*, our Right reaching to the Caſtle of *Bromel*, where the Elector had his Quarter, and was flank'd by the *Corps de Reſerve*, which fac'd thus to the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Quarter; the Left of the Army reaching to *Boutauneuf*.

At the ſame time as the Army march'd from *Mellé* to *Genap*, Baron *Fleming* with the *Brandenburg* Forces, and Count *Cerclaes* of *Tilly*, with thoſe of *Liege*, were ſent back to paſs the *Meuſe*, to cover the *Paiis de Liege*, which now lies quite open to the Enemy, ſince the taking of *Namur*; however, by the Junction of the *Newbourg* Troops, and thoſeof the Elector of *Cologne*, which were ſent to joyn *Fleming*. the Biſhop of *Liege*'s Country hath been ſo far ſecur'd, that the *French* have not been able to undertake any thing in it, and that we have poſſeſs'd ourſelves of all the Winter-Quarters there, by which means we ſhall be able to put *Huy*, the next Garriſon upon the *Meuſe*, in a good poſture of defence, againſt the next Campaign.

This

This day His Majeſty took a Review of the Fifteen *Engliſh* Battalions of the Army, in the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Preſence; with which his Electoral Highneſs, as well as His Majeſty, ſeem'd to be very well ſatisfied: The *Engliſh* Battalions were, Two of the Firſt Regiment of Guards, One of the Second, Two of the *Dutch* Guards, *Churchil*'s, *Trelawney*'s, *Fuſileers*, *Bath*'s, *Hodges*'s, *Fitz-Patricks*, *Caſtleton*'s, *Earl*'s, *Cuti*'s, and the Prince of *Heſſe*'s; Sir *Robert Douglas* came likewiſe to the Camp this day, having his Liberty by paying his Ranſom, as likewiſe Col. *O Farrel*, and Captain *Sterling*, having been but three days Priſoners, if Gentlemen can be call'd ſo, when they were treated with ſo much Civility by the Governour of *Mons*, and the Intendant of the place. The next day His Majeſty review'd the *Danes*, and other Forreign Forces, upon the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment. *June* 29. *July* 9.

This day a Detachment was order'd of ten Regiments, and a proportionable number of Horſe, under the Command of Count *Horne*, General of the *Dutch* Artillery, who march'd to *Bruſſels*, and from thence to the *Pais d' Aloſt*, and ſo to *Ghendt*, where he incamp'd for ſome time, juſt out of the Town, towards the *Canal* of *Bruges*, till we came to the *Scheld*; this motion was made, as is ſuppos'd, to ſecure the Forrage of this Country for the latter end of the Campaigne. This day, likewiſe in the afternoon, His Majeſty, in the Elector's Preſence, review'd the *Scotch* Infantry, which conſiſted of ten Battalions, *viz.* Two of the Guards, two of Sir *Robert Douglaſs*'s, Lieutenant-General *Mackay*'s, Sir *Charles Graham*'s, Col. *O Farrel*'s, Earl of *Angus*'s, Earl of *Leven*'s, and Col. *Lawder*'s, moſt of them appearing very ſtrong and full. *July* 3. 13.

After that the *French King* had made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, who with the Army under his Command, had obſerv'd us, to hinder our doing any thing for its Relief, paſs'd the *Sambre*, not only to conſume the Forrage there, but alſo becauſe we lay between him and *Mons*, and therefore it was neceſſary that he ſhould paſs the *Sambre*, to get between *Mons* and us; where after he had incamp'd ſome time at St. *Gerard*, and ſome other place, he repaſs'd the *Sambre* above *Charleroy*, at *Buſſiere*, and came to *Soignes*, not far from *Mons*.

July 10. We being to forrage this day, the *French* made a Detachment from their Army to moleſt our Forragers,
20. thô others ſay, that it was *Boufflers*, who with his *Camp volant*, was going back to repaſs the *Sambre*, to obſerve *Fleming*; whatever it was, an advanced Detachment of theirs, of about forty Men, falling unawares amongſt part of our Detachment that covered the Forragers, who thereupon were all taken Priſoners; their Deſign was diſcover'd, and the Forragers were all immediately order'd to return home empty, moſt of them not having yet forrag'd; and thoſe that had, had Orders to fling down their Truſſes, to remove the quicker out of the Enemies way: Notice being given of this to His Majeſty, he immediately got on Horſeback, and order'd the Pickquet of the whole Army to be drawn out under Arms, and to Rendezvous at the Hermitage, on the other ſide of the River *Dyle*, to be ready to ſecond our Detachment that guarded our Forragers, in caſe they had met with the Enemy; but nothing elſe happening, they return'd home. The *French* Parties were indeed very buſie this Camp, becauſe of the Woods that lay particularly upon our Right, where they could come and ſhelter themſelves, ſo that very often we had Horſes

ſes taken by them, grazing juſt by our very Camp; but once we having Notice, that one of their Parties lay in a Wood, juſt by our Right, not far from the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Quarters, a Detachment was made from the *Corps de Reſerve*, to go and clear the Wood of them; 'tis very probable, that they had all been taken Priſoners; for when we had diſcover'd them, and that we came near them, they all cry'd Quarter, but the *Germans* firing immediately upon them, that diſpers'd them ſo up and down the Wood and Thickets, that they made their eſcape.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* having removed his Court this Summer to *Cleves*, to be nearer his Forces, te give them ſuch Orders as he thought convenient, paſs'd the *Meuſe* at *Roermoade*, and came as far as *Vrecklen*, not far from *Louvain*, to confer with His Majeſty upon the preſent State of Affairs; where His Majeſty went to meet him, about the middle of this Month, being guarded by a ſtrong *Eſcorte* of Horſe and Dragoons, After the Conference, the King return'd to the Camp at *Genap*; and the Elector went to view his Forces that were now incamp'd on the other ſide of the *Meuſe*, near the River *Outre*, not far from *Liege*; and afterwards his Electoral Highneſs having paſs'd by *Maeſtricht*, return'd to *Cleves*. *July* 16. 26.

Much about the ſame time, the Elector of *Bavaria* went to *Bruſſels*, having a very ſtrong *Eſcorte* all along the way, that goes thro' the *Bois de Sogne* to *Brſſuels*, this Wood being generally very full of *French* Parties, and more particularly at this time that they expected the Duke of *Bavaria*'s going to *Bruſſels*, to the Proceſſion of the Bloody Hoſt, where the Governors of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* are ſtill us'd to aſſiſt. This bloody Hoſt is kept in the great Church of *Bruſſels*, it was 17. 27.

ſtabb'd by a Jew (as they ſay) in contempt of our Saviour, and immediately there fell from it ſome Drops of Blood, which remain upon the Hoſt to this day. The Elector return'd the ſame day in the Evening, after the Proceſſion, to *Bruſſels*, having (as is ſaid) eſcap'd many dangerous Ambuſcades in this *Bois de Sognes*, by his quick and ſpeedy Riding.

July 21. —— 31. This day the Army decamp'd from *Genap*, and made a great March, as far as *Noſtredame de Hall*, having paſſed by *Nivelle*, the Abbey of *Bois Seignerer Iſaac*, and a very bad Defile at *Brain le Chateau*, it rain'd alſo moſt part of this day, which made the ways very difficult and deep, particularly for the Rear of the Army: by this long March, which laſted from Morning till Night, we aſſur'd ourſelves of the Camp at *Halle*, where otherwiſe the *French* might have been beforehand with us, and thus have hinder'd (by poſſeſſing themſelves of this Paſs) the Subſiſtence of our Army in this unforrag'd Country, and afterwards in *Flanders*. We encamp'd this day our Right upon the *Senne*, our *Corps de Reſerve* flanking it, and fronting towards *Halle*, and our Left extended itſelf as far as *Brain le Chateau*; we paſs'd this day through the Ground that was mark'd for the *Hanouer* Troops to encamp that day, they marching up in all haſt to joyn us.

22. —— *Aug.* 1. The next day the Army paſs'd the *Senne* in ſeveral Columns, one with the *Corps de Reſerve* going through the Town, the others upon ſeveral Bridges of Boats, that were laid above it; the King took his Quarters at the Caſtle of *Lembeck*, and the Elector in the Town of *Halle*; a place famous for the Devotions made to an Image of our Lady, given about Four hundred Years ſince by *Elizabeth* Queen of *Hungary*, and a Daughter of the Houſe of *Flanders*; which, as the Legend of it pre-

tends, hath wrought abundance of Miracles, Pictures being hung all about the Church that repreſent them, but none of later date than the Fifteenth Century. I don't know whether 'tis becauſe it has not that Faculty at preſent, or whether the Reformation has not put a ſtop to ſeveral of their pious Cheats. This Church is of late given and impropriated to the Jeſuites, that have a very pretty little Colledge by it. The Town of *Halle*, when we had paſs'd the *Senne*, and pitch'd our Camp, remain'd in the Rear of our Right Wing of Horſe, where the *Hanover* Troops afterwards took their Poſt. In this Camp likewiſe the Infantry of the *Corps de Reſerve* was commanded in the Body of the Army, Brigadier *Churchill's* and the Earl of *Bath's* Regiments taking their former Poſts amongſt the *Engliſh*.

We were likewiſe joyn'd this Day in the Afternoon by the *Hanover* Troops, computed to be between 7 and 8000 ſtrong, Horſe and Foot, and all very fine and gallant Troops, particularly the Horſe of his Highneſſes Guard, of which there was two Troops, the one upon Grey, and the other upon Bay Geldings, which being very well accouter'd, and incomparably well mounted, made a very fine and martial ſhew. His Troop of Dragoons *du Corps* did almoſt equal his Life-Guard in fineneſs and goodneſs of Equipage, and in their Horſes. The next day we were alſo joyn'd by two *Engliſh* Regiments of Horſe, namely, Colonel *Langſton's* and the Marqueſs *de Ruvigny*, now Lord *Gallaway*; the firſt of the two was afterwards (ſome few days after the Engagement at *Steenkirk*) broke into our other Regiments to augment their Complement, the Officers being remov'd according to their Poſts, into thoſe Vacancies as were in other Regiments,

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and what remain'd being allow'd Subſiſtence, till they are provided for, the ſame way.

July 23. — *Aug.* 2. In the Evening Orders were given out for Six Battalions to be ready to march an hour before day, and to parade at the Head of Prince *Waldeck*'s Regiment. The Battalions were, the Second of the firſt Regiment of Guards, the firſt of Sir *Robert Douglas*'s, Col. *Fitz-Patrick*, Col. *O Farrels*, a Battalion of the *Daniſh* Guards, and the Queens. Orders were likewiſe given for Seventeen Men of each Battalion in *Churchill*'s Brigade to be ready at the ſame time and place, and to be commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Manwayring*, their buſineſs being to make the ways through the *Defilés*; they were all to receive a Ducat a Head for their Labour; and as they were to joyn with the Vanguard in time of buſineſs, they carried their Arms with them as well as Hatchets and Spades. All this Detachment was to be commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg* as the Vanguard of our Army. Orders were likewiſe given for the whole Army to march very early in the morning, the General to beat at break of Day, and the Army to be ready to march at Sun riſing. All theſe Preparations were in order to attack the *French* the next day in their own Camp at *Enghein*, who the ſame Day as we march'd from *Gennap* to *Hall*, decamp'd from *Soignes*, and made all haſte to *Enghein*, leſt we ſhould get that Ground from them, and thus oblige them to get farther to their own Conqueſts; *Luxembourg*'s Right being at *Steenkirk*, and his Left at *Enghien*, he took his Quarters at *Hove*.

July 24. — *Aug.* 3, According to Orders, the Six Battalions paraded at the Head of Prince *Waldeck*'s Regiment, and the Detachment of 17 Men *per* Battalion of *Churchill*'s Brigade, and received the Commandment of Prince *Wirtemberg*

temberg; and very early in the Morning the whole Army followed them, making their way to the Enemies Camp through nothing but *Defilés*, being close Ground all the way, and no other way but such as was made by our Detachment for that purpose; the Baggage being left behind by order, at the Camp at *Hall*. About Nine or Ten in the Morning our Vanguard came to the Advanç'd Posts of the Enemy, the Mareschal of *Luxembourg*, (as the *Paris* Account gives it) having been informed of our Design by Monsieur *de Tracey*, (who commanded a Detachment of Horse that Night between the Enemies Camp and ours) had taken care to possess himself of the most considerable Posts in the *Defilés*; but notwithstanding our Vanguard oblig'd the Enemy to retreat from them all, till they came to a little Wood, just upon the Right of the Enemies Camp, except a small Guard in a Village upon the Left of our Columns, almost a League from the Enemy's Camp, who upon the March of our Army were all made Prisoners of War; their number about Thirty Men and an Officer.

Between Ten and Eleven of the Clock in the Morning our Advanc'd Guards under the Command of Prince of *Wirtemberg* lodged themselves in the Wood that fronted the Right of the Enemy's Army; the *Danes* and the Battalion of Guards taking their Post upon the Left in the Wood; and Sir *Robert Douglas*, *Fitzpatrick's* and *O Farrel's* upon the Right of them; on the other side of the Wood was the Enemy's Camp, a little Valley remaining between, and a great many Hedges, which the Enemy resolved to maintain with all Vigour possible, though they yielded so easily their Advanced Posts. Prince *Wirtemberg* planted upon a little Rising on the Left of the Wood a Battery of Canon,

Canon, which began to play about Eleven of the Clock; and another upon the Right, by Sir *Robert Douglas* his Battalion. Captain *Macrackan* of the ſame Regiment, who afterwards was killed, pointed a Canon from this Battery ſo ſucceſsfully, that it put a whole Battalion of the Enemies in diſorder, ſweeping almoſt an entire Rank before it.

Whilſt Prince *Wirtemburg* was playing upon the Enemy with theſe Batteries of Cannon, the Army marcht up to the Head of the Defile (about half an *Engliſh* Mile from the Wood) where it open'd in a little Plain upon our Right, not above half a League over, which terminated upon the Right of the Wood, where our Van-Guard was, and at the Right of our Army, upon ſeveral Rows of high Trees, which ſeem'd planted in great order, as if 'twas the Avenue of ſome Perſon of Quality's Houſe, which being towards *Enghien*, makes me ſuppoſe, that they may belong to the Duke of *Arſchot*'s Houſe, where theſe famous Gardens be, as are ſaid to be the Pattern of *Verſailles*: through theſe, ſtreight before us, on the other ſide of the Plain, we could ſee the *French* Infantry drawn up in two Lines, and making towards their Right to defend the Poſt upon the Wood. Upon the Right of this Plain, not far from theſe Groves and Rows of Trees, there was a pretty conſiderable Farm, which ſoon after the Engagement was ſet on fire by the Enemy, to cover (as 'tis ſaid) ſeveral of their Battalions by the Smoak, who were order'd this way, and was afterwards engag'd with *Fagel*'s Brigade, between this Houſe and the Wood, where our Advanc'd Guard was poſted. From the Head of our Defile, upon the Left of the Plain, there went for almoſt half a Mile in length, a deep hollow way with high Trees and Hedges upon the Banks of it, which

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reach'd as far as the Wood, where the Van-Guard was poſted, and where it branch'd itſelf in three other deep ways, one going through the Wood upon the Left to the *Danes* Attack, and to that of the Guards; one almoſt ſtreight forwards; and the other upon the Right, going along the outſide of the Wood; between theſe two laſt was the place, where Sir *Robert Douglaſs*, Col. *Fitz-Patrick*'s, and *O Farrel*'s Regiments were poſted. On the other ſide of the deep way as went from the Head of our Defile, to the Poſt, where was our Van-Guard, went ſeveral narrow Fields, which lay between it all along, and a part of the Wood which reach'd as far as from our Advanc'd Guards to our Defiles.

When the Army was come up to the Head of theſe Defiles, and juſt entring into the ſmall Plains, they were order'd to halt, except the *Engliſh* Life-Guards, and Horſe and Dragoons, which were commanded upon the right skirts of the Wood, where was our Van-Guard, and my Lord *Cutts*'s, Lieutenant-General *Mackay*'s, Sir *Charles Graham*'s, and Earl of *Angus*'s Regiments, which being interlin'd with the *Engliſh* Horſe, were commanded at the ſame time to the outſide of the Wood, on this ſide of that way as branch'd upon the Right, which made the Figure of the Arch of a Circle, as the skirts of the Wood did here before us; theſe four Regiments were poſted here, to be ready to ſecond the Attack of our Van-Guard. Prince of *Heſſe*'s, Col. *Lauder*'s, and Earl of *Leven*'s Regiments, who were alſo interlin'd with the Left Wing of Horſe, were likewiſe poſted upon the ſide of the Wood.

Things being thus diſpos'd, and our Army continuing on the halt, Prince *Wirtemberg*, after he had Cannonaded for above two Hours, begun the Attack with the *Danes* upon the Right, which was immediately fol-

low'd by the other four *Engliſh* Regiments as compos'd our Van-Guard, and ſeconded by *Cutts*, *Mackay*, *Angus*, *Graham*, *Lauder*, the Prince of *Heſſe*, and *Leven's* Regiments. Certainly never was a more dreadful, and at the ſame time bolder firing heard, which for the ſpace of two Hours ſeem'd to be a contin'd Thunder, and equall'd the Noiſe even of the loudeſt Claps; our Van-Guard behav'd in this Engagement to ſuch wonder and admiration, that tho' they receiv'd the Charge of ſeveral Battalions of the Enemies, one after another, yet they made them retreat almoſt into their very Camp, ſo far, that the Second Battalion of the Firſt Regiment of Guards, poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Battery of the Enemies Cannon, which the Enemy were oblig'd to quit by the vigour of our Charge; and Colonel *Wacup* who commanded the Battalion, and who behav'd himſelf extreamly well in this occaſion, plac'd a Serjeant and Guard upon it; but the *French* having cut off the Traces, and taken away the Horſes, we could not bring them off, but were oblig'd afterwards to leave them: Sir *Robert Douglaſs*, with his firſt Battalion, charg'd ſeveral of the Enemies, and beat them from three ſeveral Hedges, and had made himſelf Maſter of the fourth, where going through a Gap to get on the other ſide, he was unfortunately kill'd upon the ſpot; all the other Regiments performing equal wonder, and behaving with the ſame Bravery, and beating the Enemies from their Hedges ſo far, that in this Hedge-fighting their fire was generally Muzzle to Muzzle, we on the one ſide, and the Enemy on the other.

But to return to our Army; As ſoon as we were come to the Head of the Defile, it was order'd to halt, particularly our Left Wing of Horſe, that the Foot that were interlin'd with them, which were moſt *Engliſh*

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and *Scotch*, and which I have before mentioned, might march up through the Horſe; we were oblig'd to this halt, tho' it was the loſs of the day; becauſe the Ground was ſo ſtreight, and the Enemy had ſuch Hedges, Copſes, and little Woods to cover them, that there was nothing to do for the Horſe; ſo that when the Van-Guard began to engage, they had none but part of the Infantry interlined with the Left Wing of Horſe, to ſecond them, the Body of the Infantry being almoſt a Mile in the Rear; however, as ſoon as the Action began, the King made all diligence poſſible to get the Infantry up, ordering a Brigade to march up to the Wood, and forming a Line of Battel in the Plain, with that Infantry as could come up; the Soldiers ſhew'd ſuch eagerneſs to come to the Enemy, that they ran to the Relief of thoſe as were engag'd, even ſo faſt, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, which was the reaſon that they took more time to form their Battalions, than was at that time convenient: this was the caſe of thoſe Battalions as were ſent to the Wood, to the Relief of our Van-Guard; ſo that when they came up, our Van-Guard and Infantry of the Left Wing being over-powr'd by the vaſt many Battalions of the Enemy, as charg'd them ſucceſſively one after another; and laſtly, by the ſurvening of *Baufflers*'s freſh Troops, they were forc'd to retreat in great diſorder, and to leave the Wood in which they had lodg'd themſelves, entirely to the Enemies poſſeſſion. The Baron of *Pibrack*'s Regiment of *Lunenburgers* being in great diſorder in the skirt of the Wood, and the Baron their Colonel lying dangerouſly wounded upon the place, (which he got in rallying of his Regiment) the Earl of *Bath*'s (one of the Regiments that was commanded towards the Wood, the other *Engliſh* being Brigadier *Churchil*'s) was order'd by Prince *Caſimir*

ſimir of *Naſſaw* to their Relief; two Sergeants of this Regiment reſcu'd the Colonel, who lay wounded almoſt in the Enemies hand, and brought him off in ſpight of their fire; upon theſe Orders of Prince *Caſimir* of *Naſſaw*, Sir *Bevil Granville*, who commanded the Earl of *Bath*'s Regiment, march'd up to the Relief of this *Lunenburg* Regiment, bearing the Enemies fire, before he ſuffer'd any *Platton* of his Battalion to diſcharge once; by which method the Regiment lodg'd itſelf in the Trench, or deep way, that lay upon the skirt of the Wood, which it maintain'd, till it was commanded off again by the ſame Prince of *Naſſaw*.

The King having form'd a Line of as many Battalions as cou'd come up in this little Plain, the Enemy upon their Right, and our Left of the Wood as we fac'd, planted a Battery of about ten Pieces of Cannon, to put them in diſorder by their fire; we at the ſame time brought another againſt it, and thus continued firing one upon another for a conſiderable time. What miſchief we did to the Enemy by our Cannon then, I cannot tell, but theirs kill'd ſeveral of our Soldiers, ſome in the Regiment of Fuzileers, and ſome in the Battalion of the Second Regiment of Guards, but the moſt conſiderable loſs we ſuſtain'd by it, was Col. *Hodges*, who was ſhot with a Cannon-ball at the Head of his Regiment, of which he ſoon after dy'd. There was likewiſe a Skirmiſh between ſome of the *French*, and ſome of our Battalions, between the Wood and that Farm which was fir'd by the Enemy, but it did not laſt long; what Regiments they were I cannot tell; but I ſuppoſe they were ſome of the *Dutch* interlin'd in the Left Wing of Horſe, commanded by Brigadier *Fagel*.

The Van Guard being thus diſorder'd for want of a timely Relief, which was occaſion'd by the narrowneſs

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of the Ground, and conſequently beaten out of their Poſt in the Wood, *Luxemburg* being likewiſe joyn'd by the Marqueſs of *Boufflers*'s freſh Troops, who came time enough to compleat the Defeat of our Van-Guard with his Dragoons; and beſides, the Night drawing on, the King order'd the Army to retreat, which was done with admirable Order; for tho' the *French* did follow us for ſome time, yet they did not fire a ſhot, ſuch was the order of our Retreat, that they did not dare venture upon it; the *Engliſh* Grenadiers brought up the Rear, and whenever the *French* mov'd towards us, they fac'd to the Right about, and preſented themſelves to the Enemy; then the Enemy would halt, and ſo our Rear-Guard then march'd on; this halting and facing, and then marching, continu'd for ſome time, till the Night put an end to the Enemies farther motion: And thus the Army came back to *Halle*, on *Munday* Morning about Three of the Clock.

We loſt in this Action ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, ſome taken by the Enemy, and ſome we could not bring off, the Horſes being tired, we likewiſe blew up ſome of our Powder-Waggons in the Retreat, which we could not bring off, ſome having their Carriages broken, and others their Horſes tir'd. The *Engliſh* loſt two Colours, and the *Dutch* likewiſe ſome; we had about Two thouſand Men kill'd, and about Three thouſand wounded, in which number we comprehend the Priſoners taken by the *French*, diſabled by their Wounds to come off, being about 8 or 900. Of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* twelve Battalions engag'd, *viz.* The Second Battalion of the Firſt Regiment of Guards, the Firſt Battalion of Sir *Robert Douglaſs*'s, Col. *Fitz-Patricks*, and Col. *O Farrel*'s in the Van-Guard; *Cutts*, *Heſſe*, *Mackay*, *Graham*, *Angus*, *Leven*, and *Lauder*, interlin'd in the Left-Wing of Horſe. Of the Body of the Infantry, the Earl of *Bath*'s.

Of

Of the *Danes*, Battalion of Guards, the Queen's Battalion, Prince *Chriſtians* and the *Finland* Battalion. Of the *Dutch*, *Waldeck*, *Fagel*, *Noyelles*, *Torſey*, *L'Eceluſe*, *Naſſaw*, commanded by Colonel *Goz*. *Lunenburgers* in the States Service, *Boiſdavid* and *Pibrac*; beſides *Epingers* and *Fitzhardings* Dragoons, and the Horſe Granadiers, who charg'd on Foot. Officers killed of Note were, Lieutenant General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier* Lieutenant General of Horſe mortally wounded, who died few days after at *Bruſſels*, Sir *Robert Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, Colonel *Hodges*, my Lord *Mountjoy*, who had been two or three years in Priſon in *France*, and came upon his Liberty to ſerve the King as a Voluntier; he was killed with a Canon Ball at the Head of Colonel *Godfrey*'s Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Fullerton*, *Foxon*, *Hawley*, *Wacup* and *Hamilton*, Major *Carre* of *Angus*'s Regiment, wounded mortally, and died ſoon after. Chief Officers wounded, my Lord *Cutts*, Colonel *Mackay*, Lieutenant Colonel *Eaton*, *Courthop*, Major *Fox* of *Fitzpatrick*'s. Priſoners of Note, Colonel *Lauder*, Lieutenant Colonel *Eaton*, *Briſtol* and *Courthop*. Several Officers of the *Danes*, killed, wounded, and ſome Priſoners, whoſe Names I cannot Inſert. As likewiſe of the *Dutch*, Lietenant General *Tetteau* wounded, Colonel *Goz*, Commandant of Prince *Caſimir* of *Naſſaws* Guards, and Colonel *Moor* Commandant of *Torſey*'s Regiment, both killed.

This is an Impartial Account of the Buſineſs of that Day, of which the *French*, notwithſtanding their *Te Deum*, have no great reaſon to brag. All as Impartial Men can ſay of their Advantage, is, that we attack'd them in their own Camp, and that they repuls'd us, though with the greater Loſs both of Soldiers and conſiderable Officers on their ſide. If it had pleaſed God

to

to have given us the Victory, we muſt have been Maſters of their Camp, and great part of their Baggage; whereas the Conſequence of the Diſadvantage on our ſide, was not, nor could not be ſo: And therefore what ever Honour the *French* may aſſume to themſelves in the Repulſe, yet it can't be deny'd us in the Attack.* And indeed the *French* Officers (whatever the *Paris* Gazette may romance) are juſt in this reſpect, and are not unwilling to give the Honour due to the *Engliſh*, and the reſt of the Kings Forces who engag'd in this Attempt. What Loſs the *French* ſuſtain'd, or what Forces engag'd, we cannot ſo juſt tell; the *Paris* Gazette ſays, That the whole Body of our Infantry engag'd, and inſinuates, That the *French* Infantry did the ſame, ſince it ſays, that it gave that day very good Proofs of Courage, though they were not before valued by their Enemies. Whether our whole Infantry engag'd, as the Account publiſhed at *Paris* as ſent to the *French* King, I leave the Reader to judge. I am ſure none of the Body of Foot engag'd, but three of the Four *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments, detach'd upon the Vanguard, and the Earl of *Bath*'s Regiment, all the reſt being interlin'd with the Left Wing of Horſe, except the Four *Daniſh* Battalions. But by all the Informations that I could get, from Officers who were taken Priſoners, and who have been ſome time in their Hands both at *Mons* and *Valenciennes*, who relate nothing but what they have had from *French* Officers, above Fifty of their Battalions charg'd that day, beſides Seven or Eight Regiments of Dragoons. Nay, their Infantry was ſo harraſs'd by our Fire, that they ſeem'd unwilling at laſt to come to the Charge; ſo far, that the moſt conſiderable Princes in the Army of the Blood, and others, were oblig'd to head them, and to lead

lead them on by their Examples and Exhortations; in which Action the Duke of *Chartres* receiv'd a Contuſion in the Shoulder, the Prince of *Conti* had two Horſes ſhot under him, and the Prince of *Turenne* receiv'd a Mortal Wound, of which he dy'd afterwards at *Enghien*. But the coming of *Boufflers* renewed their Efforts, and his freſh Troops ſoon put our Vanguard in Diſorder, who had been ſufficiently harraſs'd for want of Relief. The *French* loſt on their ſide a Standard belonging to the *Dauphin*'s Dragoons, taken by thoſe of *Epinger*; and we made ſome Captains, a Cornet, and ſome other Officers Priſoners. They have owned themſelves to our *Engliſh* Officers that have been Priſoners amongſt them, that they have had 9000 Men killed and wounded; Of the wounded a vaſt many dy'd afterwards, becauſe our Arms are ſtronger, and carry better Balls than theirs. I can't give an Account of their conſiderable Officers that they loſt, ſince I have not ſeen a Liſt: What I can remember of the *Paris* Gazette, are, the Prince of *Turenne*, the Marqueſs *Tilladet*, both Lieutenant Generals kill'd, and likewiſe the Marqueſs *de Bellfords*, and Collonel *Polier*. There are great many others both kill'd and wounded, whoſe Names I can't remember.

But before I quit this Relation of the Engagement, I can't omit the generous Charity of the Princeſs of *Vaudemont* at *Bruſſels* I wiſh that all thoſe of her Communion, as the Popes have Canoniz'd, had as good a Title to be Saints: For the number of our wounded being greater than could be contain'd in the Hoſpital which the King had at *Bruſſels*, a great many on the *Monday* in the Evening were lying with their Wounds up and down the Streets; whereupon this excellent Princeſs, moved with a Chriſtian

ſtian Principle of Charity, went in her Coach attended with a great many *Flambeaux*, up and down the Streets, to find them out, and had them conducted to the great Hall of her Palace, where ſhe ſaw them dreſs'd of their Wounds her ſelf by her Surgeons, ſhe and the Ladies of her Attendance giving Linnen and other Neceſſaries for that purpoſe: And here ſhe maintained them till they could either be remov'd to the other Hoſpitals, or till they were in a condition to go abroad themſelves.

The Day following the Mareſchal *de Luxembourg* ſent a Trumpet in our Camp, to give leave to Officers Servants to go to the place of Battel, to take care of their Maſters Bodies as were kill'd upon the place, and likewiſe to aſſure, that care would be taken of all ſuch wounded Priſoners as they had. But Orders were given out in our Army only for Field-Officers Servants to go, and bring off the Bodies of their Maſters, as lay dead upon the place; by which means the Bodies of Sir *Robert Douglas* and Lieutenant Colonel *Fullerton* were brought off, and buried in our Camp at *Halle*. As for my Lord of *Angus*, his Governour went, but could not find his Body amongſt the Dead, nor hear of him amongſt all the Priſoners. He had a Paſs on purpoſe to go to the *French* Army to enquire for his Lord. *July* 25. / *Aug.* 4.

Our Army Forag'd towards *Haute Croix*, and a Detachment of Horſe under the Command of Lieutenant General *Sgravenmoor*, ſent to cover our Foragers, met with a conſiderable Detachment of *French* Horſe, and was oblig'd to retreat. The Alarm came quickly to our Army, and it appeared immediately under Arms; but there was no conſiderable harm done of either ſide in the two Detachments. 26. / *Aug.* 5.

July 27. —— *Aug.* 6. This day one *Chevalier de Millevoix* (ſo called for his Excellency in Singing, and a great Maſter in Muſick, who by it had got himſelf to be one of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Domeſticks, and was very much conſider'd of him, inſomuch that he had a very good Penſion, and made a very great Figure) was hanged upon a Tree in the Front of our Right Wing of Horſe for a Spy, and for having given, and endeavoured to give Intelligence to the Mareſchal of *Luxembourg*, which was intercepted by the Elector. The Boor he employ'd bringing two of his Letters, one after another, to his Electoral Highneſs; and pretending to *Millevoix*, that he had fallen amongſt ſome of our Detachments, and had been oblig'd to fling them away. His true Name was *Jaquet*, born at *Liſle* in the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders*.

Aug. 1. —— 11. The King being advertiſed that the *French* Army march'd from *Enghien* to *Giſlenhem*, the King march'd with all the Army, (except thoſe had been harraſs'd at *Steenkirk*) to charge them in the Rear; but the Advertiſement having been given too late, his Majeſty could not overtake them. The *French* decamp'd in great Secreſie, without any general Beating before, or any Beat of Drum upon their March, and their Pikes trail'd; which ſufficiently ſhews, they did not care (notwithſtanding their Victory) for a Second Bruſh. They left all our wounded Priſoners behind them at *Enghien*, who were ſent the next day in Carts to *Bruſſels*. His Majeſty this day went as far as *Enghien*, and had full view of the place of Battle, of the Enemies Camp as it was before they march'd off, and before we engag'd. Our Army not being able to overtake the Enemies Rear, returned the ſame day to *Halle*.

We

We Forag'd this day, and the Detachment was put under the Command of my Lord of *Athlone*, who being informed that ſeveral of the Enemy lay in Ambuſcade in a Wood to ſteal our Horſes, he ordered a Party to beat the Wood, where Captain *Rowland Maikenzy*, of that Regiment as was Sir *Robert Dowglas*'s, now my Lord *George Hamilton*'s, made Twenty Priſoners, who begg'd very eerneſtly for Quarter, though Orders had been to give none. *Aug.* 2. 12.

This day the *Chevalier de Grandval* Knight of *Malta*, *Bartholomew Lanier* by Name, born at *Liniere* in *Picardy*, was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, (according to the *Engliſh* Puniſhment for Traytors) in the midſt of our Camp, for having conſpir'd to aſſaſſinate the King, with *Du Mont* and *Levendael*, the firſt having diſcovered the buſineſs (as we have ſaid before) to the Duke of *Zell*, and the ſecond to his Brother in *Holland*: They were confronted as Witneſſes of the Fact, which *Grandval* himſelf confeſſed and own'd. This *Grandval* had before kill'd the Mareſchal *de Humiere's* Nephew in a Duel; and as there is no mercy in *France* for ſuch Men, he was oblig'd to fly to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Country for ſhelter, where in the beginning of the War he took Service. But Monſieur *de Catenat* finding this *Grandval* Serviceable to the Duke of *Savoy*, repreſented it to the *French* King, and deſired him to give him his Pardon; being aſſured under-hand, that he would quit the Duke's Service if he had it. Accordingly upon *Catinat*'s Requeſt, *Grandval* had the Kings Pardon, and thus left the Duke of *Savoy*, and came to *Catinat*'s Army, where he was immediately preferr'd to be Major of Dragoons and Adjutant General. *Du Mont* having been formerly an Officer in the States Service, and diſoblig'd (I think, 3. 13.

caſhier'd) by our King, he was reſolved to attempt a Revenge by the aſſaſſinate of his Sacred Perſon; accordingly he made the Motion to the then Marqueſs *de Louvois*; and this was deſigned to be executed in 91. when the King was in the Field, either upon the March of our Army, or at ſome other time when the King rid abroad to view ſome Poſts. The Marqueſs *de Louvous* pitched upon this *Grandval* to bring the Aſſaſſin off, who was to command a Detachment of ſome ſtout deſperate Fellows for that purpoſe: For *Louvois* thought this Man fit for the purpoſe, ſince he had been ſo deſperate as to fight a Duel, contrary to the ſtricteſt Orders of the *French* King, and in which there was no hopes of Mercy, and alſo becauſe he had been ſo much obliged by the *French* King in having his Pardon, in a caſe in which the *French* King had never pardoned before; and therefore he lay under ſome Obligation to undertake this honourable Employment. But *Du Mont* and *Grandval* miſſing of their Deſign that Campaign, and the Marqueſs *de Louvois* dying ſome time after, it was laid by, and *Du Mont* retired to *Hanover*. *Barbeſieux* however finding this Project in his Fathers Papers, would not let it fall, but ſent for *Grandval*, who accordingly entred into a new Negotiation with *Du Mont* by Letters at *Hanover*, and took with him a third Aſſociate, *Levendael*, at *Paris*, and appointed their meeting to execute their Enterprize at *Endhoven* near *Boiſleduc*. I need not ſay any more Particulars, I refer my ſelf to the *Factum* printed in ſeveral Languages by Authority, to let the World know ſo horrible a Villany, and what the *French* Court will not attempt, though it be never ſo baſe and unworthy, to rid themſelves of, a powerful Enemy; and far more baſe and horrible than thoſe Deſigns

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laid againſt the Life of *William* I. Prince of *Orange*, his Sacred Majeſty's Glorious Anceſtor, as this was carried with a Helliſh Secreſie; whereas the King of *Spain* had by a publick Proſcription laid a Price upon the Prince's Life. Theſe Traytors were invited to this more than Helliſh Conſpiracy, by the Proſpect of vaſt Rewards promiſed them both by the late King and *Barbeſieux*, as has appeared by their own Confeſſion, and *Grandval*'s own Letter to *Mademoiſelle Juré*, wherein he deſired her to wait upon the Archbiſhop of *Rheins*, to acquaint him, that he had obeyed the Marqueſs *de Barbeſieux*'s Orders at the Expence of his Life.

My Lord of *Athlone*, General of the *Dutch* Horſe, was Preſident at the Council of War, where he was Try'd, aſſiſted by *Sgravenmoor*, Sir *John Lanier*, and *Talmaſh*, and *Mackay*; Lieutenant Generals *La Foreſt de Weede*, *Noyelles*, *Zobell*, Major Generals. *Churchill* and *Ramſey* Brigadiers. But the buſineſs of *Steenkirk* cut off two of the General Officers preſent at the Council of War, before the paſſing of Sentence, ſo that their Names are not Sign'd in it, *viz.* *Lanier* and *Mackay*. The Sentence was paſſed and read *Monday* the 11*th* of *Auguſt*, at the Camp at *Lembeck*, and Executed the *Wedneſday* following.

This day the Army decamp'd from *Noſtredame de Halle* and marched to *St. Quinten Lenneck*, a place remarkable only for the Retrenchments which remain there, which Prince *Waldeck* cauſed to be made ſometime before the Army's breaking up in 1690. and the next day we came to *Ninove*, the firſt Town in *Flanders*, ſcituated upon the River *Dender*, which paſſing by *Aloſt*, falls into the *Scheld* at *Dendermond*. The *French* were at the ſame time encamp'd between *Gram-* *Aug.* 9. 19.

mont

mont in *Dutch Geersberg*, and *Leſſines*, both upon the ſame River, about two Leagues higher. The King took his Quarter in the Abbey of the Town, of the Order of *Premonſtre* or St. *Norbet*, and the Elector at a Gentlemans Houſe not far from the Town: The Kings Quarter lying ſomething too open in this Camp in the Front of our Army, all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Granadiers were order'd to encamp about the King's Quarters to cover it.

The day before this laſt March, (*viz.* the 13*th*) the Second Battalion of the firſt Regiment of Guards, my Lord *Cutts*'s and the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Regiments were ſent to *Mecklen*, having ſuffer'd very much in the late Engagement. Three *Dutch* Regiments who ſuffer'd at the ſame time, were commanded towards *Maeſtricht*.

Aug. 14. All the heavy Baggage of the Army was commanded towards *Ghendt*, under the Convoy of Four *Daniſh*
24. Battalions who had ſuffered at *Steenkirk*, and were ordered there to quarter: They were the Battalion of *Daniſh* Guards, the Queens, Prince *Chriſtians*, and the *Finland* Battalions. This was in order to the Armies marching the next day towards the *Scheld*. The Ways being difficult, and the *Defilés* many, the heavy Baggage was ordered to *Ghendt*. The next day being *St.*
15. *Lewis*'s day, the Army march'd from *Ninove*. The
25. *French* at the ſame time decamp'd from *Grammont* and *Leſſines* to paſs the *Scheld* as ſoon as we; this being their Patron Saint, and reckoned amongſt them as a Fortunate day: Our Left Flank laid very open all this day's March, if they had pleaſed to attack it; but they thought it not convenient, and ſo we came and encamped in very cloſe Grounds at *St. Levinus Haltheim*, a pretty large Village, and conſiderable chiefly for the Burying-place of St. *Levinus*, a *Scotch* Man,

and

and ſometimes Biſhop of *Ghendt*, a Martyr beheaded there, as the Legend will have it, and buried in this Church; as we came up to our Ground in this Camp, it being all high Trees and Incloſures, a Party of about 100 *French* were ſurpriz'd Priſoners between our two Lines, the Defiles being ſuch here that one Line could not ſee the other.

The next day the Army march'd and paſs'd the *Scheld* at *Gavre*, a little Town belonging to the Count *d' Egmont*, where he has an old ruinous Palace, which gives him the Title of Prince of *Gavre*; the other ſide of the *Scheld*, between this River and the *Lys*, is all cloſe Ground, full of Trees, belonging to the Count *d' Egmont*, which made ſuch difficult Defiles, that the Army cou'd march but very ſlowly; this made the *French* before-hand with us in their paſſage of the *Scheld*, between *Audenarde* and *Tournay*; in this March before we came upon the *Scheld*, we had a very fine proſpect of the whole Province of *Flanders*, which on the other ſide of the *Scheld* is all a perfect Level, not as much as a Hill to be ſeen, ſo that the Hills on the *Brabant*-ſide give a full view and proſpect of it; we had the Town of *Audenarde*, and the Hills and Plains of *Tournay*, upon our Left, *Ghendt* upon our Right, and before us all the Low *Flanders*, which gave us ſuch a Proſpect, that we cou'd ſee as far as *Bruges* and *Antwerp*; this Night we encamp'd amongſt the Woods, between the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, the King taking his Head-Quarter at *Naſſaret*. *Aug.* 16. 26.

The Army march'd towards the *Lys*, being now joyn'd by that Detachment as was made at *Genap*, under the Command of Count *Horn*, Maſter of the *Dutch* Artillery; we had a very difficult March through the Defiles, till we paſs'd the *Lys* at *Deynſe*, which was very 17. 27.

ry late in the Evening, tho' but a ſhort March, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ways: the Army encamp'd late at Night on the other ſide of the River; the King took his Quarter at *Grammen*, and the Elector of *Bavaria* in the Town of *Deynſe*, ſituated upon the *Lys*, about three Leagues higher than *Ghendt*, and gives the Title to the Marqueſs *Deynſe*, Colonel of a *Walloon* Regiment, as we reliev'd at *Damme*. The *Saturday* following we were joyn'd by three Regiments of Horſe lately come from *England*, *viz.* that as was Sir *John Lanier*'s, now Col. *Lumley*'s, my Lord of *Athlone*, and Col. *Schack*'s, who then took their Poſt in the Line.

The Mareſchal of *Luxemburg* marching as we did, to obſerve our motions, came about the ſame time with his Army to *Harlebec*, where he encamp'd between that place and *Courtray*, along the *Lys*; *Luxemburg* made the more haſt to cover *Courtray*, a place which lies open all the Summer, and which the *French* have hitherto palliſado'd and fortify'd every Winter for a Garriſon, and of which we might have otherwiſe poſſeſs'd ourſelves, and made it a Winter-Quarter for our Troops; here *Luxemburg* lay ready likewiſe to cover *Ipres* or *Dunkirk*, in caſe the Army had march'd that way.

The King order'd this day a Detachment of Six Re-
21. giments towards the Canal of *Bruges*, five being *Engliſh*
31. and *Scotch*, viz. *Bath*, *Caſtleton*, *Mackay*, *Graham*, and *Leven*, and the Sixth Major-General *Wey*'s Regiment of *Dutch*, commanded by Count *d' Ohna*; this Detachment march'd accordingly towards the Canal of *Bruges*, and paſs'd it about half way, between *Bruges* and *Ghendt*, upon a Bridge of Boats, and encamp'd the other ſide of the Canal, under the Command of Brigadier *Ramſey*; the next day the ſaid Detachment continu'd their March towards *Bruges*, and encamp'd within a quarter of a mile

of

of that place, about *Katarina Port*, where they halted the next day to expect Lieutenant General *Talmaſh*, who was detached the 22d of *Auguſt*, O. S. *Sept.* 1. N. S. from the Army, with five Battalions, moſt *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, *viz.* his own of Guards, Second Battalion of *Scotch* Guards, Col. *Trelawney*, *Engliſh* Fuziliers, commanded by Col. *Fitz-Patrick*, and that Regiment as was Col. *Hodges*, now Col. *Stanley*'s, who came up to *Bruges* by *Aug.* 23. the ſame Road as Brigadier *Ramſey*'s Detachment had *Sept.* 2. march'd, and encamp'd juſt under the Walls. The ſame day the *Dutch* Regiment commanded by Count *d'Ohna*, march'd through *Bruges*, and joyn'd four *Dutch* Regiments of the Garriſon of *Bruges* and *Sluys*, who were put under the Command of Major-General Count *de Noyelles*, who march'd the ſame day towards *Newport*.

This Day the aforeſaid Detachment of ten *Engliſh* 24. and *Scotch* Battalions, under the Command of Lieute- *Sept.* 3. nant-General *Talmaſh*, march'd through the Town of *Bruges*, and ſo kept along the Canal of *Oſtend*, till they came to *Placendael*, where we turn'd to the Left upon the Canal of *Newport*, and ſo encamp'd at *Oudembourg*, an old ruinous Town about half a League from *Placendael*, where the Canal of *Newport* falls into that of *Oſtend*, and ſo goes on to *Bruges*: there are ſtill ſome ruinated Ramparts about the Abbey of St. *Pierre* in this old Town, of the Order of St. *Benoiſt*, where Lieutenant General *Talmaſh* took his Quarters for that Night.

This Detachment of ten Battalions from the King's Army, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, was ſent to joyn the Duke of *Leinſter*, who on the 22d *Aug.* O. S. *Sept.* 1. N. S. came with the Tranſport-Ships, under the Convoy of a Squadron of our Men of War, into *Oſtend* Harbour, having on board fifteen Regiments, (viz.) *Selwyn*, *Beaumont*, *Haſtings*,

Sir *David Collier*, *Tiffeny*, *West-Meath*, *Brewer*, *Venner*, Sir *John Morgan*, *Lloyd*, *Beveridge*, Earl of *Argyle*, *La Meloniere*, *Belcaſtel*, and *Cambon*; theſe Troops as they landed march'd to *Mariekirk*, about a League from *Oſtend*, towards *Newport*, where they encamp'd ſome days to refreſh themſelves; the Duke of *Leinſter* at his landing, order'd a Detachment of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, Officers, and Men proportionable, out of his Tranſport-Troops, to keep Guard at all the Paſſes along the Canal, from *Placendael* to *Newport*.

Aug. 25. *Sept.* 4. The Detachment under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, march'd from *Oudenbourg*, along the Canal of *Newport*, and ſo came to *Newendam*, a ſquare Fort within half a League of *Newport*, where there is a *Spaniſh* Governor, and a ſmall Garriſon detach'd from time to time from the Garriſon of *Newport*. Major-General Count de *Noyelles*, who was ſince *Bruges* ſtill a days march before us, enter'd this day into *Furnes* without any oppoſition, with the five *Dutch* Regiments under his Command, and took poſſeſſion of the place. This Town lies upon a Canal, between *Newport*, and *Berg St. Winnox*, within two Leagues of *Newport*, three of *Berg St. Winnox*, and about five from *Dunkirk*; and in all the Wars between the two Crowns, ſince *Dunkirk* and *Berg* have been in the *French* hands, this Town has ſtill ſerv'd for a Winter-Quarter to the *French*, which in the Spring they ſtill abandon'd, to have their Garriſon in the Field, and return'd their Palliſades to *Berg* or *Dunkirk*, and in the Winter they took care to fortifie it, ſo as to hold a Garriſon for Winter-Quarters. It is about the bigneſs of *Oſtend*, and has in it a Pariſh-Church, a Collegiate Church of Secular Prieſts, the Dean whereof is a *French-man*, two Cloyſters of Nuns, one of Capucins,

pucins, and an Abbey of White Monks of *Premonſtré*, or the Order of St. *Norbert*, and is in the Dioceſs of *Ipres*.

Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, with the Detachment under his Command, march'd from *Newendam*, and came to *Furnes*, in *Dutch* called *Vuernes*, and encamp'd cloſe by it; and a day or two after the Boars (that had been ſummon'd about *Ghendt* and *Bruges*, with their Spades and Shoovels, and other Inſtruments, to remove the Earth, and had been commanded hither) began to work about the Fortifications, being about 2 or 3000, Col. *Cambon* being Engineer; nothing new was added to the Fortifications, but only we renewed thoſe Works as the *French* had ruin'd, when they left it the beginning of this Campaigne. The Duke of *Leinſter* came likewiſe with the Tranſport-Troops, and encamp'd at *Ooſt Dunkirk*, about a Mile from *Talmaſh*'s Detachment, and at the ſame time he was joyn'd by a Detachment from the great Army, of about thirty Squadrons of Horſe, under the Command of Brigadier *Boncourt*; ſo that now we made a Body of about Sixteen thouſand Men, beſides the Garriſon of *Furnes*. We made Detachments and Parties almoſt every Night towards *Dunkirk*, but without meeting any of the Enemy's; and aſſoon as we had put the Body of that place in a condition to hold an Aſſault, palliſadoed it, and cleans'd the Ditch, we left the Boars to repair the reſt of the Works, under the cover of the Garriſon; we likewiſe left ſome Artillery to put upon the Ramparts, and ſo march'd to *Dix-muyde*, the Battalion of Guards, *Selwyn*'s, and the Fuziliers, and ſome other Regiments having been ſent over Night to poſſeſs themſelves of the place; which was put *per-Interim* under the Command of Brigadier *Ramſey*. Upon our March, the Fort of *Knock* fir'd three Pieces of Cannon, ſuppos'd to give Notice to the *French* of our

Aug. 26.

Sept. 5.

Sept. 7.

17.

march that way: This is a little ſquare Fort ſcituated upon the River that comes to *Dixmuyde* about a League and a half, and is very advantagiouſly poſted upon a conſiderable Paſs between *Ipres*, *Dixmuyde*, *Furnes*, *Berg* and *Dunkirk*, the Canals between *Ipres* and thoſe places meeting all here; ſo that the taking of this Fort would have cut off the Communication between *Ipres*, *Berg* and *Dunkirk*, and would have cover'd very much our Garriſon of *Dixmuyde*, which did lie now very open by the Neighbourhood of this Fort.

'Twas ſuppos'd we had a Deſign to attack it, ſince our Train of Artillery, Mortar-pieces and other things neceſſary for an Attack were brought by Water from *Newport* to *Dixmuyde*, and that my Lords *Portland* and *Auverquerque* were ſent from the King to the Duke of *Leinſter* here, which looked like a Conſultation about ſome conſiderable Enterprize: Beſides, Col. *Cambon* our Engenier was ſent to view the place under the *Eſcorte* of a good Detachment of Horſe. The Fort fir'd upon them with their Canon, but without any loſs on our ſide: But the *French* upon our March this way, ſoon made a conſiderable Detachment from their Army to cover this place, who encamp'd cloſe under the Fort.

When we came to *Dixmuyde* we encamp'd juſt by it, in two Lines, having our Right at *Caeskirk*, where the Duke of *Leinſter* had his Quarter, our Left upon the Town, and our Rear cover'd by the River *Iſer*, upon which this Town is ſcituated, and which falls into the Sea at *Newport*. This Town, ſince the growing Power of *France*, has ſuffer'd many Revolutions; it was firſt taken for the *French* (as I have been told by ſome ancient People of the Town) by the Mareſchal

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de Rantzaw, before the Siege of *Dunkirk*, and ſurrendred afterwards by Treaty to the *Spaniards* : It was then of a far larger Extent than 'tis now : For in the Wars of 1672. the Count *de Monterey*, then Governour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, cauſed the Out Parts of the Town to be pulled down to bring it in a more convenient Compaſs for a Fortification, and for a place of Defence, and ſo fortify'd it after the manner as we find it now. But ſometime after the *Spaniſh* Garriſon finding themſelves very weak, and the Enemy not far from them, they quitted the Place. I was told by the Inhabitants, that it was about that time as *Luxembourg* was beſieged. All this War the *French* have had it in their Hands, making a Garriſon of it every Winter, which with *Furnes* preſſed *Newport* very much, the Garriſon making their Incurſions upon the Canals, and ſometimes to the very Gates of *Bruges*. Every Summer as they took the Field, they pull'd down their Palliſadoes, and ſent them by Water to *Ipres*. This Town has in it a Pariſh Church, in which there is a Dean, and ſome Secular Canons, a Cloiſter of Recollects, and two Nunneries, and is in the Dioceſs of *Ipres*. Juſt out of *Ipres* Port was formerly a Nunnery of the Order of St. *Bernard*, which the Count *de Monterey* cauſed to be pulled down, when he brought the Town in the Precinct of that Fortification it has now, and gave the Nuns another Cloyſter in exchange for it in *Bruges*.

We felt an Earthquake which laſted about two Mi- *Sept.* 8.
nutes, and ſhook the Earth very violently ; it was felt 18.
at the ſame time all over *Flanders*, in many parts of *England* and *France*, and in other places of *Europe*. We had it about Two of the Clock ; it caus'd a great Conſternation in our new Garriſon of *Dixmuyde*, ſome thinking

thinking at firſt that the *French* had undermin'd ſeveral parts of the Town, and were in Ambuſcade going to blow them up

The ſame day the Duke of *Leinſter* cauſed the Army to intrench, which was mark'd out by Col. *Cambon*, our Left and Rear being cover'd by the Town and the River. Our Retrenchments were drawn from the Bridge upon the River along the Front of the Army, and round our Right Wing, till they came to joyn the River again. (*Bouffler's* marching towards the *Knock*) this Precaution was taken, in caſe he would have endeavour'd to interrupt our Fortification of *Dixmuyde*.

About as many Boors were (immediately upon our coming) employ'd to repair the Works of this place as we left at *Furnes* : We did not find the Fortification of this Town ſo far ruin'd as at *Furnes*, and followed in it (as there) thoſe Works as the Ruines preſcribed, without altering or making any new : We only made the Ditch next the Body of the place larger, to make our Baſtions of a better height. This Town has five Baſtions on that part as is expos'd to an Attack that is from the Windmil between *Ipres* port and the River, to the Gate as leads to *Bruges*. The Weſt ſide of the Town is cover'd by the River, to which it joyns by a Cauſey-way that leads to it, where it has a Bridge cover'd on the out-ſide by a good Baſtion, and the in-ſide with a ſquare Sconce, both ditch'd and palliſado'd. The Canal of *Newport* goes through the South part of the Town, and joyns the River a little below ; and being a perfect Moraſs on this ſide, it does not require much Fortification. The Town is environ'd with a double Ditch and cover'd way, and the Faces of each Baſtion are cover'd with a Half-Moon, beſides good ſpacious Ravelins upon the Curtins. This is what we

had

had to repair; and to go on with the more Speed, a Detachment of a hundred Men *per* Battalion (except the Guards) were commanded to work, under the Inſpection of a Captain, Lieutenant and Enſign, each; ſo that we had, Soldiers and Boors, very near 5000 Men on work every day. The ſix Regiments that were in Town came out and encamp'd, and ſix others were order'd in their places, (*viz.*) Princeſs *Ann*'s, the Earl of *Bathe*'s, Lord *Caſtleton*'s, Col. *Venner*'s, Col. *Mackay*'s, and Earl of *Leven*'s, and encamp'd within the Ramparts of the Town, where, beſides the ordinary Guard, a Re-inforcement of the *Bewarke* mounted every Night at each Port towards the Enemy. *Sept.* 10. 20

This day the ordinary Detachments of the Earl of *Bathe*'s Regiment and *Fuſiliers*, being at work at the Baſtion by *Ipres* part in enlarging the Ditch, found an old hidden Treaſure, which quickly ſtopt the Soldiers working, who fell all a ſcrambling in a heap one upon another, ſome bringing off a very good Booty, ſome Gold and ſome Silver, ſeveral *Jacobus*'s and *Sovereins* being found by the Soldiers, and a great many old Pieces of Silver of *Henry* the Second, *Charles* the Ninth, *Henry* the Third, *Henry* the Fourth's Coyn, which are now hardly to be found in *France*. The People of the Town ſuppoſe that this Money belong'd to one *Elfort* a Gentleman, dead many years ago, who bury'd his Treaſure (when the Mareſchal *de Rantzau* took the Town) in the *Bernardine* Nuns Garden, (this Ground where the Money was found having been formerly in that Garden) which Count *de Monterey* cauſed to be demoliſhed; and they think that there might have been about 900 Pound *Groot*, which makes the value of Four Hundred and Fifty Guineas Engliſh. This *Elfort* left it by Will to his Children, and 12. 22.

and the Marks where to find it, but his Children could never diſcover it. 'Tis a wonder that it has not been found till now, ſince the *French* have work'd every Winter this War, and ſeveral times before, in repairing the Works of this Fortification; 'tis very likely that we ſhould have gone without it too, if we had not enlarg'd the Ditch at this time.

Sept. 21. —— *Octob.* 1. Count *Horne*, Maſter of the *Dutch* Artillery, who has had the Command both of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde* given him, came to this place with Five *Dutch* Regiments, and Colonel *Lauders*, to Garriſon there this Winter; and the other ſix Regiments that were there marched out and encamped with the Army: But the Works being now pretty well repair'd, theſe ſix Regiments were ordered to march towards *Newport* under the Command of Major General Sir *Henry Bellaſſis*, who encamp'd at a Village call'd *St. George*, about half a League from *Newport*, and on the *Mondny* following the Duke of *Leinſter* came to the ſame place with the reſt of the Forces under his Command. The Train of Artillery was order'd back to *Newport*, under the *Eſcorte* of Sir *Henry Bellaſſis*'s Detachment, where it was put on board our Tranſport Ships. The Horſe likewiſe march'd away to joyn each Detachment their proper Body in the great Army.

23. —— *Octob.* 3.

Sept. 26. —— *Octob.* 6.

29. —— *Octob.* 9. All the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Battalions as were to Winter in the Country, march'd towards their Winter-Quarters, under the Command of Lietenant General *Talmaſh* towards *Bruges*, and were Canton'd that night upon *Oudenbourg*, and the next day they Canton'd in the Villages about *Bruges*, Lieutenant General *Talmaſh* having his Quarter at the Abbey of St. *Andrew*, where the reſt of the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that were to have their Winter Quarters at *Bruges* were detach'd from the

the great Army to joyn him, (*viz.*) First Battalion of *Scotch* Guards, Lord *George Hamilton*'s two Battalions, Col. *O Farrel*'s and Col. *Monro*'s; the other Troops under Lieutenant General *Talmash*'s Command, as were to go to Winter Quarters to *Ghendt* and *Mecklen*, marched on through *Bruges*, and Canton'd some days upon the *Canal*, (*viz.*) Lieutenant General *Talmash*'s Battalion of Guards, Col. *Trelawny* and the *Fusiliers*. But upon the Enemy's Motion about *Charleroy*, they joyn'd the great Army again at *Drongen*. The Earl of *Bathe*'s Regiment was ordered to *Damme* for Winter Quarters, a strong little Garrison between *Bruges* and *Sluys*, scituated upon a Canal that goes to *Bruges* (having such Sluces under its Command, that it can overflow all the Country about) where the Regiment came the $\frac{4}{14}$th of *October*. The rest of the Troops Canton'd about *Bruges*, came to Garrison one after another as fast as Quarters could be made ready for them. Col. *Beveredge*'s and *Stanley*'s Regiments remained behind at *Dixmuyde* for some time to re-inforce the Garrison, till others came to relieve them, and then they were ordered to *Ostend* for their Winter Quarters. *Octob.* 2. —— 12.

As for the most remarkable Transactions in the great Army since we had left it, they continued encamp'd at *Deynte* and *Grammen*, whilst his Majesty remain'd in the Field; and some days after we had been detach'd from thence, the King was inform'd that a Party of *French* was made of about 500 Men to come and surprize one of our Out Quarters, and order'd thereupon a suitable Detachment to lie in Ambuscade to receive them; but upon the Approach of the Enemy, some of ours spoiled the Design by firing too soon; and so the *French* retir'd only with the Loss of Two Men.

His Majeſty left the Field on *Friday* the 16th of *September*, O.S. and went to *Breda*, and afterwards to *Loo*, where His Majeſty remain'd between a Fortnight and three Weeks, whereby the Command of the Army remain'd in the Elector of *Bavaria*'s hands ; who ſometimes after march'd nearer to *Ghendt*, part encamping about *Drongen* on the *Lys*, and part at *Gavreon*, the *Scheld* making a Line of Communication between them, the diſtance being but ſmall ; the Elector took his Quarters at *Drongen*, a very fine and noble Abbey of White Monks of the Order of St. *Norbert*, and about a League from *Ghendt* ; afterwards his Electoral Highneſs remov'd towards *Aloſt*, where 'twas deſign'd to ſeparate into Winter Quarters ; but the Count *de Montal* having joyn'd the Marqueſs *de Boufflers* on the other ſide of the *Sambre*, and both making a conſiderable Body, march'd towards *Charleroy*, with a Train of Artillery, Bombs, and Mortar-pieces, with a deſign to attack it ; this oblig'd the Elector to march with his Army towards *Bruſſels*, and afterwards to advance as far as *Waterloo* and *Genap*, to be ready to relieve it, in caſe of an attack. Baron *Fleming* with the *Brandenburg* and *Liege* Troops, having repaſs'd the *Meuſe* at *Huy*, march'd up to *Fleury* to joyn his Electoral Highneſs.

The Marqueſs *de Boufflers* finding Affairs in ſo good a poſture, contented himſelf to bombard the Lower Town of *Charleroy*, which lies on the other ſide of the *Sambre*, whereabouts *Boufflers* lay encamp'd, he began this Work on *Sunday* the 9th of *October*, O. S. and continu'd till the *Tueſday* following ; where his Bombarding coſt infinitely more to his Maſter, than the Miſchief he caus'd cou'd amount to, this being the moſt inconſiderable part of *Charleroy*, and the Fortifications of it altogether neglected, that lying open to the Enemy.

my. Upon theſe motions of the *French* towards *Charleroy*, the King who was lately come from *Loo* to the *Hague*, went Poſt to *Bruſſels*, where his Majeſty arriv'd *Octob.* 9. and lay that night at his own Palace, and return'd the next day to the *Hague*, after having held a Council of War with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and other great Officers of the Army; my Lord of *Athlone* was thereupon detach'd from the Army, with Ammunitions, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries for the Relief of *Charleroy*, with an *Eſcorte* of 4000 Horſe and Dragoons, which his Lordſhip got ſafely into the Town. *Octob.* 9. 19.

Boufflers having left *Charleroy*, the Armies on both ſides began to ſeparate towards their Winter-Quarters. Great Garriſons have been put in *Bruſſels*, *Mecklen*, *Ghent*, *Vilvord*, and *Dendermond*, and along the Canal; ſo that in Four and twenty hours time, upon any motion of the *French*, we can have a conſiderable Army about *Bruſſels*.

His Majeſty being come back to the *Hague*, ſail'd ſome days after for *England*, where he arriv'd at *Yarmouth* the 18th day of *October*, and thence went to *London*; where His Majeſty was receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Acclamation, for his happy and ſafe return. And thus I have brought the relation of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions of this Campaign in the King's Army to a concluſion, whereby it appears, that if other things did ſecond the unwearied Pains, the indefatigable Toyls and Labours His Majeſty takes, and the continu'd Dangers he expoſeth himſelf to, the *French* Arms would not flouriſh ſo much as they have done hitherto; and whatever Advantages the *French* have really had, or to which they pretend in this Campaigne, yet the King's Subjects have not in the leaſt diſgrac'd the Renown and Glory of their Anceſtors in it; but have acquir'd to themſelves ſuch Reputation, as has forc'd

even

even a Commendation, and I may ſafely ſay, Fear from their Enemies. We have a ſort of People, who in magnifying the *French* Greatneſs, and how uſeleſs our Efforts have been in *Flanders* to ſuppreſs it, would inſinuate, that becauſe he is Great, that it is beſt to yield to what we cann't reſiſt; and ſince we have had no more ſucceſs in *Flanders*, 'tis beſt let it go, and ſtand for the reſt upon our own Defence, which indeed is the only way to break the Alliance, and have this very Power (which they ſo much magnifie) wholly upon our Arms, ſo that a Man has reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſuch Inſinuations do underhand tend to introduce a *French* Power amongſt us. If the *French* King is ſo Great, all as a rational Man can infer is, that therefore our Efforts ought to be ſo much the greater; and that we are to make uſe of the utmoſt of our Powers, not only to reſiſt, but to endeavour to humble this formidable Power, to which the way ſeems already open by our Signal Victory at Sea; 'tis very plain, that if a ſtop can be put to the *French* King's Proceedings, it muſt be by an *Engliſh* Power, and that 'tis only by the Vigour and Greatneſs of our Efforts as he can be humbled; which I am ſure is a thing to be wiſh'd by all true *Engliſh*-men, and to which every one that is ſuch will contribute, according to his Condition and Capacity, to the utmoſt of his Power.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 4. line 3. *Dauphiné* read *Dauphin*. p. 9. l. 12. Curiaſſers r. Curiaſſiers. p. 10. l. 19. *idem*. p. 17. laſt l. *Perteys* r. *Perweys*. p. 18. l. 26. a River r. the River. p. 28. l. 24. confiement r. confinement. p. 30. l. 15. *Farrel* r. O *Farrel*. p. 36. l. 10. *Bois Seignerer Iſaac* r. *Bois Seigneur Iſaac*. p. 40. l. 29. was afterwards r. as afterwards. p. 50. l. 18. *Giſlenhem* r. *Giſlenghem*. p. 51. l. 11. *Lanier* r. *de Liniere*. p. 63. l. 12. *Bewark* r. *Bewick*. p. 64. l. 18. *Mondny* r. *Monday*.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Commons of *England* assembled at *Westminster*, at this their Sessions begun on *November* 7. 1693.

Men, Brethren, and Fellow-Creatures,

IT *is an essential Property of Divine Truth, or of the Word of God, That it will take hold, Zech.*1.6. *of the People of the Generation wherein it is published and made known, whether they would have it so or not. If I may so express it, This Anchor, or two-edged Sword (so compared Heb.*4.12.) *will hitch and cut on both sides, but certainly on one or the other; for it shall not return void, Isa.*55.11. *but it shall be fulfilled, and found true one way or another, either as it is a savour of Life unto Life, or of Death unto Death. Herein it is verified, according as either People do Obey the Word unto Salvation, or as they shew forth their own Disobedience, Contempt and Stubbornness against the same, to their own Condemnation; which the same Word speaks accordingly of, even before the People practice the one or the other, whereby again is shewn forth the Divinity and Truth thereof.*

*And therefore, however ye shall carry it towards this my last and concluding Testimony, or however ye have done it already towards those former Testimonies of Truth I have delivered or sent unto ye; yet think, speak, or do whatever ye will, that of Ezek.*2.4,5. *will take hold on, and be fulfilled in ye, Whether ye will hear, or whether ye will forbear, (for ye are a Rebellious House) yet ye shall know, that there hath been a Scribe among ye, who only from out of the Scriptures, the Law of the most high God, hath laid such and such words before ye, some spoken, others Printed and noted in a Book, others Written, That ye might have turned from your Iniquities, and from the evil of your doings. Which words (as hereafter is said) will somewhat manifest Gods Justice, and aggravate your own Guilt and Condemnation, if ye shall not do accordingly.*

*A great deal of mine own Life being past, and the day of Immortality being at hand, for mine own part I must fear no more, nor be dismayed, nor be lacking, Jer.*23.4. *but I must now deal plainly and boldly with ye, and shew ye your Transgression, That ye have committed a sin, and done a wrong in Deposing your King James. And the drift and design of all the Words which I have laid before ye from the Book of the Lord, the supream Rule of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, is, That ye should come to Re-*

pentance,

pentance, and make Reſtitution, ſo as to re-inſtate him again in as full and ample a manner, as he was in before he was unrighteouſly deprived by ye. And if ye will not do it for all, Beware therefore, for this will certainly come upon you, which I firſt ſpoke of when I firſt warned and teſtified againſt ye on January 4. 1689, 90. That then ye were in danger; but now it is extremely to be feared, ye ſhall actually dye in your ſins, John 8.24. and ſhall utterly periſh in your Corruption, 2 Pet. 2. 12. So this confirms what is aforeſaid; for herein the Word I have laid before ye, will take hold of ye for Evil, and not for Good. In the firſt Printed Votes of the Houſe of Commons of this Seſſions, there are the Names of ſeven or eight Perſons that have deceaſed ſince your laſt ſitting; and ſo ye will ſucceſſively drop away one after another, until the whole Houſe ſhall appear perſonally before God, to give account for what they have done concerning this matter.

When I remember and think upon theſe things, I pour out my Soul in me; for I have already gone to your Aſſembly, and I would again come down to ye in Perſon almoſt every day of every Seſſions, that I might be ſomewhat inſtrumental to deliver your Souls from going down to the Pit. But ſeeing that the preſent Governours have impriſoned me ſo often already; for hitherto, my laying Divine Truths before ye, hath been juſt like caſting Pearls before Swine; for which they have turned and rent me. And ſince that I now judge, that the complement and number of words which I have written and publiſhed, (as the giving forth this Copy is a Publication alſo) to be ſufficient to convince ye of Sin, and of Righteouſneſs, and of Judgment, that ye may be the more left without excuſe for your Iniquity and Rebellion: And alſo ſince that my coming and appearing ſo often in Perſon, would ſeem ſomewhat like a Mad-man, which mine enemies have falſly reproached me to be, I therefore thought good to take this method, to leave this Book with one of the Principal Clerks of each Houſe of Parliament, to be laid up in the Office or Regiſtry thereof, for their reading or hearing whenſoever they will call for it, or have recourſe thereto. And henceforward to take my leave of appearing voluntarily any more in Perſon, unleſs I am ſent for by ye, where I am now publickly either in this Town, or in my journeying towards, or at my Fathers Houſe; for I have Truths of more latitude, and of greater concern, and of more univerſal uſe to all Men and Women in the general, to ſearch out and make known, inſtead of this leſſer matter of a National Revolution: Which now I am glad to get rid of, and to have clearly done therewith.

One thing more I have to advertize ye of, I am afraid leſt this Work ſhould ſuffer Loſs, and the Divine Truth here laid before ye ſhould diminiſh, or leſſen ought in its force, energy, and intended effect, becauſe I have written ſo many things of my ſelf, and of mine own private caſe and particular Experiences; ſome of which may now ſeem not altogether ſo proper and pertinent as they were at the time I firſt wrote them; and conſidering the Circumſtances and Condition I was then under. But I was induced thus to do, only becauſe of that manifold kind of Perſecution which hath been laid upon my Loins; Both that I might ſhew forth the unreaſonableneſs and ſinfulneſs thereof, wherein alſo many Truths of God are intermingled. To which nevertheleſs, an Obedience may be given, (for there is an Obedience due to the Truth, Rom. 2.8.) although I have occaſionally; yea, in a manner I have been neceſſitated to bring forth, and make known ſome of them in mine own Perſon.

Ye are to receive, take, and interpret all the words here written, as if they were ſpoken out ſucceſſively, deliberately and diſtinctly by word of Mouth.

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RICHARD STAFFORD,

A Scribe instructed in the Law of God, his last and concluding Testimony unto the Princes, the Priests, and the People inhabiting the Island of Great Britain, *concerning the Great Sin which they committed in the Year* 1688. *by putting down one King, and setting up another; With his final Exhortation unto them (who at this day continue in the same Transgression) to come unto Repentance and Restitution.*

IT is matter of Grief, *Psal.*119.158. and Sighing, *Ezek.*9.4. both in respect that God is dishonoured by the Breach of his Law, as also of the Evil and Punishment that will come upon themselves, That when God hath made such severe Declarations from Heaven against all manner of sin and transgression, and against all unrighteousness of Men, *Rom.*1.18. yet People go on and continue nevertheless, to do the same. The Soul that sinneth shall die, *Ezek.* 18. 4. that is, Death Eternal. Which will as surely be inflicted, as that they shall now die the Death Temporal, or that the Life which they now live will have an end. This is said as to him that is a Robber, a Shedder of Blood, and that doth the like to any one of these things, *v.*10. So that the Breach of any one of the other Laws of God, is as deadly and damnable as vain Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Whoredom, Drunkenness, or such like. Again, it is mentioned, hath oppressed the Poor, hath spoiled by Violence, hath not restored the Pledge; shall he then live? (The Holy Ghost hereby intimating, that some would promise him Life and Heaven for all that, as the Bishops and Priests do at this day in their Preaching before him, and in their Personal Conversation with him: But hear what the Answer of God saith unto them all) *He shall surely die, his blood shall be upon him,* v.12. Notwithstanding these Affirmations of Eternal and Immutable Truth (whereby the World, and all the Men and Women therein must be judged) yet the People of this British Isle do still continue in the same Hypocrisie, Despising, and Falsification of the Oath of God, Dishonouring of, and Disobedience to Parents, (wherein the other People do partake or consent with the Deed of them) shedding the Blood, *Gen.* 9. 6. of their Fellow Creatures, who were made by the same God in his Image, and are Inhabitants of the same Earth, though it be another Room and Apartment thereof. Whom they have slain in a Rage that reacheth up unto Heaven. But are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God, 2 *Chron.*28,9,10. They have committed Violence and Robbery, which they store up in their Palaces, and they know not to do right, *Amos* 3.10. and they still continue in the same. They are given up to the Spirit of Falshood, Covetousness, and all Unrighteousness. And to allude unto *Luke* 3.20. they have added this to all the Evils they have done, That they have imprisoned a Man five times, only for writing the Great (yea, and the Plain Things) of the Law of God, *Hos.*8.12. against these their doings. Herein the Persecution is worse, and more unreasonable than that of *Mary* the eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Eight; for she did Violence only against the controverted things of Faith and Worship. But they have persecuted me, because I have wrote and published, That the great God of Heaven doth Command *Mary* the present Queen, to Honour her Father. Which implies somewhat more than

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an inward Reverential Eſteem; or to conceive wrong imaginations, or to utter fine words, and ſpecious ſayings, or to make Hypocritical pretences concerning him. But it requires to do actual Right and Equity unto him. There is Ten Thouſand times more reaſon, That ſhe a dying Creature (who is but Duſt and Aſhes, notwithſtanding her fine outſide, Gorgeous Apparel, or the multitude of her Retinue) ſhould herein Obey the Great and Eternal God, than was for *Vaſhti* in *Eſth.* 1.15. to have performed the Commandment of King *Ahaſhuerus*, or for the meaneſt Subject in this (I do not ſay Her) Kingdom, or Servant in her Houſe, to do what ſhe Commands, or Bids them. And then it being written, That all who do unrighteouſly are an abomination unto the Lord, *Deut.* 25.16. There is no ſubſequent Exemption for Princes, or People of high degree; for notwithſtanding all their vain falſe and fooliſh imaginations, the Rich ought to Obey the Word of God all one as the Poor. It hath been more than once or twice declared unto them, That that ſame Wrath of God which is now revealed from Heaven againſt all Unrighteouſneſs of Men, will be executed upon, and ſenſibly felt by them as ſoon as their Breath is out of their Noſtrils, and their Souls are departed from their Bodies. This Wrath, (notwithſtanding now they make ſo light of it) doth as much exceed the Wrath of the greateſt King or Potentate here on Earth (conſidering the utmoſt that they can do unto us) as the vaſt Fabrick of the World doth exceed in dimenſion the Bulk of one ſingle Man. Many ſuch, and like things have been declared to her, and to her Husband, by what hath been publiſhed unto the World, and notified in their Houſes; and yet the more they are admoniſhed and reproved hereof, both of them do ſtill continue therein, and tranſgreſs more and more. Yea, they are ſo confirmed, and riveted, and hardened, and eſtabliſhed, (if that word may be properly uſed in ſo wrong a matter) in their Diſobedience and Rebellion to God, That whoſoever doth, or ſhall from his Word Admoniſh and Reprove them hereof, he or they ſhall be oppreſſed, and cruſhed alway, as one againſt their Government; for in Truth, by the Law of God they ought not to be our Governours as yet. Lift up thy ſelf thou Judge of the Earth, render a Reward to the Proud. They break in pieces thy Servant, and afflict the Son of thine Handmaid. Underſtand ye Brutiſh among the People, and ye Fools, when will ye be Wiſe? For in this doing, they are either Brutes or Fools; and yet they are unwilling to be inſtructed aright how they are ſo; for if they have forgot, or loſt the ſenſe of their ſubjection unto the Inviſible God over them, than they are properly Brutes, or Beaſts in Humane Shape. If they refuſe, or diſdain to give this ſubjection unto the words of his Law, than in Truth they are Fools, becauſe hereby they become liable to that Puniſhment which is annexed to every Tranſgreſſion and Diſobedience: The Evil whereof will be infinitely greater, and more enduring than the ſeeming preſent Good, for which they commit and continue in the ſame.

They are ſeven times yet greater Fools in impriſoning the Servant of the moſt High God, as he is in his Miniſtration of Reproving their Tranſgreſſion, and exhorting them to come again into the way of Gods Commandments; for a ſingle Diſobedience to the Law of God would be leſs, and ſomewhat more excuſeable, if they did let his Meſſenger alone. But to touch or meddle with him, is to fly in the Face of God Almighty, (if I may ſo expreſs it) and becauſe they cannot ſhew forth their Deſpiteſulneſs immediately againſt his Majeſty, therefore they will exert it forth againſt his Creature and Servant. But beſides, herein they do confirm and witneſs by this their own Act and Deed, That there is a Puniſhment due, and will be actually inflicted upon themſelves for this doing. How ſo? By their own Actions it ſhall be determined. They do impriſon ſuch an One for Speaking or Writing againſt them, who have Authority, as they ſay they have. But if it were ſo in Truth, as it is with them in Pretence only, and by taking it upon themſelves, ſurely

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the Authority of Almighty God is infinitely greater and higher. And though they do not throughly know and consider of as much, yet hereby they do bind and seal themselves over to a more enduring confinement and punishment. And after the same manner they dealt with me for being against their Government, so when the Lord cometh with Ten Thousand of his Saints to execute Judgment upon all, he will in like manner convince them to have been against his Government, and against his Kingdom and Dominion over Men; and they will be found to deserve, and be worthy of as much greater punishment than what themselves used in this their hour and power of Darkness, as God is greater than Man, Eternity longer than Time, in comparison of whom and which, we are less than nothing.

Yea, for thy sake we are killed all the day long: Being sentenced by the Imaginations and Tongues of People, to Death or Imprisonment. This somewhat shews forth what is ingrafted in them by the God who formed them: He hath also made and implanted this inward Principle into them. Who knowing the Judgment of God, That they which commit such things are worthy of Death, *Rom* 1.32. But they do ignorantly, wrongly, and falsly reproach the Servant of the most high God, as worthy of Death or Punishment, when he doth only from the Divine Word and Law, Reprove themselves for doing those things which are indeed worthy of Death. And here if they should presume to go on to put the Servant of God to Death for this Cause (as this is no strange or unusual thing, the like having been done in former Generations; when they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and cast thy Law behind their Backs, and slew thy Prophets which testified against them, to turn them unto thee, *Neh.* 9.26.) By this their very Act and Deed, they would bind and seal themselves over unto Death Eternal; for Murtherers shall have their part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone, which is the second Death, *Rev.* 21.8. much more shall they who commit the worst and most provoking sort thereof.

That kind of Disobedience aforementioned is of an higher Nature than of those who have said, With our Tongue will we prevail; Our Lips are our own, who is Lord over us? *Psal.* 12.4. But our Princes at this day are somewhat like the Prince of Tyrus in *Ezek.* 28.2. whose Heart is lifted up, and they have said, We are Gods, We sit in the Seat of God: yet they are but a Man and a Woman, and not God, though they set their Heart as the Heart of God; for they do according to their own Will; and if they they do not speak out, because they profess they know God, but in Works they deny him, *Tit.* 1.16. Yet they act marvellous things against the God of Gods, *Dan.* 11.36. The reason hereof may be gathered from what is spoken of in the same Verse, Because they prosper whilst they are doing these things; even until the Indignation be accomplished. Until the whole Wrath and displeasure of God be finished, and consummated on them altogether.

It was provided of Old, When a Ruler hath sinned, and done somewhat through Ignorance, against any of the Commandments of the Lord his God, concerning things which should not be done, and is guilty; or if his sin wherewith he hath sinned come to his knowledge, *Lev.* 4.22,23. then a sin-offering and an Atonement was to be made for him, that the Lord should forgive him. But now at this day (according to the method whereby Satans Kingdom stands) if a Ruler hath done any thing against any of the Commandments of the Lord his God, concerning things which should not be so done, and he is guilty, he must not be told thereof, nor no words be said before him from the Law of the most High, that the sin wherewith he hath sinned may come to his knowledge; and so he will more certainly continue in the same sin; which by this means will remain upon him, and in all likelihood prove unto condemnation.

All this shews, that the Serpent is more subtle than any Beast of the Field, and is more cunning than all, or any of the Sons and Daughters of Men, as they are meerly

ſuch, without aſſiſtances or directions from above. He [illegible], that that ever he can, That each one in particular may loſe Heaven, and [illegible]; for theſe be the days of Vengeance, that all things that are written may be fulfilled, Luke 21.22. So as to the foregoing Sin and Tranſgreſſion, which bring theſe Judgments and Evils on the World, It muſt needs go on in its Courſe, That the Scriptures might be fulfilled, which ſay that ſome, yea and the greater part of Mankind, ſhall go away into Everlaſting Puniſhment. But as our Lord ſaid concerning Offences, ſo it may be here in like manner applied. It muſt needs be ſo, but Wo unto thoſe who ſhall have their Lot and Portion in this matter; for they can no more ceaſe to be miſerable, than they can ceaſe to be.

This is more certain (though as yet it is not altogether ſo evident and viſible) than that there is a World which we behold, or an Earth which we tread on; for ſaith the ſame Word by which they were firſt made, and that Truth by which they are now upheld and connected together, Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but my Words ſhall not paſs away, *Luke* 21.33.) Seeing the caſe thus ſtandeth, It may be propoſed, whether the wrong getting and unjuſt keeping of an Earthly Kingdom, (which is the principal temptation of Satan; for 'tis not every one unto whom he gives the Kingdoms of the World, and the Glory of them, *Mat.*4.8. if they will commit ſome Sin or Evil, and thus fall down and worſhip him the Author thereof) or the greateſt worldly profit for a few Months and Years longer, will be a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of Heaven, and falling into Hell for all Eternity. They have had it for above four years already: But if they ſhould poſſeſs this Kingdom as long as Queen *Elizabeth* did, that is for Forty and Four Years, and by the Courſe of Nature they will not have it much longer; yet all that will not be a ſufficient Compenſation for ſo great a loſs. As our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who came to Redeem us from the Wrath to come, hath ſufficiently reſolved this in the following Query, to which the Reaſon of Mankind muſt aſſent, What ſhall it profit a Man, if he ſhall gain the whole World and loſe his own Soul, or what ſhall he give in exchange for his Soul?

When the Underſtanding of the two chief Princes hath ſufficiently digeſted this, I would ask them further, What do ye think is become of *Herod* for imprisoning *John Baptiſt*, only for adhering to his Luſt unto a Woman, in oppoſition to the plain Law of God. It may be ſo far ſafely pronounced, that it would be better for *Herod* if he had never put *John* into Priſon. I am perſuaded, if ſuch a thing were poſſible, (which is not, though his Soul at this day doth ſomewhere Exiſt) He would at this very moment, give not only to the half, but to the whole of his Kingdom, if he had never impriſoned nor put *John* to Death. If he had let *John* out of Priſon again, there might have been ſome more hope of his Repentance and obtaining Mercy: But by doing as he did, he hath forfeited the favour of God, and he is gone to his own Place.

In like manner, where thoſe who were admitted upon this ſpecious pretence, and alſo they were Sworn at their Coronation to govern according to Law, have imprisoned me contrary to Law (as ſo it is, to throw a ſober Underſtanding and Rational Man (It doth not become me to ſay this of my ſelf, but the neceſſity of the preſent occaſion doth require ſo to expreſs it) into an Hoſpital of Lunaticks and Madmen, without any manner of Inquiſition, Trial or Conviction. And they did there hold the Captive, when according to the Mind of the Spirit, I did deſire and haſten that I might be looſed, *Iſa.* 51. 14.) for both which their doing, God may ſmite theſe whited Walls, *Acts* 23.3. for when God doth ſend his Meſſenger upon the Pale Horſe, whoſe Name is Death, than the moſt ruddy Complexion doth become like unto a whited Wall, and then God doth begin to ſmite and puniſh, and execute upon the Children of Men the Judgment written, *Pſal.*149.9. ſo it ſhall be rendred unto every one according as he hath afore ſpoken of in his Word. But to ſpeak after the manner of Men, This Act of theirs toward me, was properly Canting of Right and Liberties. This is like

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at the very time they do not mean so in their heart, but
in the sight of God, it is like the Witnesses against *Stephen*, laying down their Cloaths,
as if hereby they would aver and justifie their own Act; which though they may do
for a very little while before a partial ignorant and corrupt World; yet it is impossible so to do before an Holy and All-knowing God throughout all Eternity.

As *Herod* imprisoned *John Baptist* for the sake of his Lust unto a Woman, so the present Rulers have put me into Prison for their Lust unto a Kingdom; for Ambition is a Lust of the Mind: It is one of those desires of the Flesh, and of the Mind, spoken of in *Eph.*2.2. from which the Obedience and Subjection unto the Gospel would utterly exempt and free us, if we would render it accordingly. As all Lust is unreasonable, so likewise Ambition is unreasonable; for as the Apostle proves Lust to be a sin, I had not known Lust except for the Law, which saith, Thou shalt not Covet: And Lust not being kept within, but going beyond, or besides the Bounds of the Law, it doth become Sin and Transgression. In like manner, where God hath commanded, Let every Man abide in the same Calling wherein he was called, 1 *Cor.* 7. 20. The same is agin confirmed, Let every Man wherein he is called, therein abide with God, *ver.*24. Yet our Princes are not contented, except they be altogether Kings before their time. Which they seek of themselves, and so they do not abide in that Station wherein God had called them. At this rate, every one might as reasonably seek to get above his present Condition, whether by Right or Wrong, lawful or unlawful Means; which would bring in Confusion, and every Evil Work: Whereas within the Bounds of Duty and Lawfulness, they might have all things necessary to Life and Godliness in a more excellent and comfortable way than in all the gains and delights of Sin and Evil; for so is the ordering and dispensation of our God, That if Men would seek his Kingdom and the Righteousness thereof, all these things would be added unto them. They would have things necessary and convenient for Life, unto which Peace and Contentment would be annexed. But Lust hath found out many Inventions, as to minister unto Pride and Boasting, and vain things. In which Life doth not consist, but they are the superfluities and runnings over thereof; which occasion trouble and regret, but they do not give real satisfaction to the Heart of Man. It is the most happy living in this World within the streight Lines, and exact Bounds of Duty, and never to transgress at any time. By these and such like Truths, God will in that day he writeth up the People, more particularly rehearse than the knowledge of Man can now bring forth; That since he permitted them to eat of every Tree of the Garden besides, and he allowed so very much in the lawful use of Things, that whatever is of more, is of Evil, Hereby it will appear, that all the Sons and Daughters of Men, of every State and Condition of Life, of every Country, Nation and Language (from the beginning of their Generations unto the end thereof) who have already, or shall yet sin against God, they have all transgressed without a cause, *Psal.*25.3. so they are to be ashamed, and to give Glory unto God.

I have written many Books and Papers concerning these things, and yet they are all found insufficient to convert sinners from the error of their way. So that it may seem doubtful whether it be indeed the work of the Lord in which I have been so long employed, and suffered so much for; Because as yet so little comes of all that I have done, and the work of the Lord is never in vain. But though it be never in vain, yet many times it goes on so very slow and gradually, and ever now and anon it seems to be at an utter stand: It is so hidden from the World, not only from the outward Worshippers, but even from the very Servants of God, that we have need to cry out in the Prophets Prayer, O Lord, revive the Work in the midst of the years, in the midst of the years make known, *Hab.*3.2. And then there is a very great and continued opposition against the Word, both in its first going forth, and afterwards in the spread-

...taken none effect; for they are not all *Israel*, which are of *Israel*, *Rom* 9.6. ...ther, not as though the Word of God
It is nevertheless the true Word of God, though not much more than one in an hundred do obey and comply with it in all things; for so few are the Elect Servants of God, in comparison of outward Worshippers, and the whole of Mankind.

Another Reason of what is afore furnished, may be hence understood, That the most forcible and right words, when they are written and printed, may be compared to Powder and Bullet in a Gun; which doth no manner of execution until it is shot forth and discharged. And this will not signifie neither, if it go forth above or beside the mark; but it should touch and hit the very thing intended at. In like manner, where those words (noted in a Book or Paper) are read and proclaimed, This last gives life to the dead Letter; and then it begins to have its effect. Neither will this avail to be uttered forth to the Earth, or to the Trees of the Field, or within a Prison Wall. Though when forced there by the Violence and Persecution of Men. The speaking to himself and to God, 1 *Cor.*14.28. will be for a sign, *ver.*22. Yea, this delivering up to Prisons will turn to you for a Testimony, *Luke* 21.12,13. That is, It will be to you for a sufficient discharge thereof, and to them for a Notification, in that themselves hinder that he cannot speak unto Men. But if there he complains unto God, and he makes Intercession against *Israel*. *Rom.* 11.2. his Cries shall enter into the Ears of the Lord of Saboath, Put my Tears into thy Battel. Are not these things noted in thy Book? And though the Curse causeless shall not come, yet no true Words shall be forgotten before God.

But the Word is to be spoken forth, and made known unto living Men and Women, who have Reason and Understanding, and are fit Vessels for the receiving thereof. This again will not have the like effect upon them who are already of the same Mind and Judgment, unless it be to confirm them the more, and put them in mind how they may better instruct others. But these sharp Arrows, even true Words, which shall teach them terrible things, should speak with their Enemies in the Gate; yea, fall among, and pierce into the Hearts of the Kings Enemies: Hereby the People will fall under him. So that all which I have hitherto written and published, will not have its due and utmost effect, as to bring down those that dwell on high, to make the Inhabitants of the World to fall, and to work deliverance in the Earth, *Isa.* 26.5,18. and to set that aright which is now out of course, unless I (or some other in case of my Natural or sudden Death) do read these my Books and Papers (and cause them to be understood) into the Ears of the two Princes and their Counsel, and to both Houses of *England*, (see *Isa.*8.14.) as they are met together in their Representatives. Herein was that Saranical Subtlety to send me unto an Hospital of Lunaticks, hereby to hinder and prevent that those Books which I had before delivered unto them, should not be read in their Assembly, nor enter into their Minds and Consultations; for thus they did expose both my Persons and Writings to Scorn and Contempt. But notwithstanding their Cunning and perverse dealing, These are the Enemies of the Lord and his Christ (which signifies anoinred) in that they have departed from, and forsaken his Ordinance, by putting down that Governour he had set over them, and they have for these four years rebelled, not so much against their King, as against their God; for where a sin hath been committed, or a Wrong hath been done by any person or persons, so long as they refuse to come to Repentance, or to make Restitution all the mean while they are in Rebellion against God. But here, they would not remain subject to their Fellow Creatures, according to the Divine Ordinance. Even to and at this very day, they are in Arms, and fighting against God by their false Imaginations, perverse Sayings and Mutterings, and by their unlawful Deeds towards him, who is anointed of God by Eternal Inherent Right (which can never be lost) as themselves also acknowledged, and confirmed the same with the outward Ceremony

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of Oyl, 2 *Sam.* 1.21. for ſo we may conceive of diſpoſſeſſed Authority to be like Sap within the Body or Root of a Tree at Winter; for as the Tree is then equally alive, though it doth not ſhoot forth in Green Leaves: So the rightful Authority all the while remains veſted in ſuch an one, though it doth not, or rather cannot exert it ſelf forth in Adminiſtration of the proper Acts thereof.

But now in the Prophets phraſe, Ye ſtand upon the Sword, ye work abomination, *Ezek.* 33. 26. Becauſe of their multitude, outward ſtrength and weapons of War, the proſperity and ſucceſs whereof God ſuffers to try them yet further) they continue in diſobedience to his Law. Which is as much as to ſay (like deſperate Fools in an unjuſt Quarrel with their Fellow-Creatures, even ſo do they as to that Infinite and Almighty God over them) I will not obey God herein, but I will fight it out. And truly if Satan who tempts them to this higheſt degree of Rebellion, did not alſo find out Spirits in Humane Bodies altogether as ignorant and ungodly in another kind as themſelves are in this, whom he prompts to oppoſe them in their way of daſhing one againſt another, and of confronting force to force (for to him it is given to take Peace off from the Earth, and by theſe and the like things his Kingdom ſtands) We ſhould much ſooner by the certainty of the Words of Truth, and by the Evidence of things not ſeen, and by the Powers of the World to come (all which are confounded, rendred perplex and ineffective, and People do become as it were inſenſible thereof by the War and Noiſe that is in the World) utterly ſubdue and bring them off from their Rebellion; for propoſe this thing only unto them, What will they do (as they muſt be) when they are ſtript out of this Fleſh, and they are taken from theſe Weapons of War, and truſting in Horſes, and they are utterly diſlodged from Bones and Sinews wherein their Strength diddie; and they are alſo become weak, *Iſa.* 14.10. as the other ſeparated Spirits and departed Souls are. Which are gone down to Hell with their Weapons of War, and they have laid their Swords under their Heads, but their Iniquities ſhall be upon their Bones, *Ezek.* 32.27. when they are reſerved in Chains of Darkneſs unto the Judgment of the Great Day, in which they muſt give account for all the Tranſgreſſion and Diſobedience of their paſt Life. Now where is the Sword they were girded withall, on which they truſted? Let them anſwer this Queſtion, the conſideration whereof will make them to tremble: Can thine Heart endure? or can thine hands be ſtrong in the days that I ſhall deal with thee? I the Lord have ſpoken it, and I will do it, *Ezek.* 22.14.

Unleſs it were for Satan the unſeen Enemy of Mankind, who acts at the bottom of all this; who is moſt buſie, tempting and tries to pervert thoſe who ſhould do moſt good, in that they were firſt appointed to teach *Jacob* thy Law, and *Iſrael* thy Judgments: And even now they uſe this Form of Words in their outward Ordination, to ſet forth the Salvation of all Men, though in Deed and in Truth, by ſtrengthning the wicked in his way that he doth not return from his wickedneſs, by promiſing them Life and Heaven, though they go on ſtill in their own ways, herein they do more hinder than ſet forward the Salvation of all Men. If it were not for theſe and the like Reaſons, one would admire how our Princes, Prieſts and People (being in real danger of future condemnation, and of going away into Everlaſting Puniſhment, becauſe they live and continue in the Breach of ſundry of the Commandments of God) can give Sleep to their Eyes, and Slumber to their Eye-lids Day after Day, and Night after Night, as they do before they were effectually warned to flee from the Wrath to come; and before they did ſearch and try whether things are indeed ſo as I have received the ſame from the lively Oracles, and from the Mouth of the Lord, as he doth ſpeak the ſame to my Heart and Conſcience in the ſtill Voice of his Word and Spirit. I have made it known unto them, and charged the People of this Generation, that they ſhould come again into the Way of Gods Commandments; and not content themſelves (as hitherto and at this day) to walk after the doings of *Iſrael*, That is

to ſay, To do as moſt do of their ſort in this Nation they live in; nor yet ſhould they think themſelves ſafe and ſecure; becauſe they are in the way of the multitude, and they have the generality of People on their ſide; for as ſure as Gods Word is true, This is a manifeſt Token that they are in the Broad Way which leads unto Deſtruction. They ſhould rather uſe that common Wiſdom which Priſoners do (for we muſt all be judged) to try themſelves before-hand, to know how it will go with them, and how to behave themſelves, that when they are judged, they may not be condemned. Compare *Pſal.*37.33. with *Pſal.*109.7. as they are both in the Bible Tranſlation. Notwithſtanding the People of this generation did caſt me into Priſon for the ſame Word, yet all the while I was there, I was a living ſign, (Bleſſed be God for that) and a Remembrancer unto them (I wiſh I could ſay a continual one) That they ſhould hear that part of Gods Word which was committed to my Miniſtration, and which is to paſs upon their ſeveral Lives and Deaths for all Eternity; and they might have ſent for me out of Priſon, if they would, for to have heard the ſame. And though now from the Example of *Jeremiah*, whom the Lord hid when the King ſent to take him, *Jer.*36.26. I do remain Private to avoid their Perſecution: But what I fear more (my Conſcience alſo bearing me Witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt) leſt they ſhould hinder me in the further Miniſtration of the Word of the Lord. But if they would hear me ſpeak or read the ſame Word, or to interpret and explain the doubtful paſſages in my Books which may be liable unto miſconſtruction; then upon their giving the leaſt Publick Notice thereof, I would again appear boldly in Perſon, (if I were aſſured, or but reaſonably ſatisfied that they had no other End but this) And if it pleaſe God ſo to over-rule and effect it as to bring his Righteouſneſs near, and he doth powerfully move their Conſciences to hear the Words thereof, which he hath made known unto me; ſo that I may rehearſe them audibly and diſtinctly into their Ears, that they may ſink down into their Hearts; than will it ſoon appear, That I have not laboured, nor ſuffered ſo many Things in vain, if it be yet in vain. If God, who hath the reſidue of the Spirit, *Mal* 2.15. had ſtirred up the Spirit of the deprived Archbiſhop, Biſhops and Clergy, as to do the ſame things which I have done: Or rather, if themſelves had obeyed the ſecret Motions and Dictates of Gods Spirit within themſelves concerning this matter, It had been of better and of more effect.

Though when we think or ſpeak after the manner of Men, it ſeems ſo very hard and difficult to Depoſe a Titular King and Queen, or in more propriety of Expreſſion to remove Uſurpers, or unjuſt Poſſeſſors from the Throne; yet in the Language of the Spirit, and in the very Truth of the thing, it is no more than only this, firſt to exhort, and then to actually perſuade an unrighteous Man or Woman to ceaſe from his or their unrighteouſneſs; which the Word of God if it be made known to their Hearts and Conſciences is able to do.

If that Word were brought nigh and to an hearing, this would be Gods way and method for my enlargement and freedom. Conſider mine affliction and deliver me, Plead my cauſe and deliver me, *Pſal.*119.153,154. for truly if they had but ſo much of that Judgment and Juſtice (which is of God) as to permit me to anſwer for my ſelf. Or if they did not by their own Will (which the Law doth not) condemn me as worthy of Impriſonment (which is a continual puniſhment without intermiſſion) before I am heard for my ſelf, I ſhould from the Word of God, and from the Powers of the World to come, ſo convince them of the exceeding ſinfulneſs, unreaſonableneſs and danger thereof as to futurity, which they are guilty of, and ſubject themſelves unto in dealing thus perverſly and deſpiteſully with me without a Cauſe, that is, without a True Cauſe, That their Conſciences would be moved and actually perſuaded to releaſe me out of that Houſe of Bondage. But now it comes to paſs, that whereas a Lying Tongue is but for a moment, and *nulla ficta diu ſtare poſſunt*, yet they did impriſon me almoſt Eight Months in *Bethlehem* Hoſpital; and it might have been ſo many years

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If I ſhould live ſo long, only by making a falſe and feigned Order of my being Diſtracted, whereas I was nothing ſo. The Reaſon of all this may be underſtood from what is written, They Hatch Cockatrice Eggs, and Weave the Spiders Web. Their Works are Works of Iniquity, and the act of Violence is in their hands, *Iſa.* 59. 5,6. There is a connexion and dependance of one upon another, to uphold each other. Now it is properly an Act of Violence, where is neither Law nor Reaſon for it, but only gotten Power, and the Will of Men; and it is ſo done meerly becauſe they are ſtronger, and will have it ſo. If I may uſe ſuch a trivial ſimilitude, it is like a Company of Boyes, who take one of their Fellows, and bind him Hand and Foot, and Lock him up in a Room by Force. Which what ſometimes they do for once out of Novelty and Play, to hinder him from it for the time: The like did our preſent Rulers for ſeveral Days and Weeks with me, to hinder me from doing the Will of God, and finiſhing his Work. And this is called the Government of reaſonable (or rather unreaſonable) Men, whoſe intentions herein will be judged at the laſt day to have been yet greater Malice and Evil. And as for the other ſimilitude of the Spiders Web which the Holy Ghoſt here makes uſe of, we know that may hang up in a Room for many Months and Weeks together, if nothing doth touch or meddle therewith; but if it once doth either, it is as ſoon broken or removed. In like manner, I may be held with words of falſhood, as long as nothing doth come near to contradict or cloſe to grapple therewith: But if the words of Gods Righteouſneſs and Truth were nearly, cloſely and reſolutely applied, theſe would ſoon diſſolve, and ſnap the other Bands aſunder. And ſo it would be of the whole late National Revolution, if the lawfulneſs thereof were debated boldly and throughly of both ſides in a lawful Parliamentary Aſſembly (who ought to ſpeak out their Mind freely) But by this method Satans Kingdom doth ſtand, by evil and indirect Arts to get Iniquity once to be ſet up, and then ſo to order it, that none ſhall dare to open his Mouth to ſpeak againſt it.

But as to mine own caſe, I will hereby again put thoſe two Men (Sir *William Foreſter* and Sir *James Forbes*) in mind, beſides what I have already warned them of from *Rev.*21.8. & 21.15. of the Danger and Penalty they ſubject themſelves unto in loving and making of a Lie; This alſo they may believe and tremble at, as it is written of the *Aſſyrian* King, That he ſmote the People in Wrath with a continual ſtroke, *Iſa.*14.6. So God will Judge, That they have impriſoned me in Rebellion and Malice with a continued Lie. That is as much as to ſay, as if a Man ſhould tell a Lie for ſo many Days, and Weeks, and Months together without ceaſing; for ſo their Right Hand of Falſhood did hold me in Confinement without intermiſſion. And it is juſt with the ſame God, ſeeing they did thus with me only for publiſhing of his High and Eternal Truth, after the number of Days in which they impriſoned me, even Two Hundred and Thirty one Days, (from *November* 4. 1691. to *June* 22. 1692.) each Day for a Year may they bear this their Iniquity, and the Puniſhment thereof, even Two Hundred and Thirty One Years, or a proportionable ſpace and length of Duration throughout the ſucceeding Eternity; for theſe exact numbrings of Time will ceaſe in that ſtate. So that they will feel more and longer pain and ſhame than I have done, and they ſhall know whether this be a vain Threatning or not, which is gathered from *Numbers* 14.34. *Ezek.*4 4,5,6.)

As it is written, One Sinner deſtroyeth much Good; ſo this Act of theirs was greatly wicked in its Conſequences; for whereas that ſame Truth of God which appeared forth through me, would have preſerved Life, *Gen.*45.5. and the ſame Word (in the Miniſtration whereof I was employed) would have hindred that all thoſe Men had not dyed, (See *John* 11. 21.) for ſuch is the effect of the Word of God, where it is received and obeyed; who have ever ſince been killed on the Sea or Land by means of that unrighteous and unchriſtian Confederacy theſe Nations are joyned in, they did thus Rebel againſt, and defeat the Intent and Publication, and take off

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from that Obedience which was, and is ſtill due unto the ſame Truth. And they did thus maliciouſly hinder, that I could not make it known ſo much abroad as I would have done. So that when the Lord maketh inquiſition for Blood, *Pſal.*9.12. (ſee the whole Verſe) he will remember theſe two very perſons; he will not forget how much they have to Anſwer for concerning the ſame. As alſo he will not forget that Cry and Interceſſion which whilſt in Priſon I have made againſt them.

And though I might have truſted on that gracious Word, ſurely they are my Children that will not lie; ſo he was their Saviour, *Iſa.*63.8. And the Work of God would have gone on if I had obeyed all the ſecret motions and dictates of his Spirit (the omiſſion and neglect whereof at many and ſundry times I do hereby acknowledge in great bitterneſs of Soul and anguiſh of Spirit) ſo that I needed not to have uſed indirect Arts and Shifts for that humane kind of deliverance on *June* 22. But as *Paul* did compel the Saints to Blaſpheme, ſo through their foregoing Bondage and Oppreſſion, they did as it were compel me to promiſe what I did not then intend to obſerve. But chiefly was I induced to do this, that the Truth of God might much more abound through my Lie unto his Glory, *Rom.*3.7. which hath been ſo accordingly; for I have ſince wrote and publiſhed more than I ſhould have done if I had been ſtill detained there. Though for this yet, I am judged a ſinner, and I am clamoured againſt, as if there was no Fear of God nor Truth in me. Still I am herein concerned, and I am to continue my Embaſſage for Peace, and I ſhould weep bitterly, *Iſa.*33.7. becauſe as yet it is not received. But for this doing, I am perſecuted from Place to Place by Satan, whoſe Inſtruments are many and active: For theſe two years laſt paſt I am for Peace, but when I ſpeak they are for War; and therefore they have all along, and do ſtill perſecute me, and none hindereth, *Iſa.*14.7. ſo far as only to make mention of the Word of the Lord againſt this their perſecuting of me. But this is an Emblem and Fore-runner of that eaſeleſs, endleſs, and remedileſs Puniſhment themſelves muſt and ſhall endure, when neither Chriſt ſhall ſo much as intercede for them, nor any of his Angels and Saints ſpeak on their behalf; for their Condemnation is then ſealed, and it abideth for ever.

One would think, ſeeing that I did only reprove Tranſgreſſion, and exhort People to come again into the Way of Gods Commandments; which I did not out of mine own Head, but only from the Word and Statute-Book of the Lord God. And I was thus foiled as to be thrown into Bedlam; only whilſt I was in this Negotiation and Miniſtration hereof, ſo many Miniſters and Teachers, who ſay they are Ambaſſadors of God, ſome one or more ſhould appear forth on my behalf, as either to exhort unto the ſame thing, or at leaſt to ſpeak out ſomewhat of the exceeding ſinfulneſs of my Adverſaries dealing with me for this cauſe. And ſo they would have actually done, if they had been Ambaſſadors of God in Deed and in Truth, as now they are by taking the Name and Title thereof upon themſelves. But amidſt all the proud, unlawful and ungodly doings of Men, There was none that moved the Wing, or opened the Mouth, or hardly peeped, *Iſa.*10 14. Partly becauſe theſe dumb Dogs are afraid ro Bark; for ſo the Holy Ghoſt calleth them, *Iſa.*56.10. not out of Invidiouſneſs and abuſiveneſs of expreſſion, but to ſet forth the very Nature of this their ſin of Omiſſion, with the Aggravation thereof in the ſight of God. And alſo, becauſe from the Book of the Lord, I have written ſundry things againſt theſe modern *Phariſees*, to put them in mind of, and ſtir them up to their Duty. But there being in them an evil Heart of diſobedience, and unwillingneſs to comply with, and to do according to the revealed Will of God in all things, they do in Wrath hate me for ſetting his Law before them, and for bringing it to their Remembrance, ſuppoſing that my doing after this manner, doth increaſe their ſin, in that themſelves will not Obey the Word through fear and apprehenſion of ſome Worldly Loſs or Inconvenience. God who knoweth the ſecrets of the Heart, in the day he writeth up the People, will rehearſe, that this or the like

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Thought was among them, *viz.* That I being kept there, ſhould be either hindred from publiſhing any thing more; or if I ſhould through much difficulty, yet I could not could not go about, and deliver my Books and Papers unto them; or if ſome of them ſhould come to their hands any way, they did hope that God would therefore excuſe and pardon them, if themſelves ſhould not do according to the Words of Truth contained therein; becauſe the Publiſher was in the Place of Mad Men; and therefore they were willing that I ſhould continue there. For theſe of the outward Miniſtry, if they can do juſt enough in handling the Law, as to have Tythes or Contribution, what is more and pertaining to the greater matters of the Law, or to bring the Rich of the People into entire ſubjection unto it in all things, that is Trouble as they ſay; and they care for none of theſe things. As *Auguſtine* is ſaid to have pray'd for the gift of Continency, but at the ſame time, he wiſhed in his Heart that it might not be granted unto him as yet: So although their outward Office and Preaching, is to Exhort People to Obey God, and to keep all the Words of his Law, yet there is an indifferency and unconcernedneſs in them, whether they do ſucceed in this Miniſtration or not. They do not with all their Strength and Power endeavour it, nor yet do they with all their Heart and Soul deſire it. But they do break ſome one of theſe leaſt Commandments, and teach men ſo, *Mat.* 5. 19. intimating to them as much in their Doctrine, as if this was conſiſtent with Evangelical Allowance and Humane Infirmity; and many ſuch like things do they. Much more might be alledged to ſhew and manifeſt, that they are defective and wanting in the very Office and Employment of their Holy Calling and Function. So that upon the whole, it is to be thought that God is about to do ſome great thing with this Worldly Prieſthood or Miniſtry, as it is now called and made; for there is both that and a Worldly Sanctuary, *Heb.* 9. 1. or a Worldly kind of Religion at this day. O *Iſrael*, thy Prophets are like the Foxes in the Deſerts. Ye have not gone up into the Gap, neither made up the Hedge for the houſe of *Iſrael* to ſtand in the Battel in the day of the Lord, *Ezek.* 13. 4, 5. Therefore O ye Shepherds, Hear the Word of the Lord; Behold, I am againſt the Shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hand, and cauſe them to ceaſe from feeding the flock; neither ſhall the Shepherds feed themſelves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their Mouth, that they may not be Meat for them, *Ezek.* 34. 9, 10. inſtead of whom, God will fulfil his Promiſe in theſe latter days: And I will give you Paſtors according to mine Heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and underſtanding, *Jer.* 3. 15. And I will ſet Shepherds over them, which ſhall Feed them; and they ſhall fear no more, nor be diſmayed; neither ſhall they be lacking, *Jer.* 23. 4. It is a very good, as it is a common Argument againſt Atheiſm or Unbelief, That the Infidel had need be very well aſſured, that his Imaginations or Suppoſitions be true, becauſe of the exceeding hazard which he runs; for if they ſhould prove falſe or otherwiſe, (as indeed they are) than he is in certain danger to be miſerable for ever. In like manner, the People of this Generation had need be abſolutely ſure, That I am either Mad, or under a Deluſion, (as I profeſs before God the Judge of all Men, I am neither; but it is only a bare Averment and falſe Reproach of the Multitude, ariſing from the multitude of their Iniquity, and great hatred, *Hoſ.* 9. 7.) But if I am neither Mad, nor yet under a Deluſion, than our Princes, our Prieſts, and our People are to know, unleſs they do in time Obey, and actually comply with all that I have in my Books truly alledged from the Law and Word of God, than themſelves will fall under ſure Condemnation, and go away into Everlaſting Puniſhment.

If any do lift up themſelves againſt the God in whoſe hand their Breath is, and whoſe are all their ways, as that they would not have his Law be ſet before them to govern and regulate their doings, ſuch are properly Mad, *viz.* not in their right Mind) and they go on blindly, deceiving, and being deceived, till they fall into the Ditch of deſtruction.

As thoſe in *Amos* 2.12. who commanded the Prophets, ſaying, Propheſie not. So the Men of this Generation would bind me with Sureties, not to Write unto them any more of theſe things, though it ſhould be from the Word of the Lord. In which they declare plainly, as in their Impriſoning of me, they will do whatever they can to hinder the Word of God which is committed to my Miniſtration. The Danger and Penalty whereof is no leſs than Non-admiſſion into the Kingdom of Heaven. Nor can they any more enter therein againſt the Decree and Will of God (whom now in the days of their Fleſh they do thus provoke to Jealouſie) than now they can of their own ſtrength fly up with their Bodies of Fleſh about them ; or then I could get out of Priſon when the Doors were lock'd faſt upon me, and the Walls were firm and ſtanding. As *Abraham* ſaid unto the Rich Man, Between us and you there is a great Gulph fixed, ſo that they which would paſs from hence to you, cannot, *Luke* 16. 26. So it is now manifeſt to our outward ſight, That between Heaven and us there is a great height and diſtance, That every one who would go to Heaven cannot ; and ſuch whom we now ſpeak of, will never be admitted to Reign with God in Glory, who would not ſuffer him to Reign over them here on Earth by his Word he hath given, and the Meſſengers whom he hath ordained for the Publication thereof. When through the foregoing haraſſing and perſecution of Men, *Jeremiah* was as it were forced to come to that Reſolution, Then I ſaid, (which implies an outward Promiſe) I will not make mention of him, nor ſpeak any more in his Name. But his Word was in mine Heart as a burning Fire, ſhut up in my Bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay, *Jer.*20.9. ſo I freely confeſs, Though I would willingly do any thing to be eaſed of that long and tedious Impriſonment under which I did groan ; yet I cannot tell whether I ſhould ſo exactly obſerve all thoſe Limitations and Terms they would tie me up unto. If they would have me Sign ſuch a Paper as to Write no more to them of theſe things, and obſerve it, they ſhould alſo draw up a reciprocal Note under their Hand-writing, that if themſelves ſhould fall under the future Condemnation of God, they would ſay, That I was pure from their Blood, becauſe I have not ſhunned, nor yet would ceaſe (unleſs thus forced) to declare unto them all the Counſel of God. But I would rather that ye could bear with this Word of Inſtruction, and indeed bear with me a little. The reaſon of this your unreaſonable Deſire ſeems to be, In that each Teſtimony of Divine Truth is a Diſturbance to your Guilty and Galled Conſciences, and ye cannot endure to be tormented before your time ; which is one Reaſon why the ſinners and Hypocrites are ſo very afraid of my Perſonal Converſation. And alſo they are ſecretly Conſcious to themſelves, alledge what Word thou wilt unto us from the Book and Law of the Lord, we will not hearken unto and obey it, (ſee *Jer.*44.16.) and yet they think, that the more I do this, I will increaſe their ſin and guilt, and make them receive a yet greater Condemnation. So they think it to be their wiſer way, to prevent and hinder it as much as they can.

Ye ſay that I am under a Deluſion ; but are ye not deluded herein? For in this ye do not know the God with whom we have to do ; nor yet conſider how all Things are naked, and opened before him, *Heb.*4.13. Thou underſtandeſt my thought afar off, *Pſal.*139.2. even at the very firſt riſe and conception thereof, and before we know it our ſelves. Again, he ſaith elſewhere by one of his Prophets, I know the things that come into your Mind, every one of them, *Ezek.*11.5. obſerve how very particularly the Holy Ghoſt expreſſeth it. So that he knows that foregoing and continued Rebellion againſt God in impriſoning his Servant, to hinder the Miniſtration of his Word, So that his Speaking or Preaching in Priſon, will be judged the ſame Notification of his Word, as if he were at liberty to publiſh the ſame. In the other thing, they are like Natural Brute Beaſts, made to be taken and deſtroyed, who ſhall utterly periſh in their Corruption ; for now they go on blindly and ignorantly to the day of their ſeveral Deaths, when the whole Body of Divine Truth ſhall be at once diſplay-

diſplayed and manifeſted before them; whereas it is by ſingle rayes, or rather glimmerings of Light, which do in this Life appear one time after another, and one doth ſucceed another. But when the Soul is diſlodged from this Tabernacle of Clay, ſhe ſees all things together, paſt, preſent and to come; and they are all made known to her as clearly and evidently, as the Sun ſhining at mid-day doth enlighten this whole Hemiſphere, and all the things of Gods Kingdom, which any wiſe appertain to her, which any wiſe appertain to her, with all the things ſhe did in the Body, They are all ſhewed unto her in a moment of Time, and they do all remain for ever preſent before her. And if that Truth doth now diſturb, which would bring them to Repentance and Salvation, 2 *Tim.* 2. 4. How much more will that torment them, which their day being paſt, ſhall ſerve only to accuſe them, *Rom.* 2. 15. and poſſeſs them with a certain fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries, *Heb.* 10. 27. Now they vex and afflict my Soul; Yea, a Sword, Halter, Poiſon, or ſome other violent way hath been imagined, and talked of to ſeparate it from my Body; becauſe through my publiſhing of Truth, the Thoughts of ſome few Hearts have been revealed. But then, all the Thoughts of all Hearts will be revealed, All the Words of every Tongue will be declared, and all the Deeds of their paſt Life will be manifeſted and judged. Both as to all the Generations and ſingle Perſons of Men and Women; which have been ſince the beginning of the World to the end thereof. All the Thoughts, Words and Actions of the paſt Life, whether Good or Evil, (many of which are now forgotten, and ſeem as if they had never been) will be remembred; yea, and remain preſent to them. All their wickedneſs will come before them; and what is yet of more terrible conſideration, it will all come before God, *Lam.* 1. 22.

What ſhall I ſay? or what Anſwer ſhall I make unto them in the mean while? Notwithſtanding all their Perſecuting of me, I have had great Travail, and Bitterneſs of Soul for them. I have had great Heavineſs, and continual Sorrow of Heart, (all which do now go off and leſſen with me) for though I could never wiſh my ſelf accurſed from Chriſt, rather than that thoſe who are Fleſh of my Fleſh, and Bone of my Bone ſhould periſh; yet herein I ſay the Truth in Chriſt, I lie not. My Conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt. I have ſeveral times wiſhed, that my ſelf had never came forth into Being, rather than I ſhould know and ſee ſo many of my Fellow Creatures go away into Everlaſting Puniſhment and Miſery, I have had that great Compaſſion, and earneſt Concern for them. But if it were not ſo, how then ſhall the Scriptures be fulfilled, which ſay, That thus it muſt be, That ſome, yea and the greateſt part of Mankind ſhall periſh. *Amalek* was the firſt of the Nations; but his latter end ſhall be, that he periſh for ever, *Numbers* 24. 20. Though they are in the firſt and higheſt rank, and in the moſt proſperous Worldly State, yet this hinders not, but ſooner occaſions them to be miſerable for ever; as may be underſtood from ſundry other places of the Word of Truth. We learn by the ſame Word, that after frequent and repeated Admonition, People are at length given up to their own Hearts Luſts, and to walk after their own Counſel. We are forbidden to caſt our Pearls before Swine, if they do nothing but turn and rent us. What *Jeremiah* ſaith in his Eighteenth Chapter is here applicable, with the variation of ſome few words; Come and let us deviſe deviſes againſt *Richard Stafford*; Come and let us ſmite him with the Tongue, (give him the name, and deal with him as a Mad-man) and not give heed to any of his Words. They ought not to confine me in a Priſon, nor yet in a Mad-houſe; but themſelves ought rather to Obey the Word of the Lord which I have ſet before them. Though they do not give heed to any of my Words, yet give heed to me, O Lord, and hearken to the Voice of them that contend with me: ſhall Evil be recompenced for Good? For they have digged a Pit for my Soul, (to hold me deeper, and longer, and faſter in) Remember that I ſtood before thee to

ſpeak

ſpeak Good for them, and to turn away thy Wrath from them. Remember all the Words Spoken, Written and Printed, I have laid before them, That they might have turned from their Iniquities, and from the evil of their doings; which will ſomewhat manifeſt Gods Juſtice, and aggravate their own Guilt and Condemnation, if they do not accordingly. Therefore pour out their Blood by the Force of the Sword, and let their Wives be bereaved of their Children, and be Widows; and let their Men be put to Death; let their Young Men be ſlain by the Sword in Battel; (all which is accordingly fulfilled at this day) yet Lord thou knoweſt all their Counſel againſt me, to ſlay me; forgive not their Iniquity, neither blot out their ſin from thy ſight; but let them be overthrown before thee. Deal thus with them in the Time of thine Anger, *Jer.*18.18,19,20,21,23. When it is once throughly come to this, than that of the Prophet is ſeaſonable, *Ephraim* is joyned to Idols, let him alone, *Hoſ.*4.17. They are joyned to Hypocriſie, the Spirit of falſe Swearing, Diſobedience to Parents, ſhedding of Blood, Theft, Robbery, Lying and Defamation, Covetouſneſs and all Unrighteouſneſs. Have nothing more to do with them.

Moſt of the matter hereof was Originally written and compiled when I was in Bethlehem-*Hoſpital in* Moorfields, *and ſome more Words were added after I was diſcharged from thence in the year* 1692.

The Final Poſtſcript of all.

WHereas it is commonly ſaid, That if thoſe (who are commonly called King *William* and Queen *Mary*) ſhould reſign, give up and reſtore back the Kingdom to King *James*, (which they took from him by falſe Accuſation, and many other ſins) than in probability and likelihood he would put them both to Death, or hold them in perpetual Impriſonment. The fear whereof is the greateſt hindrance to their doing of Righteouſneſs. As to this my inward Thought and outward Teſtimony is, That they are both in more real danger of Eternal Damnation, by their living in the Breach of, and refuſing to Obey ſundry of God's Laws, if they do ſtill forcibly keep

keep it from him, than they would be of violent Temporal Death or Impriſonment, if they ſhould freely and of their own accord reſign it. But whatever their Imagination or Apprehenſion is at preſent, if they will herein do according to the command and direction of Gods Written Word, They ſhall certainly avoid both one and the other. They ſhall dwell ſafely, and be quiet from fear of all Evil whatſoever; for the turning away of the ſimple ſhall ſlay them, and the proſperity of Fools ſhall deſtroy them: But whoſo hearkeneth unto me ſhall dwell ſafely, and ſhall be quiet from fear of Evil, *Prov.*1.32,33.

Becauſe towards the End of this my Little Book, in Page 14. I make my Appeal to God, Remember all the Words both Spoken, Written and Printed I have laid before them; and theſe being ſome of the laſt Words which I think ever to Publiſh concerning National Matters, Therefore it is convenient and neceſſary to add and annex here the Catalogue of all thoſe Books, Treatiſes and Papers, I have Written, and cauſed to be Printed, from *January* 4. 1689. to this day, concerning the Unrighteouſneſs and In-Equity of that Revolution of Government, which was made here in *England* about a Year before that Time.

Imprimis, *A Supplemental Tract of Government, &c. Referred to the Conſideration of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, January 4. 1689, 90.

A Copy of Two Letters left on the Back-Stairs at Whitehall, *January* 26.

The Caſe of Richard Stafford *humbly offered to both Houſes of Parliament.*

Things Plain and Weighty referred unto both Houſes, aſſembled on March 25. 1690. *which was Reprinted with Additions, and an Obſervable Marginal Note in P.* 12. *in the firſt Month of the Year*, 1691.

A ſhort Printed Petition to the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled. Delivered to them whilſt I was their Priſoner under the Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Arms.

A ſhort Remonſtrance of Richard Stafford *unto the Parliament of* England, *upon their not receiving and hearing of his Teſtimony, but ſhutting him up in Priſon for the ſame.*

A clear Apology and juſt Defence of Richard Stafford *for himſelf; with a Rehearſal, and further explanation of what he hath done concerning National Affairs.*

The Truth which God hath ſhewed unto his Servant Ric. Stafford, *which he wrote down as he had in conſideration before him the following Scripture; For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of ſtrong holds*, 2 Cor.10.5.

A Copy of a Letter ſent to the Hague, *bearing date* May 11. 1691. *As alſo of another directed to the Lords and Commons. Dated July* 21. 1691. *Both Printed together in a half ſheet.*

Some more words to be added and annexed to my Book, entituled, Things Plain and Weighty. Dated October 5. 1691. *Printed in an half ſheet.*

A Petition of Richard Stafford *Priſoner in* Bethlehem *Hoſpital, directed to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. Printed.*

The Printed Sayings of Richard Stafford *a Priſoner in* Bethlehem-*Hoſpital.*

Some more Sayings of Richard Stafford *a Priſoner in* Bethlehem-*Hoſpital.* Part 2.

The Myſtery of Iniquity ſomewhat laid open, in a Letter to the preſent Governour, &c. By Richard Stafford *Priſoner in* Bethlehem Hoſpital.

A Word to both Houſes of Parliament. A Word to the Privy Council. A Word to all Soldiers. Another Short Warning, &c. All Printed together in one ſingle half ſheet.

To our Sovereign Lord James *the Second, &c.* Richard Stafford *deſireth a ſpeedy, ſafe and peaceable coming into* England. *Dated July* 25. 1692. *and Printed October* 1. 1692.

Here lies by me in Manuſcript this following, *Animadverſions on that Proclamation of Sept.*13. 1692. entituled, *For the better diſcovery of Seditious Libellers.*

All which aforementioned Books or Papers, or any of them, may be Tranſcribed, Reprinted, and ſhewed from one to another as often as People will.

Of making this kind of Books here is my END.

To all Rulers, Magiſtrates, and Officers of Juſtice; and to all other People whom this following may in any wiſe Concern.

WHereas I do only Reprove Tranſgreſſion, and exhort People to come again into the Way of Gods Commandments. I do ſet his Law before Mankind, and I do publiſh his Eternal Truth. I do nothing more beyond, or beſides this. Which again I do not out of mine own Head, but only from the Statute-Book of the Lord God. If ye think that I deſerve to be impriſoned for this doing, and ye will be inſtrumental to confine me, God will Judge, that ye and the other People do deſerve Damnation, for not obeying thoſe his Laws and Commandments, which from out of the ſame Book of Scriptures I have ſet before ye and them. And when your Breath is out of your Noſtrils, and your Souls are departed from your Bodies, ye will receive yet greater Condemnation, and be beaten with more Stripes for your thus doing unto me his Creature, who was ſent and employed by him in the Miniſtration of his Word and Truth.

So Warneth and Witneſſeth

Richard Staffo

FINIS.

Because that to many People, I have seemed to falsify my Word and Promise, which I made upon my being discharged out of Bethelem *Hospital; whereupon I am now liable to the Imputation of a Lyar and Deceiver (which lies as a very great Prejudice against the Things I have heretofore written, and Published to the World) I shall therefore here add the very form thereof; Together with what is here observed thereon.*

To the Right Honourable Daniel *Earl of* N. *Principal Secretary of State.*

The Humble PETITION *of* Richard Stafford, *a Prisoner in* Bethlehem *Hospital.*

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner hath been detained here for almost these eight Months, By an Order of the Board of Green Cloth, for disturbing Their Majesties Houshold at *Kensington*; By my delivery of certain Books there, on *Nov.* 3. 1691. for which this my Act of Inadvertency, I am heartily sorry; And I do hereby with all due Respectfulness and Humility beg Their Majesties Pardon, for what Offence I have hereby given to them. And seeing that by so long and tedious Imprisonment, I have been, and am still detained and kept from the publick Worship and Service of Almighty God: (As also from the Comforts and Ends of Humane Life. My humble Prayer is therefore unto your Lordship, That you would intercede with Her Majesty, That She would be Graciously pleased, out of Her Princely Favour (and upon this my Acknowledgment, and future Resolution) to give Command or Direction, for my Release and Discharge out of this House of Confinement and Shame; and to *grant me my former Liberty and Freedom* (which last Words, tho they were not expressed, yet they were intended in my Mind) And then I do hereby promise before God, and upon the Word of a Christian man, That I will never any more come within the Gates of *White-Hall* or *Kensington* Court. Nor, will I Write and Publish any thing more against the Government, as it is at present Established. Adding this withal, That if ever I should Transgress or Violate in the least particular against what I do here declare, and faithfully promise, I would then willingly submit to be Immured up here, or else where during Life. Or to be proceeded against in a Regular and Legal way, with the utmost severity, according as your Righteousness and Wisdom shall think fit. But my Intentions being now Real and Unfeigned, as above-specified, I do hope that I may for this once partake of Royal *Mercy*. And that your Lordship would be pleased to Represent and make this known, is the most earnest Desire and Supplication of

Your most Obedient Servant,

And Humble Petitioner,

Richard Stafford.

These Words, To *be Immur'd up here or else where during Life.* I did like the eloquent Orator mentioned in *Isa.* 3. 3. put in to make this my Petition more Perſuaſive. But not with an intent to concluded by it, or to be dealt withal accordingly

This *Petition* was carried and preſented unto him, On *June* 20. Upon which the day following: This following Order was ſent, and directed unto Sir *William Turner*, and to the other Governours of *Bethlehem* Hoſpital.

June 21. 1692.

Gentlemen,

The Queen is willing to diſcharge Mr. Richard Stafford *out of Bethlehem Hoſpital, and to deliver him up to his Father.*

Your Humble Servant

N.

BY this General phraſe of delivering me up to my Father, there was no ſuch Grant of my former Liberty and Freedom; Upon which my ſolemn *Promiſe* was founded.

But (not laying ſo much ſtreſs on that) then beſides, If a *Promiſe* is as it were forced and extorted, as it was here with me by Grievous foregoing Bondage and Oppreſſion, in putting me down into a low, dark, narrow, and ſtinking Room, for ſeven Weeks and three days. And ſo in like manner, in the former Times of Uſurpation, Their Fathers did weary out Judge *Jenkins*, by long Imprſonment. By which they forced him to ſign a Paper, wherein he did much more acknowledge their Government that then was, than I have done as to the preſent in this form of Petition. Or if the matter of a *Promiſe* is unlawful, as here it is to hinder the Word of the Lord, and to ſtop that free courſe thereof, which it ought to have. In both theſe caſes, it ceaſes to oblige. As may be yet more clearly underſtood from the Contents of the following Letter, which was delivered in and ſent by the Penny-poſt, on *July* 29 laſt paſt, and directed to him at *Cleveland-Houſe*, near *St. James*, but within ſuperſcribed.

To the Right Honourable Daniel *Earl of* N. *Principal Secretary of State, and to the other Members of the Privy Council.*

Richard Stafford, *a Scribe of Jeſus Chriſt, ſendeth Greeting.*

THeſe are to acquaint Your Lordſhips, and the preſent Rulers, That I have had very great Trouble and Remorſe of Conſcience (being afraid and ſenſible, That I have offended God in an high degree) for that Petition which I ſent unto Your Lordſhip, on the 19th of *June* laſt paſt: Wherein I did pray for my diſcharge out of *Bethlehem* Hoſpital, and you were pleaſed to ſend an Order accordingly for it the day following; which, though it was an Act of great Goodneſs in your ſelf to be inſtrumental towards the effecting of it; and it was, and is ſtill very acceptable unto me: And I do hereby reſent it with all due Thankfulneſs; Yet the terms upon which I did deſire it, were in me ſinful and unbecoming ſuch an One who is employed in the miniſtration of the word of the Lord unto the Inhabitants of the Earth. For whereas rather from the dictates of ſome other than from mine own Sentiments) I did there ſet forth and promiſe, that what I had done as to the occaſion of my Commitment was in me an Act of Inadvertency; And that I would write and publiſh no more againſt the Government as it is at preſent Eſtabliſhed (I do not write againſt Government in the General but againſt Sin, Iniquity and Tranſgreſſion in the preſent Governours) That aforementioned dropped, and was as it were forced from me, by Humane Infirmity, and out of my impatient deſire of Releaſe from that long and tedious Impriſonment, under which I did groan. But now upon my ſerious and innermoſt Thoughts, I

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not ſtay. Jer. 20. 9. In like m
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cannot in Truth acknowledge so. And I learn from the Example of *Jeremiah*, That when through the foregoing Hatreding and Persecution of Men, He came to this Resolution; *Then I said* (which implies somewhat of an outward Promise) *I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his Name. But his Word was in mine Heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, but could not stay.* Jer. 20. 9. In like manner, I once finding such strong Impulses of this engagement upon my Spirit, do by what may be further gathered from *Numbers* 30. 12. Seeing that the Spirit of God in my Heart did at the very time disallow what I did herein, as He did at the very same moment to the Spirit of my Mind; Not any of those Vows or Bonds wherewith I have seemed to tie my self shall stand; and the Lord shall forgive me, because his Spirit did disallow what I did herein, as he did at the very same moment to the Spirit of my Mind. For the Vow of a Woman or Wife shall not bind her, if her Father or her Husband doth disallow the same; much more all those Promises made unto Men shall not [illegible] than saving our Duty to the Great God over all.

And though in Probability if ye had known as much before hand, ye would have still kept me Captive, and not let me go, as now upon my giving this Notice hereof, Ye will be apt to relapse me into the same or a worse Condition; Yet I should have all along, and I am still to commit my Cause unto God, with only warning ye all of thus much before hand, *viz.* seeing that all which I have done as Relating to publick Affairs is only Reproof of Transgression, and exhorting People to come again into the way of God's Commandments. I do set his Laws before Mankind, and I do Publish his eternal Truth. I do nothing more, beyond, or besides this; which again I do not out of mine own Head, but only from of the Statute Book of the Lord God. If ye think that I deserve to be imprisoned for this Doing, and ye will be instrumental to Confine me, God will judge that ye and the other People do deserve Damnation, for not obeying those his Laws and Commandments, which from out of the same Book of Scriptures I have set before Ye and Them. And ye will receive yet greater Condemnation, and be beaten with more stripes for your thus doing towards me his Creature, who was sent and employed by him in the Ministration of his Word and Truth. This ye will be likely to find severally, as soon as your Breath is out of your Nostrils, and your Souls are departed from your Bodies. God will proportion his Punishment, and Recompence according to the number of the days in the ~~which ye have already, or shall yet hold me in adversity, and according to what ever degree, or manner of~~ Persecution ye have already, or shall use yet towards me.

Though I will most strictly observe that part of my Engagement, as never to come again within the Gates of *White-Hall* or *Kensington-House*, unless I am sent for; Yet I would again appear boldly in Person. But what ye lately did towards me, was a meer Act of Violence, *viz.* such as was neither Law nor Reason for, but only Gotten Power, and the Will of Men. It was so done meerly because ye were stronger; and it could be so done. If I may use such a trivial Similitude, It was like a Company of Boys who did take one of their Fellows, and bind him Hand and Foot, and lock him up in a Room by force. Which, what sometimes they do for once out of Novelty and Play; Ye did it for several Days and Weeks successively with me; and this is called the Government of Reasonable (or rather unreasonable) *Men*; and herein I may lawfully use those necessary and prudential Preventives in keeping out of your way.

If by the Words of God's Grace and Truth I might be somewhat instrumental to bring that to Right, which is now overturn'd already, and to settle *Peace* in your Consciences, who now live in fear and doubt, until ye miscarry to all Eternity (unless ye come to Repentance and Restitution) then I shall neither harm nor disturb ye. And if ye would refrain from hurting my outward Person, ye would have less guilt in the meanwhile, and less punishment in the World to come, which we are all just entring into.

To this end is the inclosed Written Paper sent unto ye. The Words whereof (whether stifled or published) will be for some Witness and Testimony. By reason of my poor wretched Condition; and also Mr. *Robert Stephens* hath given such strict Orders from ye to the several Printers against doing any thing for me, That the will of Man is of more force in this World, than the Command of God, as to the going forth and publication of his Eternal Truth. I do doubt, and am afraid, that I shall never get it printed (and yet blessed be God who performeth all things for me) it afterwards was printed, and is Entituled, *A Word to both Houses of Parliament, and to the Privy Council.*

However ye may Order it to be Printed, or a ſufficient Number of Copies here-of to be Tranſcribed. I ſend it on Purpoſe that thoſe Lives might be ſaved, which are now going to be loſt in their Invaſion of a foreign Country; for 'tis ye who ſits at the *Council Board*, who do cauſe, contrive, and carry on the War; and all thoſe many Men, Ships, and Horſes may be turned about according to the ſeveral Orders of ye who ſit at the Helm, whitherſoever the preſent Governours liſt.

Follow Peace, and Righteouſneſs, and true Holineſs; for there is no other way under Heaven whereby ye may be ſaved; and in the mean while,

Farewel.

FINIS.

upplemental Word, neceſſary to be made known, and underſtood aright, and to be ne accordingly, in order to the Healing of theſe Nations.

WHen the *French* were moving upon the Waters in the Year 1692. It was given out throughout all this Nation, To make the People more Unanimous in olition of them, That they came to ſpoil and make a Conqueſt over this Coun- They did not then come ſo near, as to ſend out their Declarations, and make Pretences known. But if they had, and declared accordingly, That they only to reſtore the deprived King; And that they did covet and deſign no than barely to effect This; and they would be contented only with the ge of the Expedition paid, with ſome moderate Gratuities to the Souldiers Seamen; and henceforward theſe Nations ſhould abide by one another in y, Peace and Concord: If the uſual Conſultation, Treaty and Security was ereupon, the People of *England* might credit and fully rely on theſe their ſeeming Reaſonable and juſt Demands, all one as they did take the *P.* of *O.* Word to let him come in when he had before declared, That He did not in- to make a Conqueſt over them. Indeed there is ſomewhat more to be conſi- in the diſparity of the Numbers and Power which the One hath over what the had. But the Word and Promiſe of the Princes and Potentates of the Earth ch alike, that there is no ſure Truſt and Reliance to be given to any of . They were wont to ſpeak in old Time, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſurely ask Counſel* el, and ſo they ended the matter 2 *Sam.* 20. 18. As we are allowed, yea, mmanded to ſearch the Scriptures, ſo any one at his leiſure may read the following *Verſes*, as they lie open in the Bible. I am one of them that are able and faithful in *England.* It ſeemeth hard and unequal to me, that a Nation ſhould be endangered to be ruined, and ſwallowed up by Strangers orreigners for the Ambition and Contention of two Men. Whereas Right be done in a Peaceable and Prudent way (without their Aid, or violent in- ſure and medling) upon the terms of *Univerſal Forgiveneſs*, not one Man ted. But if one is ſo ſtiff as not to grant that; As I ſuppoſe He would be with all his Heart, and conſent to be Re-admitted in upon thoſe mild and e- ble Conditions, which will make him both Revered and Loved; for it is r Duty, nor yet Wiſdom to ſpeak or behave ones ſelf Proudly in the day of eſs. They are Adverſaries to the King, 2 *Sam.* 19. 22. and they hinder his uration, who dictate otherwiſe notwithſtanding their ignorant Zeal, and Talk for him. And if the Offenders are afraid to truſt to this, as Wicked- nd Guilt is very timorous and ſuſpicious (it being but what is natural and That they who have tranſgreſſed without a Cauſe, ſhould be alſo fearful ut a Cauſe, that is, without a true Cauſe.) Then let all thoſe that are in- criminal ſtand by themſelves; for there is no reaſon why others, who as yet t ſo, ſhould make themſelves criminal alſo in defending them. And let him ſingly to punish them, whilſt all others ſtand perfectly Neuter, and Diſin- ed as to that Cauſe, only in defence of their Country, to ſtop the Incurſion poil of Strangers and Robbers. The right underſtanding of, and acting ac- ng to this Truth, would go a great way towards the bringing and ſetling again in our Borders.

CONSIDERATIONS *on the Nature of Parliaments, and our present Elections.*

IT is amazing that a People so zealous for their Liberties, should neglect the natural, safe, and certain way of securing them, when they have often had recourse to the most violent Remedies, and have run the utmost hazards to defend their Property. This is the only Country in *Europe* that enjoys any freedom under a King, and it mortifies any thinking Man when he considers how many successive Reigns our Constitution has been aim'd at, how precariously we hold it now, and how often the opportunities of a secure Establishment have been trifled away, when obtained by the boldest Attempts that were ever the Invention of an Age to produce.

As the Restoration of K. *Charles* II. the last Revolution was the work of the People of *England*; nothing could have brought it about in so miraculous a manner, but the weight of the whole Nation, in opposition to the Usurpators and against our Constitution. And if the succeeding Parliaments (which they call'd the Representatives of the Nation) have not established by proper Laws those Liberties, and that Government for which the People drew their Swords, it must be concluded, those Assemblies did not truly represent that People.

Whether they have done so ought well to be considered; and if they have not, to find where the fault lay, were a useful discovery: and it is highly necessary that the Boroughs of *England* should be well apprised of the present circumstances of Affairs, and of the sentiments of Mankind at this time; that by a proper and discreet choice they may secure at once the Happiness of their Country, and their own Reputation, which are both in danger.

The opinion of the universal Corruption of this Age cannot be conceal'd; it is made evident by those that Elect, by those that are Elected; buying Elections, and selling of Votes are Consequences. And if this should appear to be the present Case, such a House of Commons cannot pass for a Representative of the People, but a Representative of a few dissolute, mercenary Persons, possest of Votes in the Boroughs of *England*: the consideration of such things they will do well to consider: which must induce all true Englishmen (at a proper time) to seek other methods of being better represented.

When I speak of a natural, safe and certain way of preserving the Liberties of *England*, I mean the securing a free, uncorrupt House of Commons, consisting of Able, Honest and Able Men of the Nation. When the balance of the Government went out of the hands of the Nobility and the Church-men, if a sufficient Provision had been made for this, how happy had we been, and what Miseries and Dangers had been prevented to this Nation? From *Henry* the *7th* to this time our Annals had contain'd the Names of Princes on the Throne fit to have been the Predecessors to our glorious King: but now it is, he must have lost his Life at *Dettingen*, as we had saved the Year of our Redemption; for our Constitution would have preserved us from

thoſe Dangers and Violences from which he came to free us, and we had not had a whole Generation conſpiring for a hundred years together (tho in different ways) againſt our eſtabliſh'd Government, when ſworn to ſupport it. If our new Barrier had been well fortified, and if our Repreſentative of the People had been contrived to anſwer in deed to the Name, all our Kings had been Q. *Elizabeths*. But our Elections in inconſiderable Boroughs, and our Members being qualified to ſerve two Maſters, were ſuch miſtakes in our Fundamentals, that as they have produc'd our paſt Misfortunes, they muſt produce the like under bad Princes, or evil projecting Miniſters.

A Houſe of Commons choſen truly by the People, incapable of Penſion, and Place; and the King and Kingdom had been incapable of Misfortune: they had been out of the reach of all human Power, and, with due ſubmiſſion, above Fate; ſince ſuch a Government would have made us the proper Objects of Divine Protection, and not only have ſecured our Greatneſs and Glory, but our Religion and Morals too, which I fear are all going together.

In ſuch Circumſtances we ſhould have had no cauſe to fear the Scotiſh cunning of K. *James* I. No King of *Scotland* could have made a Scotch Parliament of ſuch an Engliſh Aſſembly. Such a Monſter as *Buckingham*, and upon ſo monſtrous a foot of Favor, could never have grown to ſuch an exorbitant ſize under ſuch a Conſtitution: he had ſoon been prevented in the apparent proſtitution of our Wealth, in his apparent neglect of the Honor and Intereſt of the Kingdom, in his apparent and treacherous dealings with the French, and the publick Enemies: his Iniquities had never been ſcreen'd by a Party; in a word, he had not fallen a Victim to a private Hand.

Under ſuch a Government his pious Son had perſued the like meaſures in vain: his French Wife, his ſcandalous Favorites, his unlaudable Biſhops, his own inſolent and unconſtant Temper could never have brought him to the Block: all the Blood ſhed to no purpoſe in thoſe Wars had been ſav'd; he could never have loſt his Life, nor his Kingdoms; he would only have loſt his Title of Martyr.

Under ſo juſt a balance of Power, as the Sons would have avoided the ill Conſequences of their Father's Fate, ſo would they probably have avoided all the French Infection which they receiv'd in Body and Mind: They had not receiv'd (Sons of the Proteſtant Martyr) the French Religion and above all Contagions a French Inclination, the moſt fatal Poiſon that could enter the Blood of an Engliſh King. Such a Government would ſoon have diſcover'd the Proteſtant Mask K. *Charles* II. only pull'd off at his death. Such a Parliamentary Conſtitution would not have ſuffer'd the avow'd and open Apoſtacy of the next Heir; the Bill of Excluſion had then paſt, and had prevented the ſetting up, the pulling down the late King with ſuch hazard and expence to this Nation. Such an Eſtabliſhment would have prevented that late damnable invented Project of *corrupting Parliaments* (which I muſt mention in this place, becauſe it began at this time) that curſed Project, which defeats all our hopes, which poiſons us in our mothers milk, which murders us by the hands of our Parents, which infects the only Cordial that can preſerve our Being, which makes us acceſſory to our own Fate, betray'd by thoſe we chuſe to repreſent us, made ſlaves by our Protectors, and given up by thoſe elected to defend our Liberties, (but of this, and the terrible Conſequences I ſhall take further notice.) Such a Conſtitution would

have

ve prevented that Inundation of Pro-
neneſs, Leudneſs, and Immorality, in-
oduc'd by K. *Charles* II. and his Athe-
ical Wits, to fit the Nation for the in-
nded Yoke of Popery and Slavery. To
at end was all Learning and Virtue ex-
loded in his Reign, ſcorn of Religion,
ntempt of a publick Spirit, deriſion of
etters; and a pretending Wit above rule,
earning, or Scruples, being the ſure and
ly recommendations to his Favor, and
blic Imployments. No Government
t muſt leave Mankind, as the Deity dos
Creatures, in a ſtate of Freewill, and
erefore in an exerciſe perhaps of pri-
vices, or conceal'd villanies: but in
h a true Engliſh Eſtabliſhment we had
ver ſeen a rampant Erench Whore, o-
ly governing our Councils; we had
t ſeen an Engliſh King (well under-
nding Seafaring matters) an open In-
ctor to his Brother of *France* in the
yſteries of Navigation, Building and
ade. And to evince, as I go along, the
tereſt of King and People equally to
biſt in a ſteady, good, and incorrupti-
Adminiſtration, the Elder Brother
never died an unnatural death in ſuch
well regulated Proteſtant State, as
uld not have admitted of a bigotted,
dſtrong, Popiſh Succeſſor. But let us
ve this artful King, trick'd in his
icks, outwitted by ſuch a Brother, plot-
againſt by his Son, unpitied by his
bjects, tho making way for ſuch a Suc-
ſor, abandon'd at laſt by his Biſhops,
with nothing to ſave him from a fu-
Account, but Extreme Unction from
Prieſts of the Whore of *Babylon*.

And now to the laſt, and in my opinion
beſt of the wicked Reigns; for the
ject of a Standing Army under a Po-
King did but haſten our Deliverance,
did the Expedient of an Heir under a
y of Clouts. The Son muſt really be
, and the Army muſt be Proteſtant, I
do not ſay really ſo, for the Name will do
But I ſhall ſay leſs of the living Prince, be-
cauſe of his Misfortunes. He lives, and
without a Crown, which is Puniſhment
great enough for Follies having the excuſe
of Conſcience, and Miſtake. Yet I can
hardly contain when I remember he is the
cauſe, that all Mankind have been getting
our Wealth, while our own recompence
is, that we have got rid of himſelf. How-
ever I forgive him all the reſt, but having
left behind that worſt of Evils, *a pretence
to a Proteſtant Army, in a good Reign, and
in times of Peace:* and I will only lay
to the charge of his Brother of bleſſed
memory, *all the Miſchiefs ariſing from
corrupted Parliaments.*

Now to this great point, and our moſt
preſſing Danger, and the preſent and
future Remedies of them. I have hi-
therto bin ſhewing what Violences,
what Infamies, what Follies, an uncor-
rupted Parliamentary Conſtitution would
have prevented; which evinces ſufficient-
ly what we have to expect in future
times, if a ſecure Settlement be not ob-
tain'd under a good King againſt the
notorious increaſe of Corruption in
our Age. It is now come to ſuch a
height, that it may almoſt be ſaid, A
wiſe Prince muſt comply with it: for
as in a weak and low condition, the
Phyſician muſt not apply the proper Re-
medy till the Patient has ſtrength to bear
it; ſo in our low and corrupted State,
when Patriots muſt be hired to ſerve their
Country, when Whigs go reſty without
Penſion or Place, and begin with untime-
ly barking againſt the Government in
War, to conclude with proſtitute baw-
ling for it after a Peace; I ſay, when this
is our caſe, till effectual Laws have re-
cover'd our Conſtitution, it muſt be con-
feſt, our Princes have an excuſe for practi-
ſing the baſe arts of Corruption, eſpeci-
ally in times of eminent danger, which

allow of no delays. This makes it plain that amongſt Men, Lawgivers muſt only ſeek for coercive Honeſty; and Legiſlators remembring that moſt neceſſary part of the moſt perfect Prayer, *Lead us not into Temtation*, ſhould have that principally in view for King and People, that neither be led into it. No Emperor but envies the leaſt Bird upon the wing: but ſince Flying is impoſſible, the great Vicegerents of God upon Earth are content to walk upon two Legs with common Porters; and either Kings muſt drop from Heaven, and then let them be *Jure divino*, or Mankind muſt be Slaves, unleſs they provide ſuch happy and irreſiſtible Laws as may reſtrain the love of Power, as well in Kings, as in Stateſmen. I will only deſire the example may be given me, of the beſt of Kings ſucceeding a bad one, who ever made it his choice to give up any Authority or Acquiſition, tho obtain'd by his Predeceſſor by means he would not have practiſed himſelf. Since then the Evils of bad Princes are permanent, and the good Eſtabliſhments of juſt ones often overthrown by thoſe that are Arbitrary, what Methods for the good of Mankind and Society, but to find Chains ſtrong enough to bind a Tyrant, which can only be made here in *England*, when a good King with upright Miniſters beat the Anvil, and uncorrupted Parliaments find Fire and Materials?

The higheſt Compliment I can make this King is to ſay, This is the time for ſo glorious a Work, and we have great reaſon to expect his utmoſt aſſiſtance: For in truth, Deliverance and Reformation are his very Title. There is this unanſwerable Argument to prove it muſt be now or never: Some Infections muſt be check'd in time, or Remedies will come too late; and I am ſure we muſt flux now, or never expect to ſee a ſound Noſe on the face of the Government. Such a precarious Peace as we have obtain'd is hardly a Bleſſing: but becauſe it ſets Parliaments at liberty to ſettle our ſhatter'd State, let no time be loſt then, when we are ſo unſecure of its laſting. But as I would willingly give ſome hints that may be ſerviceable at all times in the great Cauſe of Liberty, ſo I ſhall take notice, and that only from Obſervations of the laſt Reigns, what are the moſt dangerous Symptoms threatning a People with loſs of Liberty: and when moſt of thoſe Circumſtances concur at once (any one of which dos threaten ruin) then I need not ſay a Government is moſt in danger, and that the ſpeedieſt and ſtrongeſt Antidotes ſhould be provided againſt the influence of ſo many malignant Conſtellations join'd together.

To begin then with what the Reign of K. *James* the *1ſt* will afford us: The moſt dangerous Circumſtance that could attend a Nation was a reaſonable obligation to ſet upon the Throne a Prince born and bred up in another Country, who muſt retain a Forein Heart, who muſt be partial to the People, to the Cuſtoms of his native Land; who muſt therefore be unacquainted with the Men, Manners, Privileges, and Laws of thoſe Territories he is newly come to govern. This Partiality is natural, and for that reaſon juſtifiable: and therefore as it ſeldom happens but that Princes tranſplant themſelves to a richer Soil (as was the caſe of K. *James*) ſo the Wealth of the moſt opulent Nation muſt always be proſtituted to raiſe and ſupply the Favorites of the poorer; and 'tis all can be expected, that they be not raiſed by haſty and unmerited Favours: beſides, it is almoſt impoſſible but the Intereſts of the Two Nations or People muſt interfere, if he retains the Juriſdiction of both, as the Scotch Prince did. How perplext muſt the

beſt of Kings be in his divided thoughts
inclinations? and where, and to
om muſt Nature and Education incline
n? It may happen, as in this caſe,
t the unforc'd Conſtitution of one
untry allow'd a greater Power, and
ater Prerogatives than was conſiſtent
th the Laws of the other. How ſhall
ſpirit of a Prince brook the refuſal
that in one place, which he was us'd
the ſubmiſſion to elſewhere? How
n he eaſily change a Bent created per-
ps by Nature, and confirm'd by Cu-
m? In one Country requir'd to head
mies, in another oblig'd to encourage
ets: In one Country Troops are the
pport of Mens Property, in the other
y muſt prove the ruin of their Liber-
s; this diſtinction Princes cannot ea-
y make. Religion too, the great guide
Mens Actions, or at leaſt their pre-
nce, differs almoſt in all Countries,
n where it agrees in name: and we
ow by bloody experience how little
Proteſtant Religion of the Scots did
ree with our Epiſcopacy. Innumera-
are the Miſchiefs ariſing from ſuch a
rcumſtance; but I confine my ſelf on-
to what were the apparent dangers in
caſe before us.

Another dangerous Symptom appear-
in the Reign of K. *Charles* the *1ſt*
s this, That all his arbitrary Deſigns
re carried on, and diſguis'd under the
ask of the moſt preciſe Piety. Such
pious Projects as aroſe from Inſolence
d Pride, that were carried on by
each of Faith, that tended to the effuſi-
of the beſt Blood in the Nation, were
ways tranſacted in Forms, with Faſt-
and Prayers. As his Shipmony was
intain'd by his Judges, ſo were all his
her Expedients to inſlave the Nation
each'd for by his Church, and labor'd
by his Biſhops.

Another threatning Circumſtance was the advantage with which K. *Charles* the *2d* came to the Throne. The Nation was then intoxicated with Joy: and he made as ill uſe of that opportunity, as *Noah*'s Daughters did of their Father's Drunkenneſs; as they went in to him, ſo he got in to his People, and with all ſly Arts and Corruption began the fatal (well-improv'd) Project of *bribing Parliaments*. And that none might have a ſcruple of Conſcience againſt this higheſt of Crimes, betraying their Country, Religion in his time was the jeſt of his Favorites: but for himſelf, he had a different one ready for every Nation, and ſort of People he had to do with; a Papiſt in *France*, a Presbyterian in *Scotland*, a Churchman in *England*, a Quaker with *Penn*, an Atheiſt with *Halifax*. A moſt dextrous practice this in all Princes that perſue it, who thus eaſily impoſe on good people willing to be deceiv'd.

Another certain warning of enſuing miſchief (the very Porpoiſe before the Storm) is a Standing Army; which tho it prov'd unſucceſsful in K. *James*'s time, yet it immediately preceded his intentions of ſubverting all our Laws, Human and Divine. He thought his Project as infallible as his Pope, when ſo many of his Troops were Papiſts and Foreiners; being ſecure too of Ships from abroad to tranſport more Strangers when wanted. But all this was ſpoil'd with one word, Popery. Heaven had in ſtore an Antidote againſt a Popiſh Army, pray God preſerve us at all times from a Proteſtant one.

Now having recapitulated all theſe Circumſtances of approaching ruin, which we ſo narrowly eſcap'd in the foregoing Reigns, what would become of us if theſe difficulties ſhould bear upon us (as in a Hurricane) all at once? Whenever they do, well may the Nation fear their impending Fate. Yet after all I ſay, a

free

free uncorrupted Parliament would ſoon diſpel theſe Clouds. Under ſuch a Government as I have mention'd, K. *James* the 1*ſt* had bin compell'd to have made uſe of Engliſh Councils in governing an Engliſh Nation: he had bin oblig'd to have provided for his Scots Favorites out of his Scotch Revenue: he had no doubt bin ſupplied with the Mony of *England*, but forced to have laid it out for the Honor and Intereſts of that People. Suppoſe the Nation prepoſſeſt for him as they were for K. *Charles* the 2*d*, reliev'd from long Wars, from Confuſion, from *Cromwels* and Uſurpers; ſuch a Parliament would not then have ſat ſtill in idle rejoicing, but wiſely have prevented the Cauſes of future mourning: nay, give him the Standing Army of the unfortunate Prince of his name (let it be a Proteſtant one too) yet ſuch an Aſſembly with their ſteady Wiſdom and Vigor would have reſcued their Country from all theſe dangers. All I can allow, but the Circumſtances of K. *Charles*'s corrupted Parliament: for the Incorruption of that is my only Remedy to all other Evils; when that falls out with the reſt, there is nothing left but for honeſt men to ſhow the Nation the Precipice upon which they ſtand: And much may be expected from ſo brave a People, when wak'd out of their Lethargy, and well appriſed of their danger. I ſhall conclude this part with the Queſtions of K. *James* the 1*ſt* upon his acceſſion to the Throne, *Do I make the Biſhops? Do I make the Judges?* If to this he might have added, *Do I make the Houſe of Commons?* To ſuch fatal Interrogatories the Anſwer is too plain.

Having treated (and with a Freedom an Engliſhman may well take) of the Circumſtances of the laſt Reigns, I come to a Subject with more difficulty to be handled. What the People and Parliament have to do at preſent may well be gather'd from the foregoing Conſiderations, yet I muſt ſay ſomething of the Revolution, and what has hapned ſince, were it only to acknowledg the Obligations we owe to our preſent King. The Oppreſſions and Dangers from which he reliev'd us were ſo grievous, and the Advantages we might have procur'd to ourſelves by his coming were ſo great, that we ow him the utmoſt Gratitude, not to be overpaid by any thing but by ſuch a confidence in his Virtue, as (forgetful of Times paſt and to come) ſhould make us neglect the Opportunity he has given us of ſecuring to our ſelves, the never being ſo much oblig'd to any other. This were the worſt requital we could make him, to let it be poſſible by our negligence, that any perſon ſhould ever rival him in his glorious Title of Deliverer.

Our preſent King has now the ſame Game he has all his Life bin ſucceſsfully perſuing abroad, and the ſame buſineſs he has bin bred up to in other Countries; but he has now other Tools to work with, a divided and corrupted People. His Declaration aſſures us, he came to ſecure our Conſtitution, ſo as no ill Prince, no evil Miniſters ſhould be able to violate it for the future. I ſhall not now repeat what he has done in perſon towards all this; it were unneceſſary Flattery to repeat Actions done in the face of the Sun: but my buſineſs at preſent is to conſider what has bin deficient; and, as I propos'd at firſt, to give ſome hints where the fault lies, and how it came about that we have bin expos'd to ſuch hazards, and are yet unſecure; and this to the end the Scene of his great Life may be perfected, and his Promiſes made good to us, in an Eſtabliſhment ſecur'd againſt future Attemts.

I muſt confeſs I cannot wholly acquit the Convention, and other following Parliaments

aments. I doubt all the unneceſſary zards to which we have been expos'd, our unſuccesful Undertakings, all the iſgiven and miſpent Treaſure, all that deficient, or left undone to the com-leating our Security, muſt in a great eaſure be laid to their charge. It is ell known, many in Pamphlets, more Diſcourſe, accuſe them both of weak-ſs and corruption: But they ſhould nſider that ſuch a War was what ne-r came afore into the hands of a Parli-ment; the dangers and difficulties ſuc-eding and increaſing from year to year, re enough to amaze and diſtract the eateſt Aſſembly. I ſhall be far from ſing ſo hard a Judgment upon them; only wiſh is, if they have done well, t they may never do otherwiſe; if ey have committed errors, the like may ver happen. My Ambition is their ory; only out of zeal to their Honor, ſhall take notice of ſome Complaints de by others; and from my ſelf take liberty to ſay, that this enſuing Par-ment made free by a happy Peace, ſt make the Nation ſo for ever, or for loſe their Reputation.

This is the Time in which Parliaments uld exert themſelves for the Nations ppineſs, and their own Fame. All nkind have obſerv'd, this is the ſecond volution unimprov'd by Parliaments the ſame Age; the one as ineffectual he good of *England* in the hands of iots, Whigs and Diſſenters, as the r was in the hands of Cavaliers and rchmen: Which makes Men apt to clude, the fault lies in that part of our ſtitution on which we moſt rely. And common reaſon given by all why Par-ents have miſmanag'd, is, that they ſo manag'd themſelves: They do not ſuppoſe them ſubjected to the power ings, to the influence of great Men, he arts of old and crafty Stateſmen, but accuſe them now of being led by beardleſs Politicians, by upſtart Prentices in buſineſs, neither ſupported by Fortune, Dignities or Experience, and only buoy'd up by projecting Inſolence. If this were the caſe, to what are we reduced? This is not *Phaeton* unfortunately conducting the Horſes of the Sun, but a Carrier driving Pack-horſes, and Beaſts of Burden, which jog on their appointed Stages for their penſions.

The propos'd limits of a Sheet, and not the Subject, confine me; and therefore I ſhall repeat but one Objection made to the Wiſdom of our National Aſſemblies, which is, that the Members of a Convention freely choſen, brought together at this Revolution, and miraculouſly deliver'd from the higheſt Oppreſſions, ſhould admit of the old Underminers of our Liberties for the new managers of Reformation: and this I may ſay as to their Integrity, who would have admitted of ſuch Corrupters, but to be corrupted?

It may very well be ſaid to the juſtification of ſome; When there was no Government, no Miniſters, no Mony, no privy Purſe, who could influence? It muſt be confeſt (and here is the fatal Error) if there was Corruption, it was from within: Nay it is plain, they muſt bribe themſelves, and only with hopes and expectations; they were qualify'd by the Conſtitution to have places, every Fool was well qualify'd in his own thoughts, and every Knave betray'd his Truſt and his Country to make himſelf worthy.

Men have not only alter'd in our times, but Parties have chang'd their principles and practices: if ſo, what cautions can be great enough in ſuch an Age? I come therefore to thoſe conſiderations, what wiſe and honeſt Men ſhould do in this critical juncture. I ſhall propoſe

preventing

preventing Phyſick, ſafe, were there no preſent Diſeaſe, were there no Corruption in our Land, were all upright from the Lord to the Commoner; Yet I doubt the Golden Age would not ſucceed, were all wiſe as *Solomon*, and after God's own heart as *David*; we know the follies committed by the one, the impieties by the other; let no Man depend too much upon himſelf, let no Government depend upon Men. Preſumption is the higheſt Sin, and Prevention the higheſt Wiſdom.

I doubt not but ſome will think, and more will ſay, I have writ a tedious Preface to a very ſhort Treatiſe; that without ſo much repetition, without enumerating ſo many Diſeaſes, and times of Infection, I might ſooner have given my ſhort Receipt, which is this; *Good People of* England, *elect thoſe to repreſent you this Parliament, who moſt probably will ſecure your being truly repreſented for ever*: in other words, *Thoſe who have Virtue enough to incapacitate themſelves from any Service but that of their Country, while they take that Truſt upon them.*

Now towards making ſuch a Choice, my Inſtructions ſhall be as ſhort as my Advice; *Chuſe Rich Men.* For you may know who are Rich, and cannot know who are Honeſt: One you think honeſt may take Mony, but one that is rich do's not want it. Let no Ch[illegible] recommend or prejudice: Poor [illegible] poor Tories, want equally Places, [illegible] will act alike to get and keep 'em; [illegible] be ſure if they want Mony much, the[illegible] have not much Ambition. Therefore [illegible] void the younger Sons of Lords, who [illegible] of Pride, with empty pockets, will en[illegible] deavour, at the Nations coſt, to becom[illegible] rich Commoners. It is needleſs to a[illegible] viſe againſt thoſe whoſe Actions have di[illegible] cover'd them in foregoing Parliament[illegible] thoſe worſt of Villains, who began lik[illegible] Patriots, to conclude like Paraſites.

Thus I conclude, like a Quack, under[illegible] taking my Remedy ſhall cure all Di[illegible] ſtempers, whether they lie in the Heart o[illegible] the Brain. No matter what ſort of Me[illegible] conſpire, whether the bold Projects (fla[illegible] ming like Comets in the Sky) threate[illegible] multitudes, or whether the ſofter Me[illegible] thods (like Mines under ground) wor[illegible] hidden miſchief. Such a National A[illegible] ſembly, under the Qualifications I ha[illegible] mention'd, would repel the *Ba[illegible]*, a[illegible] defeat the Courtier, and prove ſtrong [illegible] nough to ſecure us from the moſt dange[illegible] ous Deſigns, thoſe dreſt up with Ze[illegible] and diſguis'd by Improbability. Such [illegible] Parliament would ſecure us from *Relig[illegible] ous Lendneſs*, *Proteſtant Arbitrarine[illegible]* and *Parliamentary Slavery.*

THE END.

K. Ruffell Lord Weddell

The THIRD and LAST PART
OF THE
Magiſtracy and Government of England
VINDICATED:
With REASONS for a
General Act of Indemnity, &c.

IT hath been the obſerved Misfortune of moſt mix'd Governments, particularly of our own, never long to enjoy the entire Friendſhip of all its individual Subjects; the lowermoſt Side hath too frequently acquired the greateſt ſhare of the Peoples Love, or at leaſt, Pity: It's then no point of Wonder, that the Servants of former Crowns ſhould incur their proportion of Envy, Hatred, and Reproach; and amongſt all thoſe none more obnoxious to it, than the Miniſters, Officers, and Inſtruments of Juſtice; for ſuch are the vitiated Sentiments of Perſons intereſted in all Suits, that the Vanquiſh'd is certainly injured, or thought, or ſaid to be ſo, which is all one, by the Perſons themſelves, their Friends or Relatives, their Patrons or Creatures. In truth there's ſcarce a Tryal on the Plea or Crown-Side, but one Party, and ſometimes both, do leave the Court with a ſwinging Curſe or two on Judge, Council, Jury, Witneſſes, and perhaps all concerned; upon which account, it can never be deemed a juſtifiable, much leſs a commendable and meritorious Imployment, for Lawyers to note and report, and afterwards publiſh to the World the Clamors of ſuch Malecontents, with the addition of Sarcaſm inſtead of Argument, and bluſhleſs Lies inſtead of Law and Precedents, and all this under the pretence of ſerving their Majeſties and the [illegible]; but this is mere pre[illegible]

It's not their Province; theſe Publications are made by them, not as Legiſlators or Judges, but as private Perſons; and one of their Libels ſeems calculated only for private Lucre, as either the hopes of a Place, or increaſe of Practice, by telling the Town in the firſt and laſt Pages where the Author lives, of what Profeſſion, and how long ſtanding; an Art learn'd from ſome of thoſe exquiſite Doctors inhabiting towards the Fields, whoſe Kuowledg and Converſation is pretended to be in Heaven: Another writes for Bread, and ſcribbles that he may eat, &c. A third, or rather the firſt and prime, is inſpired with Venom and Revenge, even the pure Spirit on't, as one baulk'd he is angry at all, and becauſe ſome were not his true Friends, he's reſolved to make Enemies of thoſe who deſpiſe him, and of them the number is great. But ſecondly,

It's of no uſe to the preſent Government, for Truth only can be a ſure Baſis of Reſpect to that; and in caſe of Slander, the Filth rebounds and the Dirt thrown moſt ſurely turns on, and dawbs their own Faces, eſpecially when they arraign thoſe as ignorant, whoſe Learning, Knowledg, and Judgment, are ſo clear and acknowledged, as to render the Cenſors unworthy even of being their Bag-bearers; the like when they cenſure thoſe as corrupt, who have always boldly done their Duty, even in defiance of a Court-

hered to the old *English* Law and their juſt pinions in it, tho Frowns from *Whitehall*, or lamors from *Wapping*, tho Lampoons from *rubſtreet* or a worſe uſage from an *Obſervator*, no a *Superſedeas* or a *Take him*, &c. were the only eward they could expect for ſuch their (formerly called Puritanical now Arbitrary) Juſtice: entlemen who never polled the Law (which the reat and good Sir *Matthew Hale* did truly call a obbing the Poor of Juſtice) for the acquiring a arm or an Office, or a lumping Sum for Sale f it; who never begg'd an Executorſhip for to ain a Fortune; Gentlemen who never gave trained Opinions concerning the Revenue when ade for their Clients the Farmers, but clamored at the ſame when uſed by their King with more Moderation; Gentlemen who parted with heir Places, tho of Honor and Profit, rather than comply with a Court-Opinion or a Club-Notion, when others (I name no body) offered entire and everlaſting Service, if they could have preceded or ſucceeded them, (Teſte.... *apud* St. *James*'s and the City of *Gloceſter*) but miſſing their aim then, as now they do, their Gall muſt have a Vent, and ſo it hath with a Vengeance, when a true and bold Juſtice is made the Subject on't: The Reaſon is plain, thoſe Mens Repute is too great for Truth, Probity, and Uſefulneſs; An Eclipſe is neceſſary, if poſſible; for if otherwiſe, the Defender will never be Keeper, the Remarker Sollicitor, nor the *Grays-Inn* Poet wear Scarlet in *Wales*; their hopes are but ſmall, unleſs they can poſtpone all their Betters by Death, Commitments, or that which is but little worſe, Reproach and Slander: but ſome think their Sting grows weak, for 'tis now apparent that there are a ſort of Men, who, tho they might and did love his Majeſty when and as Prince, yet do not, will not, cannot love him, or any Man elſe, as King: and this is now pretty plain. But thirdly,

Their Libels are criminal, and injurious to common Juſtice, for they create a Diſreſpect and Contempt upon all Judiciary Proceedings; to arraign all paſt is to excite a Suſpicion of all preſent and future Adminiſtrations; whereas *Plowden* ſaith, fol. 38. *It's a good and ſure way to believe the laſt Judgment*; and if ſo, 'tis plain what Name the contrary Practice deſerves; beſides, were it otherwiſe, the Inſtitution of Judges and Courts were vain, and our State, as *Engliſhmen*, the moſt unfortunate; for we have no Rule but *ore Judicum*, or from particular Statutes, and of them they are the Expoſitors. Now let's inquire which is Law, the Defender's Fancy in his Argument Enter *S.* and *B.* or the Judgment in the Exchequer Chamber, affirmed by the Lords? If the Judicial Reſolution be ſo, then the Publication of his Argument was ſcandalous, and I am not to follow him as my Guide: but perhaps he'll tell me, That manifeſt Reaſon and good Lawyers ought to govern me; if ſo, then I ask him, Who ſhall I follow in the E. of *D*'s Caſe of a *Capias pro fine pur.* Judgment, &c. whether the eleven beſt Lawyers, or the Vote of the Houſe? if the latter, why not ſo in the former Caſe? and if otherwiſe, then his Judgment was miſtaken; ſo that *quacunque via data*, there's no Infallibility in this World, and conſequently no excuſe for private Cenſures of publick Proceedings in Courts of Juſtice: beſides, the Books are pretty clear, that ſuch things are puniſhable; but I leave the Reader to peruſe them at leiſure. Now let us but conſider the Confuſion that muſt enſue upon the publick countenancing ſuch a Practice as theſe Scriblers have introduced; for if allowable on a disbanded Judge, 'tis ſo on a ſitting one, for the Caſe is the ſame in reſpect of private Lawyers who pretend to think their Judgments erroneous or corrupt; but ſurely both are unlawful. Beſides all this, in the preſent Caſe

They have palpably wreſted the Law in divers Inſtances: I need name no more than the Indictment in queſtion, which that it was legal and good, moſt Men do now agree, eſpecially ſince the dint of the Oppoſal ſeems current only on the Evidence, with a Waiver of the other, the Indictment being good ſince that Guards are proved lawful, and the Obſervator concedes it the moſt legal part of the Procedure, and the Juſtice of Parliaments, &c. ſuppoſed written by the Defender, ſtrains all its Forces on the Evidence and the Times; and their Follower, the Poet, in his new *Non-conformiſt*, pag. 10. runs the ſame way too: only

There remains one Objection to the firſt Vindication, which is, that it affirms, Words may be Treaſon within the 25 of *Edw.* 3. and the Remarker challenges a proof of it, and asks where it may be found; and the *Non-conformiſt* quarrels at the Lawyer that did aſſert it, and ſome others have done the ſame *ore tenus*.

I confeſs, that the firſt Sheet did publiſh the Aſſertion, but waved its Eviction, for fear of a ſtrained uſe of ſuch Opinion to ill purpoſes, for the ſerving a turn upon particular Occaſions; nor had

there been any more ſaid ...hor and refuſe, will that ma...
Confidence and Malice ſeen does, 'tis without a differenc...
to extort a Check, for that the ...ord Conſult will be called a ...
ſo confident of his own Kno...now whoſe Coin it is, and wh...
value the greateſt of Judgm...amp; 'twas no leſs a Man tha...
Common-place Book afford...ho at the time of ſuch his In...
Colluſion and Malice prepen...rerogative Lawyer, tho conſidera...
hath been much of the ſam...nen lately paſt: nor is it imagina...
ſometimes he hath added a li...eaning of a Conſpiracy or Plot ...
as appears by his Rhimes, ...he King's Life, but a Communic...
Politicks, and other religion...etween ſeveral Traitors concern...

To prove the Aſſertion, I de...nd the method of its Accompliſ...
thority of the ſenſe of the Com...eclaration by Words of each Man'...
tho (let the Cryer for Juſtice ...n that purpoſe; which if it be pro...
contradict it) it was in Fact ...ient Teſtimony, will undoubtedly ...
agreed unto, and upon th...ence of a Compaſſing, &c. whic...
Council and Courtiers deſi...on prohibited and puniſhable; nor c...
Proſecution of a Bill to ma...ng make it more ſo, for they could ...
that's a ſupernumerary Argu...unleſs they met; and therefore 'tis t...
than enough beſides. ...y that are the manifeſt *overt fait*.

I am not to maintain that ...*Hugh Pynes* Caſe, or the Reſolution ...
groſs Words againſt the Kin...therein, contradict this, notwith...
are ſuch, nor that whoſoever ...Confidence of the Remarker that ...
our Sovereign the Lord the...only ſay that the Words in that C...
late King *James*, is a Traito...Treaſon, that thoſe Words were no...
ſignificative and expreſſive o...of Compaſſing, that for thoſe W...
to do an Act to the King's ...not be Indicted upon that Statu...
Words deliberately, malicio...Opinion doth plainly imply, That h...
ſpoken on purpoſe to accom...been Evidence of a Compaſſing, ...
the King, as by promiſe of M...were only ſlanderous and reflective ...
nity to commit the Fact, ...otherwiſe; and the Inſtances the...
Fait to prove the Imagination ...are full to this, as *John Quick*'s In...

To evince this, let us thin...ly for Words to King *Henry*, u...
'twill be plain ...up and ſpeaking will alter the Caſe ...

The Words of this Statute ...ver's, *John Clipſham*'s, and *John* ...
eaſie Conſtruction, if we wi...all for Words, and ſome others t...
old Times to ſpeak Senſe: ...Beſides, it's obſervable that in mo...
fect, That if ſhall compa...on this Statute, ſome Words have ...
Death, &c. and *de ceo prova*...in them as an *overt fait* to demonſt...
per overt fait: Now the Obj...gination, which would be impertin...
Words are not Deeds with...were thought otherwiſe. I'll not ...
this the Anſwer is very cle...*ledge*'s, becauſe that Caſe hath be...
Grammatical and other Rul...tho with no colour as to the Indict...
of the Senſe of Words, the ...*Patrick Hurding*'s Indictment was ...
tence is to be conſtrued (if ...*eavit*, but I'll not dwell on that, be...
poſition) as oppoſite to the t...drawn; but *Arthur Crohagan*'s Ca...
intended in the foregoing Pa...is pretty full and for Words; and ...
poſ'd to every thing which i...the Book are, That the traiterou...
exclude in other Caſes; and ...magination of his Heart was de...
Difference both amongſt Di...Words, and therefore held High T...
of Sentences in Scripture, an...the expreſs Proviſion of 25 *Edw.* 3. ...
almoſt all Caſes whatſoeve...coming into *England* he was arreſt...
this; ...no Anſwer can be to this, but tha...

there been any more ſaid on it, but that their Confidence and Malice ſeems ſo exorbitant as to extort a Check, for that the Regulator is grown ſo confident of his own Knowledg as to undervalue the greateſt of Judgments; whereas his Common-place Book affords us no Titles but Colluſion and Malice prepenſe; and his Practice hath been much of the ſame ſtamp, only that ſometimes he hath added a little of the Lunatick as appears by his Rhimes, Prophecies, Dreams, Politicks, and other religionary Works.

To prove the Aſſertion, I depend not on the Authority of the ſenſe of the Commons Houſe 1 *Jac.* 2. tho (let the Cryer for Juſtice, or who elſe pleaſes contradict it) it was in Fact then affirmed and agreed unto, and upon that, the then King's Council and Courtiers deſiſted the Motion and Proſecution of a Bill to make Words, *&c.* But that's a ſupernumerary Argument, there's more than enough beſides.

I am not to maintain that all rank, malicious, groſs Words againſt the King or Queens Perſon are ſuch, nor that whoſoever drinks an Health to our Sovereign the Lord the People, or to the late King *James*, is a Traitor; but that Words ſignificative and expreſſive of a preſent Intention to do an Act to the King's Deſtruction, ſuch Words deliberately, maliciouſly, and adviſedly ſpoken on purpoſe to accompliſh the Demiſe of the King, as by promiſe of Money with importunity to commit the Fact, may be an overt Fait to prove the Imagination within. 25 *Edw.* 3.

To evince this, let us think a little ..... and 'twill be plain

The Words of this Statute are clear and of an eaſie Conſtruction, if we will allow thoſe dull old Times to ſpeak Senſe: They are to this effect, That if ſhall compaſs or imagine the Death, *&c.* and *de ceo provablement ſoit attaint per overt fait*: Now the Objection is this, That Words are not Deeds within that Clauſe; to this the Anſwer is very clear; for by all the Grammatical and other Rules for Interpretation of the Senſe of Words, the latter part of a Sentence is to be conſtrued (if uſed by way of oppoſition) as oppoſite to the thing mentioned and intended in the foregoing Part, and not as oppos'd to every thing which it may *ex vi termini* exclude in other Caſes; and this is an agreed Difference both amongſt Divines in Expoſition of Sentences in Scripture, and Grammarians in almoſt all Caſes whatſoever: now to apply this;

Overt fait is uſed not in oppoſition to Word for there's no ſuch thing mentioned; but 't added in contradiſtinction to that which was before ſpecified, *viz.* Thoughts, and ſuch are Imagination and Compaſſing; and therefore *overt fait* muſt mean any open manifeſt thing as can truly diſcover thoſe Thoughts, as may proveably attaint the Traitor of ſuch his Imagination: and it is a moſt natural and proper Mode of Speech if they did intend, as moſt undoubtedly they did, that the Thought ſhould be the thing prohibited, then 'tis as plain they intended by the Word *fait* any diſcovery of ſuch Thought by Words or Actions; and ſo ſaid *Newton* in 19 *Hen.* 6. that to imagine the Death of the King is Treaſon, tho he do no act towards it if ſuch Imagination be diſcloſed that it can be tried if he did ſo think and imagine. If that Thoughts and Words are mentioned both in a Sentence, and afterwards Deeds in oppoſition, then the laſt will exclude both the former; but here when uſed only in contradiſtinction with Thoughts, it ſeems plainly otherwiſe. That Deed, when uſed in Oppoſition to Thought, doth include both Words and Acts, none can deny; a thouſand Inſtances might be given of it: and in the exacteſt propriety of Speech, Words are Deeds when and as contradiſtinguiſht from Thoughts; for the Soul thinks even as abſtractly conſidered from the Body, but Man never ſpeaks without Action and Motion: the difference is plain, and needs no Explication. But further,

I would fain know, What is a Conſult or Plot, but the mutual and reciprocal Declaration of two or more Traitors Minds each to the other? Each declares his traiterous Imagination by Words, and ſo of an Agreement to commit the actual Murder, 'tis but a Declaration of their Minds by Words each to the other, only they do happen to agree. Now ſuppoſe one Man thinks and intends to deſtroy the King, and by Words doth willingly, deliberately, and adviſedly declare this to another that is not of his Mind, tho by miſtake is thought to be ſuch; is not this the ſame thing? If a Man traiterouſly offers and promiſes to another a thouſand Pounds to perpetrate the villanous Act; if he accept it, and a parole Agreement is made between them accordingly, ſurely the Apologiſts for Treaſon will agree that to be an overt Thing, and both guilty, if it can be proved by two Witneſſes of credit. Suppoſe then the Party offered and promiſed doth

hered to the old *Engliſh* Law and their juſt pinions in it, tho Frowns from *Whitehall*, or lamors from *Wapping*, tho Lampoons from *rubſtreet* or a worſe uſage from an *Obſervator*, no a *Superſedeas* or a *Take him*,&c. were the only eward they could expect for ſuch their (formerly called Puritanical now Arbitrary) Juſtice: entlemen who never polled the Law (which the reat and good Sir *Matthew Hale* did truly call a obbing the Poor of Juſtice) for the acquiring a arm or an Office, or a lumping Sum for Sale f it; who never begg'd an Executorſhip for to ain a Fortune; Gentlemen who never gave trained Opinions concerning the Revenue when nade for their Clients the Farmers, but clamored at the ſame when uſed by their King with more Moderation; Gentlemen who parted with their Places, tho of Honor and Profit, rather than comply with a Court-Opinion or a Club-Notion, when others (I name no body) offered entire and everlaſting Service, if they could have preceded or ſucceeded them, (Teſte.... *apud* St. *James*'s and the City of *Gloceſter*) but miſſing their aim then, as now they do, their Gall muſt have a Vent, and ſo it hath with a Vengeance, when a true and bold Juſtice is made the Subject on't: The Reaſon is plain, thoſe Mens Repute is too great for Truth, Probity, and Uſefulneſs; An Eclipſe is neceſſary, if poſſible; for if otherwiſe, the Defender will never be Keeper, the Remarker Sollicitor, nor the *Grays-Inn* Poet wear Scarlet in *Wales*; their hopes are but ſmall, unleſs they can poſtpone all their Betters by Death, Commitments, or that which is but little worſe, Reproach and Slander: but ſome think their Sting grows weak, for 'tis now apparent that there are a ſort of Men, who, tho they might and did love his Majeſty when and as Prince, yet do not, will not, cannot love him, or any Man elſe, as King: and this is now pretty plain. But thirdly,

Their Libels are criminal, and injurious to common Juſtice, for they create a Diſreſpect and Contempt upon all Judiciary Proceedings; to arraign all paſt is to excite a Suſpicion of all preſent and future Adminiſtrations; whereas *Plowden* ſaith, fol. 38. *It's a good and ſure way to believe the laſt Judgment*; and if ſo, 'tis plain what Name the contrary Practice deſerves; beſides, were it otherwiſe, the Inſtitution of Judges and Courts were vain, and our State, as *Engliſhmen*, the moſt unfortunate; for we have no Rule but *ore Judicum*, or from particular Statutes, and of them they are the Expoſitors. Now let's inquire which is Law, the Defender's Fancy in his Argument Enter *S.* and *B.* or the Judgment in the Exchequer Chamber, affirmed by the Lords? If the Judicial Reſolution be ſo, then the Publication of his Argument was ſcandalous, and I am not to follow him as my Guide: but perhaps he'll tell me, That manifeſt Reaſon and good Lawyers ought to govern me; if ſo, then I ask him, Who ſhall I follow in the E. of *D*'s Caſe of a *Capias pro fine pur.* Judgment, &c. whether the eleven beſt Lawyers, or the Vote of the Houſe? if the latter, why not ſo in the former Caſe? and if otherwiſe, then his Judgment was miſtaken; ſo that *quacunque via data*, there's no Infallibility in this World, and conſequently no excuſe for private Cenſures of publick Proceedings in Courts of Juſtice: beſides, the Books are pretty clear, that ſuch things are puniſhable; but I leave the Reader to peruſe them at leiſure. Now let us but conſider the Confuſion that muſt enſue upon the publick countenancing ſuch a Practice as theſe Scriblers have introduced; for if allowable on a disbanded Judge, 'tis ſo on a ſitting one, for the Caſe is the ſame in reſpect of private Lawyers who pretend to think their Judgments erroneous or corrupt; but ſurely both are unlawful. Beſides all this, in the preſent Caſe

They have palpably wreſted the Law in divers Inſtances: I need name no more than the Indictment in queſtion, which that it was legal and good, moſt Men do now agree, eſpecially ſince the dint of the Oppoſal ſeems current only on the Evidence, with a Waiver of the other, the Indictment being good ſince that Guards are proved lawful, and the Obſervator concedes it the moſt legal part of the Procedure, and the Juſtice of Parliaments, &c. ſuppoſed written by the Defender, ſtrains all its Forces on the Evidence and the Times; and their Follower, the Poet, in his new *Non-conformiſt*, pag. 10. runs the ſame way too: only

There remains one Objection to the firſt Vindication, which is, that it affirms, Words may be Treaſon within the 25 of *Edw.* 3. and the Remarker challenges a proof of it, and asks where it may be found; and the *Non-conformiſt* quarrels at the Lawyer that did aſſert it, and ſome others have done the ſame *ore tenus*.

I confeſs, that the firſt Sheet did publiſh the Aſſertion, but waved its Eviction, for fear of a ſtrained uſe of ſuch Opinion to ill purpoſes, for the ſerving a turn upon particular Occaſions; nor had

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To evince this, let us think
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there been any more ſaid on it, but that their Confidence and Malice ſeems ſo exorbitant as to extort a Check, for that the Regulator is grown ſo confident of his own Knowledg as to undervalue the greateſt of Judgments; whereas his Common-place Book affords us no Titles but Colluſion and Malice prepenſe; and his Practice hath been much of the ſame ſtamp, only that ſometimes he hath added a little of the Lunatick as appears by his Rhimes, Prophecies, Dreams, Politicks, and other religionary Works.

To prove the Aſſertion, I depend not on the Authority of the ſenſe of the Commons Houſe 1 *Jac.* 2. tho (let the Cryer for Juſtice, or who elſe pleaſes contradict it) it was in Fact then affirmed and agreed unto, and upon that, the then King's Council and Courtiers deſiſted the Motion and Proſecution of a Bill to make Words, *&c.* But that's a ſupernumerary Argument, there's more than enough beſides.

I am not to maintain that all rank, malicious, groſs Words againſt the King or Queens Perſon are ſuch, nor that whoſoever drinks an Health to our Sovereign the Lord the People, or to the late King *James*, is a Traitor; but that Words ſignificative and expreſſive of a preſent Intention to do an Act to the King's Deſtruction, ſuch Words deliberately, maliciouſly, and adviſedly ſpoken on purpoſe to accompliſh the Demiſe of the King, as by promiſe of Money with importunity to commit the Fact, may be an overt Fait to prove the Imagination within. 25 *Edw.* 3.

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hor and refuſe, will that make a diſtinction? if does, 'tis without a difference: perhaps the ord Conſult will be called a new Cant; we ow whoſe Coin it is, and who gave it the firſt mp; 'twas no leſs a Man than Sir *Will. Jones*, ho at the time of ſuch his Invention was no rerogative Lawyer, tho conſiderably ſo in Times en lately paſt: nor is it imaginable what is the eaning of a Conſpiracy or Plot to take away e King's Life, but a Communication by Words etween ſeveral Traitors concerning ſuch Act, nd the method of its Accompliſhment, and a eclaration by Words of each Man's being fixed that purpoſe; which if it be proved by ſuffiient Teſtimony, will undoubtedly be an Evilence of a Compaſſing, &c. which is the Treaon prohibited and puniſhable; nor can the Meetng make it more ſo, for they could not diſcourſe nleſs they met; and therefore 'tis the Words ony that are the manifeſt *overt fait*. Nor doth *Hugh Pyne*'s Caſe, or the Reſolution of the Judges herein, contradict this, notwithſtanding the Confidence of the Remarker that it did; they only ſay that the Words in that Caſe were not Treaſon, that thoſe Words were not an Evidence of Compaſſing, that for thoſe Words he could not be Indicted upon that Statute; but their Opinion doth plainly imply, That had the Words been Evidence of a Compaſſing, &c. as they were only ſlanderous and reflective, it had been otherwiſe; and the Inſtances there mentioned are full to this, as *John Quick*'s Indictment was only for Words to King *Henry*, unleſs ſtanding up and ſpeaking will alter the Caſe: *Thomas Koiver*'s, *John Clipſham*'s, and *John Mirfield*'s, are all for Words, and ſome others there ſpecified. Beſides, it's obſervable that in moſt Indictments on this Statute, ſome Words have been alledged in them as an *overt fait* to demonſtrate the Imagination, which would be impertinent if the Law were thought otherwiſe. I'll not inſiſt on *Colledge*'s, becauſe that Caſe hath been cavilled at, tho with no colour as to the Indictment: part of *Patrick Harding*'s Indictment was *loquendo publicavit*, but I'll not dwell on that, becauſe fooliſhly drawn; but *Arthur Crohagan*'s Caſe in *Cro. Car.* is pretty full and for Words; and the Words of the Book are, That the traiterous Intent and Imagination of his Heart was declared by his Words, and therefore held High Treaſon within the expreſs Proviſion of 25 *Edw.* 3. and upon his coming into *England* he was arreſted, &c. Now no Anſwer can be to this, but that he came into *England*; but the Words only ſhewed his Intent and by that Book the Words are alledged as the *overt fait*: beſides the Caſe of *Blanchflower* and *Atwood*, *Mic.* 5 *Jac.* 1. *B. R.* in *Yelverton*'s Reports 107. *per curiam*, reſolved, that Words may be Treaſon; and that is an expreſs Reſolution, for there was then no temporary Law in being concerning Parole Treaſons that I know of. The Caſe of *Berisford* and *Preſſc. Hill.* 8 *Jac.* 1. *B. R. Yelvert.* 197. adjudged, that Treaſon may be committed by Speech as well as by Act, for any thing which diſcovers the Mind of a Man to be traiterous to his Sovereign, is capital to the Party: *Hitcham ad Brook Paſch.* 1 *Car.* 1. *Hutt.* 75. held *per cur.* that the ſpeaking of Treaſon was Treaſon, and that *ſermo eſt index animi* as well as Preaching or Writing; and no Man can doubt but thoſe are Acts; and Speech is as much ſo.

Beſides, if the Conſequence of the contrary Doctrine be well conſidered, 'twill appear to be a plain Evaſion of the Statute of 25 *Edw.* 3. as is manifeſt upon the reading it: and the common Books are full of this, for otherwiſe no Action could lye for ſaying a Man hath ſpoke Treaſon: but here's enough ſaid to anſwer the Challenge, where's the Authority for ſuch an Aſſertion? tho infinitely more might be ſaid for it, nay 'tis as eaſie to dumbfound the contrary as 'tis to tranſcribe Law Caſes. If this doth not give them ſatisfaction, they ſhall remain unſatisfied for me, I'll plague the World no more with writing on this dull, flat, unprofitable Subject, Crown-Law, leſt I ſhould provoke our new Scriblers to double the Plague by their Replies. If they attempt an Anſwer, I'll leave the Tobacconiſt and Grocer to confute them; and unleſs a Trunk or Band-box chance to bring them to my View, I'll never be tempted to read them; and of this they may aſſure themſelves. I ſay it to complement the Reader with Patience to peruſe the reſt of the Sheet, being aſcertained never to hear more on't, at leaſt not from this hand.

Some perhaps may wonder at the reaſon of the Publication of theſe Sheets, and conceive them the product of Malice on one ſide as thoſe virulent Pamphlets are on the other: To ſolve that Scruple, I need only repeat the Reaſons alledged in the firſt; but a Repetition is damnably dull as well as tedious and irkſome; I'll therefore add a new one, and that's to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs as well as the Neceſſity of a general, indefinite, ſpeedy Act of Oblivion; for tho the Blood-hounds fret, and huff, and bounce, as if all their

Mad-

Madneſs and Rage were founded
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foundation is falſe, and the L
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moſt of the particulars, at which
Curſes and Execrations: Reaſon
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never be vindicated, did I call th
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1. That it would be grateful
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ſent Government; and laſtly,
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Juſtice.

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harraſs'd and perſecuted by Fi
Impriſonments, Marks of Diſg
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about which the World hath
ded, if lawful or not: Beſides,
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Settlement or at leaſt the Cor
nature there never was an In
without an Act of Grace; An
that none are Adverſaries to it
cans and the *Jacobites*, not for
not, as I ſhall ſhew anon, but
each drives at and wiſhes a Cha
to what, for if to the latter
Commonwealth will be the
the *Republican* ſucceeds, then
a Reſtoration the more eaſie,
preſent, and therefore dread
conſequently dread the Peopl
quiet under Their Majeſties,
dread an Act of Indemnity;

It hinders all ſuch as are thou
noxious from any bold Eſſays for th
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tter only is and can be moſt advi
'll ſuppoſe their numbers but ſmall i
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ll are to be obliged as Friends tha
ut if the thirteen Heads, with th
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Dependants is not ſo contemptible a
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Madneſs and Rage were founded on a true Baſis, yet 'tis apparent from the Premiſes, that their foundation is falſe, and the Law is direct and plain in their teeth, and doth and will juſtifie in moſt of the particulars, at which they foam their Curſes and Execrations: Reaſon therefore as well as neceſſity enjoins a ſilence as to what is paſt, for otherwiſe the Kingdom can never have its deſired ſatisfaction, for in points juſtifiable or at leaſt doubtful, the juſtice of inflicting Puniſhments can never be vindicated, did I call them Puniſhments, I beg the Readers pardon for the Impropriety, however I'll not name their proper term, but with calmneſs, endeavor to Evince three things.

1. That it would be grateful to the Nation in general, and every good Man in particular. 2. Conducing to the Settlement and Intereſt of the preſent Government; and laſtly, That 'tis conſiſtent with and promotive of the higheſt and trueſt Juſtice.

Firſt, The Nation did and doth expect it, for Revenge is never natural but when freſhly purſued, and time wears off the ſenſe of Injuries, by the Intervention of new ones either real or imaginary, which is all one as to this purpoſe: the horror of any Crime, or at leaſt the deteſtation of the Criminal, grows faint and languid upon the removal of the Object, eſpecially if time interpoſes with the acceſſion of preſent fears, which as preſent do more affect us than greater if more diſtant. It can never therefore be thought the deſire of the People of *England* to have their Neighbors or Acquaintance harraſs'd and perſecuted by Fines, Confiſcations, Impriſonments, Marks of Diſgrace, or the like, for Actions done in the laſt or former Reigns, about which the World hath been ſo much divided, if lawful or not: Beſides, that this was the general Expectation of the Kingdom on the new Settlement or at leaſt the Coronation, of which nature there never was an Inſtance before this without an Act of Grace; And it is moſt plain, that none are Adverſaries to it, but the *Republicans* and the *Jacobites*, not for that they need it not, as I ſhall ſhew anon, but for different ends, each drives at and wiſhes a Change, it matters not to what, for if to the latter the other hopes a Commonwealth will be the more deſirable: If the *Republican* ſucceeds, then the other believes a Reſtoration the more eaſie, but both diſlike the preſent, and therefore dread a Settlement, and conſequently dread the Peoples ſatisfaction and quiet under Their Majeſties, and conſequently dread an Act of Indemnity; 'tis true, the Cry for Vengeance is loud, but 'tis only from th two corners; which leads to the ſecond particular, that

It will eſtabliſh and promote the Intereſt of th preſent Government, while the popu... Bully full of his Damme's and Menaces, there's certa... ly danger, and where there's danger there's fea now fear cauſes an averſion, and averſion bege hatred: and the Object of it is that from whenc the ſuppoſed danger ariſes, which is from the Go vernment irritated by the Venom and Fury o thoſe hot-headed Animals, whatſoever hath pow er and will to hurt me muſt and will be abhorr'd and though none are immediate actual Patient yet the being poſſibly obnoxious to it, and th want of ſecurity for the contrary doth of neceſſi ty cool their reſpect to the preſent Power, unde which they are not ſafe; and this tempts the and their Friends upon contrivances and attempt of Danger both to themſelves and the Publick and danger by the attempt is no diſcouragemen where the like danger attends their forbearance and this is of weight, unleſs *Cromwell*'s Politick be thought Chriſtian, to cheriſh and promote Plot, as of advantage to Settlement, if ſeaſonabl diſcover'd and ſubtilly manag'd; but howeve 'tis as true, that Enemies who are deſperate ough never to be thought inconſiderable; for they ma ſhake and batter what they can't deſtroy, the may do miſchief though they can't work ruin t their Adverſaries, upon which account the tem ptation of continual impending Danger is fit t be removed: Beſides

The want of Security, and the fear of Danger making Men uneaſie in their thoughts, repleniſhe them with Complaints and Murmurs at every awkard Action, or ſuppoſed miſcarriage of th Government feared; it makes them Mutineers a publick Taxes and Impoſitions, partly becauſ they think it ſtrengthens and increaſes the powe of hurting them, and partly becauſe it ſponge and bleeds them of that, which they fear an oc caſion of themſelves to bribe Blackrods, Sergeant at Arms and other Goalers with; and in a con juncture when extraordinary Aids are indiſpenſi bly requiſite, no temptation to complaint is deſerv ing of Countenance; beſides, that it cramp Trade and diſcourages Projects for Publick Good &c. but further, Its the living, not the dead the happy, contented, and chearful, and free, no the oppreſſed, miſerable, forlorn, or impriſone Subject, that doth Service to the Crown and th Publick.

It hinders all such as are thought to be so obxious from any bold Essays for the use of the preent Governm[illegible], for that if succes be the attenant of [illegible] their attempt, they continue unsafe withstanding, for no Man will adventure an azard to secure that Authority, which he is not re will make him safe, if he doth undertake the resent Adventure, and escapes that Danger, and erforms the Service; so that Self-preservation nders it their Policy to unhinge themselves from, to be shy of the present Power, of which a conderable number might prove useful Friends; which e now Newters at least, if not Enemies.

Its observable in all foreign Policies either to ork a total Extirpation of the whole Party, or n universal Indemnity after so grand a Revolutin as this was: the former is not to be practis'd ere for two Reasons, 1. Because we want People, 2. Many of our Friends must be banish'd oo, for divers of the supposed Criminals were inrumental to the present Change, &c. *Ergo* the tter only is and can be most advisable: for once ll suppose their numbers but small in comparison to he Saints and Innocents, (if any such there are in he Nation) yet under our present Circumstances ll are to be obliged as Friends that possibly may; ut if the thirteen Heads, with the Surrenderers Clause, and all its and their Subdivisions had been educed into a Law in the designed act of Atainder, one third at least of the Nation had been nvolved, who with their disobliged Relatives and Dependants is not so contemptible a Flock, though ut of Sheep for the slaughter: besides

It's impolitick as well as unjust to deny or dey it to those who have submitted to the Gernment, yielded it Obedience, and quietly bore s publick Charges according to their Proportion, nd yet give a free, full and general Pardon both in *cotland* and *Ireland* to all that took up Arms, for ll their Sins then past and present; it provokes he former to repent their non-concurrence with he latter, for 'twas but resuming their Quiet and ubmission at pleasure, and then they were safe, which now they are not, but under continued Meaces and Dangers both, as appears in their being ited by every barking Cur, that can but write ith Gall in his Ink, or speak with a Damme in s Mouth.

Experience further tells us that nothing turns changes the humor of the *English* Commoner, e Rage, Insolence and Cruelty in their fellow ubjects when made Superiors, and such is raking old Sores thought to be; it matters not whether justly or no as to this purpose, the effect is generally such: The Star-Chamber in *Car.* 1. his time, the Major-General's in *Cromwell*'s time; The Tophamizing of Abhorrers in *Car.* 2. his time; The Western Campaign, and the other criminal Prosecutions in the beginning of *Jac.* 1. I say all the Violences, used in these several periods (and yet they had their respective Provocations) did most noriously alter the kidney of the Commons, and made even their once beloved, first dreadful and terrible, then odious and loathsome, they produced considerable Changes in their several Consequences, I could come nearer home even to the tearing of *Moore* and *North*, and other Citizens of *London*, which first turn'd the Stomach of that City, as is now apparent, but *Sat verbum, &c.* but further

The want of this, renders both the Policy and Honor of the great Bellowers for Vengeance to be justly suspected, 1. Their honor in taking care of their own Servants for all their Excesses upon the Revolution, and opposing the Indemnity of all others, as by the Act appears, 2. Their Policy, for that its observable in Story, thatt the Association in Queen *Eliz.* time was under a Protestant Prince for the Protestant Religion, and no ill Succes attended it, yet those wise Ancestors of ours thought fit to secure themselves by turning the Association into a Law, and a general Act of Indemnity; I do not say they needed it, but the Associators in that Reign thought it needful; and 'tis very considerable, that in no Reign was there more Peace and Quiet than in hers, and in none were there ever more free and general Pardons, and in truth the latter was the occasion of the former; for when Men are once safe and quiet, no small Temptation will provoke any more adventures though they like another better, yet Men being easie are generally contented: There was one free and general Pardon of the Queens at first confirmed, 5 *Eliz.* cap. 11. another, 8 *Eliz.* cap. 18. 13 *Eliz.* cap. 28. 18 *Eliz.* cap. 24. 23 *Eliz.* cap. 16. 27 *Eliz.* 13. 29 *Eliz.* cap. 9. 31 *Eliz.* cap. 16. 35 *Eliz.* cap. 14. 39 *Eliz.* cap. 28. 43 *Eliz.* cap. 19. Eleven in number, and never five years without a Parliament-Pardon, and this made Parliaments and Crowns the darlings and desire of the People: Besides, it's the Interest of each party amongst us, though some don't see it, the *Whig* ought to promote it for two Reasons, 1. Lest being the lesser part he chance to feel the want of it, and for that he has given some Provocation, 2. That if he be the greater, the Memory of his Vengeance and Fury may be forgotten, and himself restored

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to the good Opinion of the reſt of Mankind, by one act at leaſt of good Nature: The *Tory* ought to purſue the ſame meaſures, and much for the ſame Reaſons, for his Top-gallantry hath been, and if repractis'd will be again as odious and loathſome to the moderate and good, as ever it was, or as the others could be: Temper therefore is now the Game, and a Veil over all that's paſt is certainly the moſt Politick, eſpecially conſidering the multitude of the ſuppoſed Criminals, and the juſttice of their ſeveral Excuſes, which comes next; for

Laſtly, It's conſiſtent with and promotive of the trueſt and higheſt Juſtice, for in moſt of the Caſes the Law is doubtful, and to puniſh Opinion in matters of Law, is as unjuſt, as to perſecute miſtakes in matters of Religion is unchriſtian, and new Laws for Government *de futuro* are more agreeable to natural Equity than a retroſpective Fury; that it is ſo, is plain, the modern Scriblers have ſufficiently proved it. In two of the Caſes cited they differ themſelves, for Dr. *Story*'s Caſe the Defender crys 'tis not Law, the Remarker agrees 'tis, and that he was well hanged, for *Plunket*'s Caſe the Defender cries he was well hanged, for there was Treaſon enough in his Charge, the Remarker inſinuates as if he ſuffer'd hardly; now what ſhall a little Lawyer believe between theſe two great bodies of Learning? the like may be ſaid of *Soames*'s Caſe, and the other above-mentioned: But what is more? In the Voluminous Argument againſt the *Diſpenſing Power* owned by Sir *R. A.* he doth concede that there are ſome Prerogatives ſo perſonally and inſeparably inherent in the Crown, that no Act of Parliament can cramp or diminiſh or at leaſt take away; and that being granted, I'm ſure all that the reſt of the Book ſays can never make that a plain Caſe, and in truth his own Argument ſhews and leaves it a diſputable Point, and if that were doubtful, every particular elſe may well be buried in Oblivion; beſides in Caſes of Conſtruction the nature of the thing admits of doubt, and then there's no colour for Puniſhment; Beſides

In reſpect of Inferior Perſons by our Conſtitution they are obliged to ſubmit to and follow *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which is the *lex loquens Angliæ*, and when all theſe things are duly conſidered, there will remain but few grand execrable Criminals, who are fit to be made Examples of, only to tickle ſome, aggrieve others, and terrifie none, for that will be the Conſequence, for that's the Caſe of all Violence where the Juſtice of the thing is not clear and undoubted; Then for Exceptio

Let us think a little, is it reaſonable that ſo ſhould ſuffer for not being afraid of Puniſhmen never declared or promulgated, and others ſhall e cape, becauſe their Countenances are more fawnin or that by conſent their Relations have plaid o the other ſide, or that their ſwinging Fortunes en able them to ſcatter Mice for their perſonal Indem nity, or that they have had the luckly Principle o being faithful to all Changes, and true to nothin elſe, or that they have been forward to ſubver their old Maſter, after their fire and folly ha ruined him and endangered themſelves; theſe an ſuch like are no pleas for Juſtice, and yet this i the Caſe: Further,

The drift is to magnifie and aggrandize Pu niſhments by Bill, which by the ſtanding Laws and common Juſtice of the Realm could not be inflicted, and they urge two Reaſons for it. 1. Their particular Pardons will otherwiſe excuſe them. To that I anſwer, Either they are valid in Law or not, if not, there's no need of Bills; If they are valid in Law, the ſame Law and Juſtice of the Land enjoin their Allowance; even the ſame Law by which the Country-man Plows his Land, the Gentleman receives his Rent, the Trader recovers his Debt, and the Senator ſits in the Houſe, and by the ſame Reaſon that theſe enjoy their Properties, the Criminal ought to have his Pardon allowed, for one's a right accrued by the Law as well as the other. 2. The common Channel is too ſmooth: Severity is ſometimes neceſſary, and that now if ever; and therefore the Legiſlative Authority ought to exert its power, and puniſh according to demerit; To anſwer that, I ſay, either they are no offences by Law, and there needs a Bill to make them ſuch, and inflict evils upon them as ſuch; or elſe they are offences but deſerve a greater Puniſhment than a common Court may pronounce; now if the firſt be the Caſe, then I'm ſure 'tis rank palpable tyrannical Injuſtice, and that's the plague of living under an Arbitrary Power, for none can know what's not Criminal: If they mean the latter, as I ſuppoſe they do, then I ask to what end were Puniſhments invented in Societies but to reſtrain Men from doing particular actions through the power and influence of Fear, and how could that Conſequence be expected when the penalty was never known before 'tis inflicted; and to inflict an evil afterwards, which was not known before, is to make a Man ſuffer that which he could not fear, becauſe he could not know it, and this be

uſe he did not fear it: and the Juſtice of that plain too.

I agree with the Satyriſts that there are ſome recedents of this laſt method of proceeding, but oſt of them are repealed, I'll name two that are , the Earl of *Strafford*'s, which the very Law ſelf did enjoin Poſtetiry not to obſerve, or follow, r do the like; I can't forget one Expreſſion of is to this effect upon the Tryal, if there be an Error in a Judge, ſo that he give a Sentence o-herwiſe than a Man of better underſtanding con-ceives Reaſon for, there's no cauſe the offence hould be heightned becauſe he was not ſo wiſe a Man as he might have been, nor ſo underſtand-ing as another, which if allowed, will make it more eligible to follow a Plow than ſerve a Go-ver ment, to dig in a Ditch than bear an Office, for all Men ſtand obnoxious to the Conſtructions and Paſſions of ſucceeding Times: There's one In-ſtance more, and that was Sir *Thomas Haxey*'s who was attainted of Treaſon for bringing in a Bill into the Commons Houſe againſt the Prero-gative, though while, and as a Member: I ſup-poſe the Sparks will not much applaud the juſtice of that Procedure for their own ſakes; but as I ſaid before, that and moſt others of their Prece-dents were repealed, when a cooler Aſſembly met upon the next Seſſion, and ſo was *Haxey*'s, in 1 *Hen.* 4. *Cott. abr. rec.* 362, 393.

But if Vengeance be requiſite, it ought to be without reſpect of Perſons, The *Juſtice* of it ought to be *impartial*, *true* and *Catholick*: and then come in the Penſioners and Surrenderers, the Regulators and Promiſers, the old High Com-miſſioners, and the New Creed makers, *&c.* and God knows *quis non*, *&c*, Nay ſince the Revolu-tion, ſome muſt come in for a ſnack of Cenſure too, the buyers and ſellers of Places, the Mem-bers that took Offices contrary to their own moti-on and vote in the *Weſtminſter* Parliament: The Proclamation-men for prohibiting of importing *French* Commodities under pain of Confiſcation of Ship and Goods, three Weeks before a War proclaimed, contrary to eleven Acts of Parlia-ment for Free Trade, even in Parliament-time: the Treaſury for farming Lotteries, which are com-mon nuiſances contrary to multitudes of Statutes and continuing them ſtill with *non-obſtante*'s in the Indenture, tho' illegal and void *ab initio*: the great Seal for paſſing four Patents at one Seal in this *Lent* Vacation with *non-obſtante*'s contrary to the Bill of Rights, the new Sheriffs for practiſing what themſelves condemn'd in a *Moore* and a *North* *Cum multis aliis quos nunc deſcribere longum*, *&c.* To conclude, Our Saviour's Rule if obſerved will be the moſt infallible Indemnity that can be contrived, and that is, *John* 8. *c.* 7. *v.* *Let him that is without ſin amongſt you, caſt the firſt ſtone.* And in truth a Cenſor of the Manners of others ought himſelf to be pure, clean and innocent, *in omni re quacunque*; and if there be no danger but from ſuch, I'm ſure there's no danger at all, and that it ſhould be ſo, is the trueſt Juſtice in the World, *quod fuit probandum.*

I'll not mention the Argument from the Va-cancy, that the Government was diſſolved, eve-ry thing reduced into its primitive ſtate of Na-ture, all power devolved into individuals, and the particulars only to provide for themſelves by a new Contract, for if ſo, there's yet no new conſent for Puniſhment of acts done before the Diſſolu-tion, and conſequently Revenge, for that is at an end; Indemnity therefore ought to be pro-moted by thoſe who made that Vote, for other-wiſe their truth may be ſuſpected, *&c.*

POSTSCRIPT.

SOme perhaps will blame the boldneſs of this Stile, as provocative rather than palliating, to which I ſay, truth ought never to be ſhamefaced, for *veritas prevalebit*, one time or another: and if it do not, but angers ſome, 'twill be only thoſe that were implacable before, who if they ha'nt good nature enough to pardon a bold ſtroke or two with a Pen, they'll never conſent to an Act of Indemnity, and then their Fury is not to be regarded, for the want of it will inflame (as it hath created) our preſent Diviſions, and conſe-quently run us at laſt into a true Confuſion, from which, Good Lords deliver us.

FINIS.

A LETTER TO A PERSON of QUALITY,

Occasion'd by the News of the Ensuing

PARLIAMENT.

Honoured Sir,

THE next Parliament being that, by which the Hopes or Fears of the Nation are in a great measure to be determined, and your Interest being considerable enough to make you a Member of it, give me leave to send you these Considerations on the present state of Affairs: Let not, I beseech you, your being placed in so High a Post, make you neglect any Information you may receive from a person, tho' of an inferior station. He that is near the Sun, does indeed partake of most warmth; but he may have a more advantagious prospect of things, that lies at a convenient distance.

Sir, I doubt not but you will be one of those, who will shortly represent a Nation, whereof by a moderate computation, at least Two hundred parts are Protestants; and (whatever your Concern may be at another time for any particular division of them) 'tis a care of the Religion in general I now inculcate to you. I am sure that, whatever Glosses are put upon things, Whether you will consent that Popery shall come in, is the truth of the Question; and the present Scene of Affairs is laid in too much Sun, to make us either not see the Design, or not suspect the contrivance.

We know, that pairing of our Nails and Claws, Rooting out the Sanguinary Laws, And humbling the Church of *England*, are the witty Sarcasms of every Pamphlet: But if we consider that there is a Church in the World, that doth both teach and practice such Cruelties, to which the utmost severities of our Penal Laws are indeed, in comparison, but scratching; we shall find that these Laws are only Defensive weapons; and that they were never enacted without Reason, nor practiced without Provocation: And upon that consideration, it is as unreasonable a request at this time to take them off, as it would be to desire the *Hollandere* to dig down those Banks that stop an Inundation.

Not to give you a view of *Popery* in speculation; such as, That there is no Faith to be kept with Hereticks; That the Pope may absolve Subjects from their Allegiance to their Natural Prince; That Heretical Prin-

ces may be ſlain by their Subjects, and the like; (tho' theſe have been too ſolemnly eſtabliſhed, not to be conſidered) we have overt-acts enough to juſtifie our apprehenſions. We cannot chuſe but remember a Reign wherein our Religion had very little quarter; the Gunpowder Plot was laid too deep to be ſo ſoon forgotten; and ſome Centuries muſt paſs, before they can wipe off the ſtains of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre: Nay, tho' the belief of theſe and the like Cruelties, may be objected againſt, as being built upon the Uncertainty of Traditions; yet we have late and viſible inſtances to refreſh our memories: We have every day at our doors living monuments of Inhumanity, that warn us to prevent our own, by their Misfortunes; and that plainly ſhew to us, that the circumſtances of their Sufferings, deſerve as well our Care as Compaſſion.

As for the Penal Laws, I dare ſay they were deſigned for the ſecurity of the Government; but if the King and Parliament think otherwiſe, (tho' I confeſs the debate about them too, may prudentially be referred to another ſeaſon) I envy no Man the Liberty of his Conſcience. But the TESTS (the repealing of which is expected will be the merit of the late Indulgence) will certainly admit of a further conſideration: The wiſdom of that Parliament that enacted theſe Laws, thought then they were great Securities to our Religion againſt Popery; and I cannot perceive any ſuch favourable aſpects, that at this time may render them the leſs neceſſary. Theſe Laws cannot be pretended to affect any Man's Conſcience, unleſs our Preferments make the ſcruple; and if ſo, we ſhall find this Indulgence to be a very hard bargain, when for the liberty of a Barn, we ſhall give them poſſeſſion of our Churches. We muſt conſider that the conſequence of this Repeal will be no leſs; for if Mandats (as be ſure they will) be liberally diſtributed, what Patron can deny to preſent, or Biſhop refuſe admiſſion? And indeed we ſhall leave them but a very indifferent excuſe; when they can return no other reaſon for not complying with the King, but becauſe the perſon he recommends, is of his own Religion.

If by the preſent diſtribution of Offices, both Civil and Military, we had no reaſon, after this Repeal, to ſuſpect at leaſt a proportionable ſhare in the favour of the Government; the requeſt would be ſomething plauſible: But ſince by comparing of things, we may rationally gueſs, that the Papiſts, by this advantage, do not only deſign to partake of, but engroſs the Preferments; we muſt inevitably conclude, That ſo tame a reſignation of our Offices and other Places, into the hands of thoſe, who by fatal experience have ſhewed us what uſe they will make of them, will be too generous and dangerous a Complement at this time to be offered.

Nay, 'tis a little too much upbraiding our own Loyalty, to take off theſe Laws at this juncture; as if the Proteſtants either would not, or could not diſcharge all Places of Truſt, without the addition of Popiſh Services. We were able to bring the King to the Throne, and preſerve

him in it without their assistance; and if on the sudden they become so necessary, we must have leave to believe, that there is some extraordinary work to be done, that Protestant hands are too unhallowed for the undertaking.

I should imagine, that before you think of repealing the Tests, the debate would be most natural to enquire whether they are now in being; and to consider whether the Acts of a King solemnly ratified in Parliament, are not a little too venerable to be made bold with, and dispensed, by every indigent Officer. Your Liberties and Priviledges will be so closely interwoven with those of your Predecessors, that not to be concerned for the breach of theirs, will be in the event to neglect your own: so that when this Drudgery is over, and you shall be thought useless, if upon other occasions the plain meaning of your Acts should be wrested by the Ignorance or Knavery of the Interpreters; you will have no right hereafter to complain of the Wrong, tho never so fatal, since you your selves tacitly admit of so partial a President.

Before you admit Papists into Publick Employments, you will surely consider the consequences of it further than His present Majesties services; and tho their Loyalty may be thought Sterling in this Reign, you will no doubt hearken to the reasons that may be given to suspect it in the next. In the Council of *Rome* under *Gregory* the 7th, in the 3d and 4th Councils of *Lateran*, under *Alexander* the 3d, and *Innocent* the 3d, in the Council of *Lyons* under *Innocent* the 4th, and in that of *Constance* under *Martin* the 5th, it was established, That the Pope hath Power to depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance; That Heretical Princes, and those that neglect to root out Hereticks, shall be deposed; as was actually practised upon the Emperor *Frederick* the 2d. To name no more, these are such indespensible ties they lie under to destroy us, that we should be unpardonable, if we expose the Royal Person we have in view for the next Succession, to the danger of such astonishing Anathemaes.

And these are so far from being groundless suggestions, that we should be raw in our own History, if we cannot produce Copies that have been faithfully transcribed from these fatal Originals: Pope *Pius* the 9th's Bull against Q. *Elizabeth* was too publickly exposed not to be taken notice of: in it he by his Power Apostolical declares the Queen a Heretick; her self and all her adherents to be Excommunicated and Anathematized; he deprives her of all her Dominions, and absolves her Subjects from any Oaths of Allegiance they had swore to her, and forbids them under the penalty of an Anathema to pay any act of obedience to her. Thus as a Heretick and an Usurper was she left to the rage of the whole Party; and tho they thought cruelty at that time not to be so advisable; yet they were forced to make their want of strength *to be* an Apology to excuse their good nature. In such a case indeed we find the most favourble of their Casuists, to allow that the zeal and intention of Catholicks to root out Heresie, is sufficient where Hereticks are too prevailing.

To this let us add (as it more nearly affects us) the Bull of *Clement* the 8th, toward the close of that Queens Reign, in which it is provided, That when it should happen that *Miserable Woman* (as the Pope's Phrase is) should dye, That they should admit none to the Crown, *Quantumcunque propinquitate Sanguinis interentur, nisi ejusmodi essent qui fidem Catholicam non modo tolerarent, sed omni ope ac & studio promoverent, & more Majorum jusjurando se id præstituros susciperent*, &c. tho never so nearly allied to it by blood, unless they would not only tolerate the Catholick Religion, but promote it by all their force and endeavour, and according to Ancient Custom would by Oath undertake to perform the same. Which Bull had an immediate reference to King *James* the First, and was intended to prevent him in his Claim to the Crown, which he was then the next Heir to.

If then men are justly moved by examples; and that fear is so far from being a weakness, that 'tis commendable when well grounded; we must be inexcusably stupid, if we do not look about us, when we have instances before us that are so fresh and flagrant: we must shamefully overlook all the transactions of *Europe*, if the danger of Popery at this time makes no impression. By all that we can observe, their hopes of Establishing their Religion seem to be warm and vigorous; and tho their Opportunity be short, their Methods are quick and surprizing; despairing to reduce us by the common policy of Time and Perswasion. When they have got the Power into their hands, we must expect to surrender upon discretion; a Heretick no more than a Rebel is allowed the priviledge of capitulating. Our Laws are like *Sampson*'s hair, the cutting of them off will reduce us to a state of weakness; and I am afraid we shall find it too late to lament the loss of our strength, when the *Philistines* are upon us.

Men, if they please, may Harangue upon the Liberty we enjoy; and the Security we are promised; and plausibly insinuate that a Cloud no bigger than a mans hand can never be improved into a Tempest: but for all that, matters of fact and daily observations are evidences too clear to be baffled: we cannot bring our sense and reason to such a resignation, as to believe that Popery has no mind to be uppermost; the Design is too plain to be palliated; and I could reckon up several circumstances to prove it, did it not engage me to reflect upon some things, that are too tender to be mentioned.

The great pains that the Papists take to sollicite Votes for repealing the Tests, is a full conviction to me, that the Protestants have no small interest in them: and therefore we ought no more to be perswaded by them out of our Laws, than a man ought to give up his Weapon to an Adversary, from whom he is to expect no quarter when he is taken. If the Papists had no other aim by this intrigue, but (as they would make us believe) a Liberty to enjoy all Civil Offices in common with other Subjects; their Number in the Kingdom is so inconsiderable, that the advantage they could propose to themselves from this Liberty, would not be worth the labour of procuring it: the Tests lay no task upon them but that easie

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one of being quiet, and minding their own business; they are excused from serving the Offices of Sheriffs, and being returned upon Juries: and these have never been looked upon as advantages to be canvassed. Nay, supposing their promise of not interrupting our Religion, to be in earnest, the visible interest we are like to have in the next Reign, would engage them under their present advantage to be obliging: and instead of making us jealous for our Religion by taking off our Laws, would willingly consent to any further securities that could be demanded. So that upon the whole we must conclude, That giving up our Laws is not safe, tho it might be Civil: A generous adversary will scorn to desire any thing that looks like undermining. And therefore if any one would perswade us to dismiss our security and strength, we ought to suspect that he designs to make advantage of our weakness.

The only Objection against the Tests that I ever yet met with, is, That they are unnatural, in depriving Subjects of their natural right of serving their King and Country. But this Objection is so vain and speculative, that surely it would have ne're been offered, but by those men who in all their other dealings with us, have shewed themselves more apt to impose upon the understanding, than convince it: For what more common in all Governments whatsoever, than certain Conditions required to qualifie men for publick Employments? And in our own Nation what are those degrees that capacitate men both for the Bar and Pulpit, but so many Humane Laws that exclude all others from the like advantages?

Indeed a Reverend Person has lately endeavoured to strengthen this Objection by the addition of three more: I shall only briefly repeat them to you, and leave both the Author and his Reasons to the issue of a stricter examination.

The first Reason is, That the Test ought to be abrogated, because of its dishonourable birth and original, it being the first-born of *Oats*'s Plot, and brought forth on purpose to give credit and reputation to the Perjury.

Now let us suppose that the Plot was *Oatesian*, and that the whole of it was a perfect Imposture; yet why must the Test suffer for those miscarriages? The worst times generally give birth to the best Laws; and if this Law be at this time thought reasonable, (I may say necessary) what need we enquire into the occasion of its making? A Law may be continued for better, and perhaps, juster reasons, than those for which it was first Enacted. Indeed 'tis ill manners to fall foul upon any thing for the faults of its production; the reflection would come home to him; for even some men have been so unhappy in their extraction, that they would deserve but little esteem, if the blemishes of their Birth were always to be remembred.

His second Reason, why the Test ought to be abrogated, is, Because of the incompetent Authority by which the Law was Enacted; it is a Law of an Ecclesiastical nature, made without the Authority of the

Church,

Church, contrary to the practice of the Christian world in all ages, &c.

Tho by this Argument against the Test, this Reverend Author might have imposed upon us as to the practice of other Countries in Laws of the like nature: yet if he thought to delude us in the Customs of our own Nation, he ought at least to have timed his Reasons so well, as not to have published them in the same *Gazette*, wherein there is an eminent instance against him. We read there an Order made by nine men, whereof six are Laymen (surely a much inferior Authority to that by which the Test was Enacted) whereby seven and twenty men of as Liberal Education as any of their Successors, are made uncapable of being admitted into any Ecclesiastical Promotion, or receiving Holy Orders: if any thing be of an Ecclesiastical nature, surely receiving Holy Orders is: I am sure it has been longer in the Church than *Transubstantiation*. In short, this Argument through the whole course of it, is a little too severe upon the Honourabe Persons that made the Order: and whatever other men might think of their proceedings, it was unpardonable in him to reflect upon a Court, by whose authority he now enjoys the best part of his sustenance: so that he must either forsake his Argument, or leave his Place: and when he is left to such an easie choice, 'tis no hard matter to guess which will be first relinquished.

The last Reason he brings against the Test is, Because of the uncertainty and falshood of the matters contained in the Declaration it self: as first, That there is no *Transubstantiation* in the Sacrament of our Saviours Body and Blood: And 2ly, That the Invocation of Saints, and the Mother of God, is Idolatry.

In his handling of these points, which makes up a formal Treatise for *Transubstantiation* (tho he calls it Reasons for abrogating the Test) he has indeed laboriously proved that he himself ought not to have taken the Tests, but not why others of a different opinion should not. I must confess this Reason above all the rest, seems to be the most designing: and tho it be here brought only against the Test, it is really levelled against our Religion: for the same Argument which proves, That because of the uncertainty of *Transubstantiation*, the denial of it ought not to be made a Test, will as directly conclude that it ought not to be made an Article: so that whenever this Author and his Friends have thought they have proved the uncertainty and falshood of any of our established Doctrines, by parity of reason they will expect we should consent that they may be abolished.

But since his Argument against the Test, depends upon the falshood, as he thinks, of the matters contained in it; Our Nobility and Gentry are for that very reason obliged to continue it: they must not be now for repealing the Test, lest the world should believe they are likewise for *Transubstantiation*: and that this Argument of all others cannot prevail upon them, since at the same time they are made Repealers, they must be made Papists. And therefore I hope our Protestant Nobility and Gentry will

will not hearken to ſuch weak Reaſonings: but think themſelves bound to take care of their Religion: tho this Author by the Specimen he has given of his Faith, does not appear to lie under the ſame Obligations.

If then, Sir, you ſhould conſent to repeal the Teſts, I beſeech you to conſider what perſons you would oblige by ſo fatal a condeſcention: As for the Diſſenters, I hope by this time they are generally convinced that our Dangers are equal, and that therefore we ought to join for our common ſecurity. *Proteſtants* of all ſorts are included in the ſame ſentence denounced againſt *Hereticks*: and if at this time there are ſome Acts of kindneſs extended to ſome diviſions of them, they muſt look upon it no more than reprieving of one Malefactor for the execution of another.

The Diſſenters have been always apprehenſive of Popery, even when it lay at further diſtance: and ſurely they cannot now be ſo unreaſonably courageous as to fear no danger when the Leproſie does not only ſtick to our walls, but is come into our very houſes: they ought not to dwell ſo much upon their preſent Eaſe, as to neglect all future Securities, and to be ſo prodigal of their felicity during this Politick Ceſſation, as not carefully to diſtinguiſh betwixt a ſhort Truce, and a perpetual Alliance.

If they think that their endeavours in repealing the Teſts, will ſecure them a laſting intereſt in the Papiſts; it will require no great foreſight in Affairs to tell them that they will be miſtaken: for if it were in the nature of Popery to return kindneſſes; the Church of *England-men* have laid in a ſtock that ſeemed to be inexhauſtible: but we ſee, that as ſoon as they began to put a ſtop to Popery, their vigorous oppoſing the Bill of Excluſion, and the Rebellion in the *Weſt* were ſoon forgotten; as if their Services and other mens Faults had been put in the ſame Act of Oblivion.

But for once we will ſuppoſe that Popery is not ungrateful; and that whatſoever becomes of the Church of *England*, their Promiſes to the Diſſenters ſhall be unalterable: yet this will not juſtify the Diſſenters for engaging in any concern that may advance the Popiſh Intereſt: for all Proteſtants abroad (who caſt a diligent eye upon our preſent Circumſtances) muſt take offence at ſo unſeaſonable an Alliance; and they who have ſo ſeverely felt ſuch contrary effects of Popiſh Power, will have no reaſon to think well of thoſe, who will now contribute to advance it. So that the Diſſenters cannot join with the Papiſts without Scandal, tho they might do it with Security; it would make all indifferent men fall in the opinion they had conceived of their Wiſdom and Integrity; and by ſo unskilful a management of their preſent Eaſe, they would loſe all the pity and compaſſion, which their former Sufferings had extorted.

'Tis indeed obſerved, that His Majeſty's late Declaration has raiſed in ſome of the Diſſenters, an unuſual affection for the Contrivers of it: but to the moſt thinking men of all ſides, the publiſhing of this Inſtrument was ſo far from being a ſurprize, that they wondred they had not ſeen it ſooner; for Toleration is ſo far from being any new contrivance to undermine our Religion, that 'tis a juggle that has been long ago detected. And therefore 'twere worth while for the moſt ſerious of the Diſſenters, to adviſe the reſt,

not to be carried too far by theſe ſudden heats; and not to enter into Covenants upon the merit of ſuch a ſlender engagement, before they have truly examined the Conditions of it on their ſide, and have taken time to conſider, whether the kindneſſes expreſſed in it are real, or only acted. Not to take an eſtimate of what they are to expect from this Indulgence, by the performance of that ſhort Paragraph in it, that relates to the Church of *England*; I would have them conſider that this ſo much celebrated Liberty is only in matters of mere Religion: by this Politick Reſerve this Liberty is not ſo extenſive as ſome may imagine; for upon the firſt falſe ſtep the Diſſenters make in oppoſition to Popery, how eaſie will it be to reduce them to the ſtate of ſuffering? 'Tis but tacking ſome pretended matters of State to their moſt innocent Aſſemblies; and then if for their defence, they repreſent their caſe never ſo meerly Religious, their Adverſaries, who will be ſure to oppoſe their Plea, will take care that it ſhall not be received under ſo advantageous an abſtraction.

And therefore the Diſſenters cannot ſtand ſo much in their own light, as not to ſee from what Side they are to expect the moſt laſting ſecurity. Proteſtants of all ſorts are now happily brought to a better underſtanding of one another; they may eaſily prevent all future diſputes, ſince they plainly ſee from whence their diviſion cometh. In ſhort, all things tend to a moſt amicable Accommodation; unleſs ſome men be brought over by the plauſible pretence of a little preſent eaſe, to involve themſelves and others in a reverſion of Sufferings.

It may not be amiſs, to conſider what perſons are now retained Advocates for repealing our Laws; and to examine a little the complexion of the men, before we are prevailed upon by their Arguments. The Papers that daily come about, are drawn up either by known Papiſts, or elſe by ſuch men, who have given all the reaſon in the world to ſuſpect that their Labours are mercenary. They who were not long ſince the great Sticklers for Property, are now become the Darlings of Prerogative: the *Pacquet of Advice from Rome* is now improved into a Cloſer Correſpondence: to ſerve the preſent turn, they ſhamefully contradict all they formerly had written; and call themſelves Rogues perhaps for the only actions of their lives, that men had reaſon to believe them Honeſt.

To conclude, Our Laws are the only human ſupport we have for our ſelves, our Liberties, and our Religion; and as long as our title to theſe is continued, whatever our preſent ſtate may be, we need not doubt of a favourable reverſion. Nevertheleſs, our care for our Religion, ſhall not make us forget our duty to our King; and if at any time we cannot obey his Commands, we ſhall, I hope, convince the world, that it is not our Fault, but our Misfortune: for we have not yet learned implicit obedience either in Church or State; as the Scriptures are our Rule in the one, ſo are our Laws our directions in the other; and as long as we firmly keep to theſe meaſures of our obedience to God and the King, we ſhall not be afraid to loſe the Character of good Chriſtians, or good Subjects. *I am,*

Honoured Sir, Your moſt humble and much obliged Servant, B. S.

22

THE Present Aspect OF OUR TIMES,

And of the

Extraordinary Conjunction Of Things therein.

In a Rational View and Prospect of the same;

As it respects the Publick Hazard and Safety of *Brittain* in this Day.

Licensed November 29. 1693.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst* at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns*, the Lower End of *Cheapside*. 1694.

EXTENSION COURSE

I. T. S.

ELECTRIC WIRING

I. H. S.

THE Present Aſpect OF OUR TIMES.

IT is one of the great Trials of Judgment and Prudence, to know when it may be more ſuitable to be ſilent, than to ſpeak: Silence is uſually the ſafeſt hand for Men to err on, eſpecially in a Subject of ſo High, and Publick Concern as this, when ſo great a variation of Light is unavoidable, amongſt Men of the moſt Judicious Spirits; ſo that I may ſay, it hath made it not eaſie to enter on a Province of ſuch a nature: For I know my ſelf to have more cauſe, to underſtand Counſels, and Thoughts of others, than to offer what may be mine, in ſo Knowing an Age as this: But ſince the Integrity of a Deſign is in any caſe, a ſpecial Support; and that I may witneſs, it is under no Private Influence or Engagements, I have expoſed this to the Publick View; I ſhall offer no other Apology, but that in ſuch a Hazardous Time, *cuilibet privato licet agere cauſam publicam*, when it touches

on no Fundamental Conſtitutions, nor offers any Diſturbance herein: And as there is none but hath ſome proper Intereſt in the Publick; ſo is he accountable by a Juſt Right to the Service thereof; *& in extremo diſcrimine unuſquiſque eſt miles.*

It's ſure an Advantage, when the ſenſe of any Hazardous Caſe, whether it reſpects the Publick, or Mens Perſonal State, doth neither exceed nor fall ſhort of the true grounds thereof: But this appears now to be a Time, when there may be more fear of a Deficiency, than Exceſs, on ſuch an account; and Danger is oft neareſt, when it is leaſt apprehended. It is certain, that ſome Times have a more ſtrange and extraordinary Aſpect on the Publick State of a Nation, than may be in the ordinary courſe of things, or than uſeth to precede ſome great Viciſſitudes; and it's ſuch in this Age, that the State of *Britain* and *Ireland* hath been a Theatre of ſuch Amazing Concuſſions and Changes, as no Hiſtory paſt can bear a Reſemblance thereto, in ſuch Surprizing Various Scenes as have been Acted therein; nor can any ſuitable Reflection be on the ſame, without Admiration, to this day, how theſe Nations have not been ſwallowed up, and got ſafe out of all theſe Civil Storms that have ſucceſſively followed each other; but yet with reſpect thereto, there ſeems to be ſuch a preſent Juncture and Period now in the Publick State of Affairs, as exceeds all that's paſt, and a Time that ſpeaks he *Criſis* to be in the very higheſt ἀκμὴ of its Conflict betwixt Nature and the Diſeaſe, either to Life or Death: When the Wiſeſt Pilots found it never more difficult to ſtear an even and ſafe Courſe betwixt Rocks and Quick-ſands, when the Compaſs is like to fail, and is ſo difficult either to keep or gain ground againſt a croſs Wind and Tide; when the Preſent State of things is a Sea of many Currents, that

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do at once meet together. There is usually a growing Decay by the Distempers of the Politick Body, as well as of the Natural, which hath an inevitable Progress, to the Dissolution thereof, if not timely prevented, before it prove too late to overcome the strength of the Disease. But there are two things this day which may be sadly apprehended, as to the Consequences thereof; one is, to what a height Intestine Distempers in the Present State of *Brittain* are come; which have their Time of Breeding as well as of Breaking forth; and, when not regarded, use not to Dissolve without a new Storm; yea, have a most sad and mortal Aspect, when they prove so Incurable as to despise all Moral Relief, or any Restraint; from that Advantage the Publick Adversary gets hereby; when it's more easie to make a Breach, than to stand up therein, against Visible Hazard; or to Sacrifize Private Resentments to the Interest and Safety of their Countrey. But there is another Hazard which may be too justly fear'd herewith, of the Desertion and Falling off of many from the Publick State, either by Prejudices and Discontent, or an Indifference and Irresoluteness to fix, until they see a further Decision, and to know the way to be safe. It's true, that Men of the choicest Spirit, in a Time of Commotions, to avoid the Scene and Disturbances of a Troubled Time, and with respect to the Calm and Serenity of their own Mind, may find it desirable to retire, and be abstract from the Hurryings that are abroad, which cannot be strange or mistaken, if it shuts out no Duty, nor Service for their Countries Interest and Safety; but it must be a Stretch above an ordinary Reason and Understanding, if such as are Protestants, and truly interested in the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, can have a Divided Interest from the same, or project to themseves

another

another Port to put in at, for Publick Security, or fix on any ground elſe, if they ſhould fall off from this Anchorage. It is the End that determines the Means, and the Intenſeneſs of Mens Spirits thereon, that tends to a Reſolute and Unwearied Endeavour for Attaining the ſame, to have things brought on unto a ſteady Iſſue; but now, when it bears ſuch clear Evidence, to be both *pro aris & focis*, either to do or die; it's then that Reaſon and Neceſſity leave no room for a Faint, or a Suſpence herein.

There is nothing more ſuitable in the way of Reaſon, than for ſuch as have a more Immediate Call and Intereſt than others, to enquire into the Natural Springs of ſuch croſs Events and Difficulties, that may not be eaſie to comprehend in an ordinary way, as they come under Humane Management; and which does then viſibly tend to lay a dead Weight on Publick Actings, and cauſe their Motions to drive heavily; ſince otherwiſe the greateſt Advantage of Strength, ſhould be little available, without ſuch Meaſures of Wiſdom, as to direct and apply the ſame to its proper End: But it is ſure in nothing is Reaſon more highly Exerted for a Nation's Safety, than on this Principle of Eternal Truth, that no State can be ſafe with any Advantage of Means, if it be not under a Divine Conduct and Protection, that thus growing Difficulties and Diſappointments might be traced to a higher Iſſue, than Viſible Cauſes, as under a deep Senſe and Impreſſion of this, that God hath not forſaken the Earth. No Deſpondent Fear of Events ſhould at any time weaken Mens hands in the Work of their Day, or take them off from preſent Duty; yea, were there the moſt clear and predictive Evidences of an Imminent Stroak and Ruin, yet might it not ſhut out the higheſt Efforts both of Counſel and Strength,

for

for a Peoples Preſervation: And as God does determine the End by Infallible Predeſtination; ſo does he move alſo by Inferior Cauſes and Means; for which he renders Men accountable, as to the utmoſt Improvement hereof, both for their Safety and Succeſs: Yet hath this ever been in the procedure of Providence remarkable, that before any Great and Extraordinary Events, both as to Kingdoms and Cities, there have been then more remarkably than at other times, Monitory Signs and Warnings, which as Heraulds, were directed with a proper Commiſſion and Authority, to awaken Men to their Duty. And as it is one of the great Demonſtrations of a Deity; ſo does it ever witneſs the tender Reſpect of the Divine Majeſty to Humane Race, and the Work of his own hand; and the Condecency of his Government, both to the Excellencies of his own Nature, and Conſtitutions of his Word; but if any ſuch Immediate Appearances of God, be not then ſuitably regarded, and operative by a Moral Influence on Mens Spirits, it may be a too evident Preſage that things are haſtening to ſome ſad and determinate Ruine, by an unpreventable Providence, which I fervently deſire may not be applicable to this Time.

As to what is peculiarly deſigned in this following Diſcourſe, it is to offer ſome Thoughts in a Rational View and Proſpect of the Preſent State we are in, and what manner of Time it is, with reſpect to the Publick Concerns and Security of *Brittain*, as it reſpects Viſible Cauſes hereof: For as no Sign is more promiſing, than, when the Things of the Day are ſpecially regarded in the proper Seaſon thereof, anſwerable to the Conſequences that are Depenednt on the ſame: So is the Voice of Reaſon, in its True and Regular Exerciſe aſſuredly the Voice of God both to Nations and Perſons.

And,

And, I hope, ſuch an Addreſs as this, may not be miſtaken, when it demands no further Regard from any, than the Evidence and Truth of what's here offer'd, does make way for.

1. It is unqueſtionable, that the firſt Entry of a Cure, muſt be in diſcerning the Cauſe and Nature of the Diſeaſe; and that in no Caſe this is more called for, than with reſpect to Publick Hazard at a diſtance: That a due ſight and ſenſe hereof, muſt go before Prevention of the ſame, e're it be too late. It is a Propoſal that may be now juſtly made; if *England*, with the other two Nations, be not ſtated in ſuch a Conjunction, upon its Future Safety and Preſervation, as ſeems to have no Parallel from former Preſidents, to anſwer ſuch a Caſe. It is indeed placed, as a World by it ſelf, which is locally divided from the whole Earth beſide: But this cannot ſecure it from any Remarkable Hazard within, or that eaſie Acceſs may be thus given to a Forraign Power and Deſign. What Men ſee with their Eyes, and is matter of Ocular Demonſtration, can be no dark Problem now, that it is not the *French* Power alone, in its moſt ſtrenuous workings; or any hid Deſign of an Inteſtine Party, that's to be fear'd this Day, in their divided Capacities; but the Joynt-Intereſt of both, in ſuch a Correſpondence: and under theſe Circumſtances things are now ſtated, as hath not been formerly known; and when Hazard in ſuch gradual and near Approaches, hath ſo remarkable an Aſpect, it may need both a piercing Eye and Intelligence to prevent a Surprize that may not find us aſleep. It is ſuch a Day, when an Adverſary at our Gates, and another within, ſeems to wait every Advantage, when both the *French* Succeſs and Strength, is at another pitch than hath been in Times paſt, whoſe Diſpoſition and Intent lies ſo viſibly

for

for War, wherever with any favourable proſpect they can open the ſame more than a Counterfeit Profeſſion made for Peace: And ſo far may it be ſeen, if the Watching Eye of Providence do not interpoſe, that a Train is in ſome unuſual manner laid, and working to its laſt Effort, more againſt *Brittain*, than any other Reformed State, as may need the utmoſt of Counſel and Reſolution to countermine the ſame, before the ſpringing thereof; when the loſs of Time and Opportunity for ſuch an End, ſeem'd never more Fatal if not ſuitably Improved; and it leaves no room to queſtion that we are ſtated againſt ſuch an Adverſary, as is waiting every Advantage, and wants no Force or Conduct to manage the ſame; whoſe greateſt Fear and Indignation does terminate upon *England*, and the United Provinces this day, more than on any place elſe: But know, the Strength of ſuch a Deſign lies in the Cloſeneſs thereof, to keep off any Unneceſſary Diſcovery, and is not, as with ſome Labourers with their hands, who at every ſtroke give a groan: But what herewith ſhould make the Proſpect of ſuch a Hazard more tremendous, is what may be fear'd of a too numerous Party, that lie as in Ambuſh, from within, to act a more Tragick and Bloody Scene in theſe Nations, if occaſion did offer, than hath been ever known; as if they knew no other way to Riſe but on a Publick Ruine, and could be Witneſſes, without weeping at a Nations Funeral. I do not queſtion but that many in this Day, may be too deeply engag'd in ſad and croſs Deſigns to the Preſent Settlements; as ſuppoſe to themſelves a conſiſtence herein with the Publick Safety, and that it ſhould be only to change the Scene with new Actors therein. I confeſs if they fix the Concluſion before the Premiſes, and can judge by contraries, they may account then ſuch a thing might be ſuppoſable; but if they

give Reaſon once leave to exerciſe ſecond Thoughts, it cannot be conceivable to their own Judgment, that a new Overturning could again take place, but that a moſt Bloody and Tragick Part ſhould commence therewith; and that if ever the *French* and *Romiſh* Power get up to the Bench, this Scene may then by unavoidable Conſequence be reckoned, as the Meaſure of their Acting; to have in the firſt place the Proteſtant Intereſt, with ſuch as have any true Zeal or Value for the ſame, pay the Expence for all that is paſt, and ſtand as Criminal at the Bar: And if it ſhould not be eaſie to turn the ſame wholly off the Stage, yet to have it ſtand alone, and be reduced to its Primitive State, to ſubſiſt without Humane Support or Countenance, ſo as it may ſerve, as *Sampſon*, for its Adverſaries Triumph; when without fear that even then it may pull down the Houſe upon them: But the next ſtep to follow hereon, by too evident a Reſult, is to be once Avenged of that great Supporter of the Nations Rights and Liberties, which hath ſo long ſtood in their way, and ſtill break their Meaſures, when they ſeemed moſt ſecure herein; but what herewith is more than ſuppoſable, would be their greateſt Strength, and with ſome favourable Pretence lie here, to ſerve themſelves of one part of the Nation, as Friends, to deſtroy the other, until the whole be render'd utterly uncapable of Self-defence, that it might at laſt be made a Publick Sacrifice to Implacable Revenge: When ſuch then as have been made ſerviceable to ſo great a Ruine, ſhould know how dear a Purchaſe a late Repentance is; to have ſeen themſelves thus run on their own Swords by a Self-Aſſaſſination, and involved thus their Children, and dear Relations in Publick and Irrevocable Ruine. But when I now write this, it is, I may ſay, with Abhorrence of unſuitable Reflection on the Perſons of any, as might

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in the leaſt prejudge Juſtice and Truth, or to ſtretch the Deſigns of the greateſt Adverſaries, beyond what Impartial and Juſt Reaſon makes unavoidable: But I muſt oppoſe the cleareſt Proſpects of Senſe and Reaſon, unleſs I ſee that any Deſtructive Oppoſition to the Government and Publick Settlements this Day, if it did prevail, ſhould be ſuch as in the Iſſue and Conſequences thereof, might make them become a Terrour to themſelves, who ſhould be Actors therein, and do not apprehend where ſuch a Tyde might carry beyond their preſent Intent.

2. It may be thus clear and demonſtrable to unprejudged Reaſon, that never was a greater Cauſe brought upon the Stage, as to an Eventual Determination, than in the Preſent State of this War, as is now ſtated againſt *France*, which both its Juſtice and Neceſſity hath made ſo unavoidable: Yea, that a higher Intereſt did never lie at the Stake, with reſpect to the Reformed Churches, than at this Day; as cannot but raiſe Extraordinary Thoughts upon the Iſſue of ſuch a Scene, wherein theſe Principal Concerns, both as we are Men and Chriſtians, are ſo nearly intereſted. What may be the *French* Deſigns in ſuch a Time, needs not in this reſpect a deep Scrutiny, when the Meaſure thereof may be ſo clearly judged by the Height and Meaſure of their Power, and where to this are ſet no Bounds: It's no Moral Arguments from Juſtice and Equity can be expected, to give a Reſtraint thereto, or make a Peace or Settlement ſafe for any, who are not upon an equal Foot, to ſecure the Violation thereof. And as for the Honour and Publick Faith of *France*, neither will that be ſufficient to ſecure a Peace, tho' it ſhould be laid in Pledge, more than the Punick Faith was of old; ſince that Kings way, not only to the *French* Proteſtants, but to the Princes of the *Ro-*

man Catholick Religion, hath given too certain a Trial, that his Claim of Right is of the ſame Extent as his Sword can make it, which hath been hitherto the Deciſive Judge thereof; ſo as the Adjacent Princes have at laſt found it more ſafe to have him for an Adverſary than a Friend. It was once Queen *Elizabeth's Motto, No Peace with Spain*, which could not be juſtifiable, but upon ſuch grounds and neceſſity as are now more demonſtrable in this preſent Caſe: For War is undoubtedly to be reckoned the higheſt Act of Vindictive Juſtice, both upon Neceſſary Defence, and for Prevention of Imminent Hazard. It cannot be denied but that this Year 93. hath given a new Teſtimony before the World to the Repute and Honour of the King, both of the greatneſs on an Heroick Courage, and Wiſe Conduct amidſt Extraordinary Difficulties and Oppoſitions: And that if the Spirit of this great Prince had not ſome remarkable Aſcendant on the preſent Adverſary, his Motions probably might have been directed to much higher Attempts, and gone beyond all Bounds; but it may be ſeen likewiſe, that the Events of this Year, call for ſome Extrordinary Obſervation of the ſame. And in the firſt place, to a more abſolute Settling of our Dependencies on God: But as things lie under Humane Management, there may be a further Call to ſee that it will not be eaſie to keep ground, or avoid ſome remarkable Loſs of the ſame, if it be not with that Strenuous and United Aſſiſtance followed, as under Divine Conduct may bring things to ſome deſirable Deciſion; ſince Attempts otherwiſe might prove as the forcing a great Stone up a Hill, that upon any faint, or ſlackning of Strength, goes a greater way back. And it's eaſie to judge, that any new Succeſs, or Advantage the *French* do gain, carries them to take new Meaſures and Reſolutions, as their way thus is prepared. It is not queſtionable,

queſtionable, but that each Paſſenger in the Veſſel, when a Storm riſeth, hath the ſame proper Intereſt and Adventure in its Safety, when it's like to periſh. All's well as the common Concern of all therein is neceſſarily engaged. No Station is ſo low where Men are not ſtated in ſome capacity to act for the Intereſt of their Countrey, tho' all have not the ſame Room and Truſt herein: And the greater Difficulties that Publick Services are beſet with, it will ever tender to render the Iſſue more honourable, and ſuch a Reward to its ſelf, as exceeds the lower Motives, with Men of a truly Publick Spirit. There's an undoubted Circulation in the Politick Body as well as in the Natural; ſo as Services done and deſigned for the ſame, in an Extream Caſe, will return with ſome Signal Advantage and Reward of Honour, to them or theirs, tho' for many days it ſhould not appear ſo. It hath no leſs appeared in the Iſſue, how ſad and fatal a Prudence it was, that hath divided ſuch from the common Intereſt of their Countrey and People, to avoid Hazard, and to be thus unreſolved where to fix, until the Ballance be caſt to ſome abſolute Deciſion, as ſuch who are only determined by Events, but not by Principles.

3. It is certain that things can have no true Reſt or Settlement but in their proper Center, which muſt otherwiſe move in a perplex and uncertain Agitation, which is ever no leſs evident in the Politick Body of a Kingdom and State, than in the Conſtitutions of Nature, that it muſt have a Central and Uniting Intereſt, whereby the Stability of the whole Frame, is fixt, and its Motions rendered ſteady and concentrick with the ſame. It's hereby that both the Security of Sacred and Civil Intereſts, is ſettled on ſuch ſure ground, as may take off Suſpition, or Diſtruſt of ſuch croſs and extrinſick Motions that may prove deſtructive thereto. It is ſurely according

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ing to this, that the Publick Safety and Intereſt of *Brittain* this Day muſt be rationally judged, when it bears ſuch a prevailing Influence on Mens Spirits; as to ſubordinate all Inferiour Deſigns and Counſels thereunto, and to Intereſt them againſt whatever tends to break ſuch a Conjunction: For it's not the ſtrongeſt Ligaments of the Law, or of a Servile Fear thereof, that will bind, if theſe Ligaments of Love and of Mutual Dependence, in a way of Truſt and Aſſurance, ſhould be once broke, and the Contracted Intereſt of a Party takes off that Propenſion and Reſpect, that ſhould be to the Publick State of the Body; which without Prophecy may preſage ſome great Ruine to be then impendent; when inſtead of Mutual Truſt, private Enmities and croſs Actings take the room thereof, and goes above any Relief. And with reſpect to this, I hope it cannot be queſtioned what by the higheſt Reaſon is ſo demonſtrable; in what relation both Their Majeſties now upon the Throne of *Brittain* ſtand, as to the Preſent Safety of theſe Nations and Future Security; and what an Intereſt they carry in their hand on ſuch an account, ſo as this Bond of Union cannot poſſibly be ſlacked, or made void, without ſubverting the Foundations of the whole Frame, and a Fatal Diſſolution of the ſame. The firmeſt Settlement of Government proves oft too weak to ſupport, when an intire Settlement of Mens Spirits keeps not foot therewith, and a ſenſe of their own Intereſt and Security under the ſame, to Influence an Uniting Temper in the common Cauſe. It ſhould be ſtrange if the State wherein *England* was a few Years paſt, be not to this Day kept in ſight, and theſe ſad Depreſſions and Terrours on Mens Spirits, which did hold them under ſo viſible a Bondage, when it was valued at ſo high a rate, to be once again Witneſs to ſuch a Time, when Law and

Juſtice

Juſtice ſhould be Settled and Certain Meaſures of the Government as is this Day. It is not queſtionable but that Private Loſſes muſt deeply affect Mens Spirits, and have a juſt Senſe thereof, wherein the Publick Intereſt does alſo ſuffer; but it ſhould be a Direful Effect, to alienate thus from the Government, upon the Miſcarrying of any Inferiour Inſtruments, or to reckon their Conditions could be bettered by a Change; as in the Fable of the Froggs, who could not be ſatisfied until they at laſt got ſuch a Prince and Ruler, whoſe Power was only extended to devour them. It is a Bleſſing rarely given a Nation, to have ſuch at the Helm in a Tempeſtuous Time, whoſe Intereſt all may ſee indiſſolubly conjoyn'd with the Publick, and ready to Sacrifice his neareſt Concerns, on that Altar of the Nations Safety and Preſervation, whoſe Religion is one and the ſame with theirs, and endued both with true Greatneſs of Mind, and a Judicious Prudence to grapple with growing Hazards. It is known how the Proteſtant State of the *Netherlands*, did riſe, and prevail againſt ſo Potent a Force, as was then againſt them, which next to Divine Aſſiſtance, was by being ſo harmoniouſly unite, and ſpirited by the common Love of their Religion, Countrey and Liberties, and by what entire confidence they had in that Illuſtrious Houſe of *Orange*, who were the alone great Inſtruments to raiſe and deliver the ſame: And as by a Divine Deſtination Prince *William*, whoſe Memory is ſo famous to the World, did lay his whole Intereſt at the Stake to raiſe and deliver the ſame, when almoſt ſwallowed up by an Arbitrary Power: So now by a moſt ſingular Providence hath the Security and Reſtauration of *England* with the other two Kingdoms from ſuch Imminent Hazard terminated in this great Prince, and hath been reſerved for him; which is an Honour, with reſpect to

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that Illuſtrious Houſe in a ſucceſſive Line, to be ſuch Eminent Patriots, both as to Sacred and Civil Rights, that hath rarely occurred in the courſe of Humane Affairs to any Princes, or Family in the World, and is a remark of ſuch an Extraordinary Providence, as cannot be eaſily paſt.

4. It is ſurely a great Advantage, when in a Time of Publick Danger there is a true Eſtimate and Judgment made of a Nations Intrinſick Strength, which in a Humane way, is the alone ſtable, and permanent Intereſt thereof, by which they can underſtand the true Meaſure both of their Fears and Hope on ſuch an account; and may be thus ſecured from a Fatal Miſtake, in any Extraordinary Caſe. I know the numerous Encreaſe and Growth of a People, is truly an Evidence of growing Strength; but yet this does not always hold, or can be judged by Number or Poll, ſince the more ſpreading a Community may be of a Nation, the more ſad Aſpect it hath, if a degenerate Race ſhould get up, where the prevalency of Debauchery and Immorality, does ſo naturally tend to depreſs the Genius of a People, and the purſuance of any Honourable Ends; yea ſtrikes at the Root of all Civil and Moral Duties, where the true Security of a Government lies. Nor does a Kingdoms Strength from within it ſelf, lie in the Meaſure of External Preparations for the Publick Safety (the moſt abſolutely neceſſary) ſo much as in the Interiour Spring both of Reſolution and Integrity herewith, to put theſe agoing in their due order and place, as *Solomon* ſpeaks, that there needs more Strength to be added, if the Iron be blunt; yet Wiſdom alone is profitable to direct, as the Leading Principle of all Exterior Motions: And it may be ſeen what a prevalence the Spirit of ſome, when it is of a higher Elevation and Capacity than in others, will have to actuate and enliven a multitude to ſuch Services,

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as may be above their ordinary Reach, which is uſually one of the moſt promiſing Signs to a Kingdom, when ſuch are in any ſingular way then raiſed with ſome peculiar excellency of Spirit, for the work of that Time.

But as to what might be moſt conducible for ſuch an End to ſecure and promote the Intereſt of *Brittain*, in its true, ſtable, and permanent Strength from within it ſelf, and to have a right Proſpect thereof, I do not pretend to judge; this being a Subject proper and ſuitable to ſuch under whoſe hand the Directing and Governing Power lies, and ſtand related as Eyes to the Nation to watch for its Safety; yea when ſo much may be juſtly in this Day expected from theſe; only with a humble and due diſtance, I ſhall adventure to point at ſome things in a diſtinct way, that I hope will not come under queſtion, to be moſt nearly related to this great End.

1. That it's both the Glory and Strength of a Nation in ſad and hazardous Times, to have an open Teſtimony of their Fear and Dependance on God, kept upon the Face of all Publick Actings; of him under whoſe hands, the Government and Dominion of the World does abſolutely ſtand, and who alone is the Protector of Nations; ſince Reaſon cannot poſſibly find another way to be ſafe upon any Temporal Intereſt, or for Mens being true to themſelves, but in the Truth and Seriouſneſs of Religion; ſo as in the greateſt Exigence theſe can never be diſtinguiſht, what is juſt, and what is ſafe, being Convertible Terms. But it's on this Subject, I have been oft put to ſome aſtoniſhing Thoughts, how Religion ſhould have ſo great an Influence to turn about the Publick Affairs and Concerns of the World, and this way to have much Rule over the Actions of Humane Life, when it hath ſo ſmall a Vital Influence on Mens Minds, in order to the higeſt Ends thereof, and for

an Eternal Intereſt, when it goes thus no further, than an empty and unlivened Form; yea to ſee with what Intenſeneſs Names of diſcrimination are ſtated on ſuch an account.

2. It is of undoubted Evidence likewiſe that the Proteſtant Reformed Religion, which is the pure and genuine Truth of Chriſtianity, is the Strength and permanent Intereſt of *England*, and both the other Kingdoms this Day: This needs no Evidence of Conviction to ſuch for a cloſe Adherence to the ſame, who are too wiſe and ſenſible of their own Safety, to put themſelves again under the Popiſh Yoke, after ſo dear and Expenſive a Trial hath been hereof; or that in a Time of ſuch Light, it could be poſſible upon Choice to give up their Reaſon and Judgment unto others, by an Implicit Truſt, and not ſee with their own Eyes; but to account a Blind Obedience one of the great Excellencies of their Faith; yea when there can be no Compounding here, where ſo Impaſſable a Gulf is fixt, betwixt theſe two Profeſſions. But the things pertaining to the Conſcience, and of the higheſt Publick Intereſt, ſhould have a ſmall regard, as may be judged with too many: Yet is there a concern of another nature to influence in this caſe; that if ever Popery ſhould be capable to purſue its Antient Title and Inheritance, then a numerous Party of the moſt Eminent Families in theſe Nations, might be in hazard to have theirs ſwallowed up hereby, whatever pretences may for a time be made otherwiſe: Yea, that if it once got on Horſeback, they might be then put to walk on foot; and under the power of ſuch a Religion be made to Sacrifize the Hearth unto the Altar; who upon more high and noble grounds, were not ſuitably excited, to withſtand the firſt Invaſions thereof, and to have this great End

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with reſpect to Divine Truth made theirs: And if things paſt may be Prognoſticks of future, it is known what Breaches the *French* Power hath of late made, not only on Mens Rights and Civil Soceity; but on Humanity it ſelf, as in the Palatinate and other Adjacent places; and in ſuch meaſures of Cruelty, as was acted againſt the Proteſtants in *France*, which was with the higheſt Violations of the Law of Gratitude towards theſe, whoſe Anceſtors were ſo Aſſiſtant to bring the Houſe of *Bourbon* to the Throne, and ſtem that Tyde of the Catholick League, which was againſt the ſame: But if a Juſt Reflection be made alſo, on what may lie yet nearer to us, for Eviction of this, it might be eaſie to ſee, how different the ſtate of things, from what was in the Year Eighty Eight, is this Day, upon the moſt valuable Intereſt and Security of ſuch a nature which Men poſſibly can enjoy, whereby a Title to their Religon, Lives, and Liberties, hath not got a Legal holding, without fear of any Deſigned Violation of the ſame by Force.

3. It is unqueſtionable alſo, that where a People is in the way of their Strength, and under propitious Influences from Heaven for their Security, that ſome remarkable Gale of Counſel and Prudence, uſeth then to go along therewith; and in ſeaſonable applications of the ſame to the preſent Day: Yea that the Meaſure of a Nations Strength in a Humane way, may be accordingly thus judged to know, both what is to be done, and what is to be avoided, to ſee and foreſee things that may lie remote from the Ordinary Judgment of many, both as to the tendency of Hazard, and preparations thereto, and from what point a Storm may be near to break up. It's true, the moſt knowing and judicious, that watch for their Conntries Safety,

may meet oft with Surprizing Accidents, that then ſeem'd not ſuppoſable to them: But it is known likewiſe what Improvements of Reaſon and Counſel, have in a moſt ſingular way been attain'd, when Difficulties and Hazards have gone above any ordinary Judgment herein: It's in this reſpect, there is ſuch a Divination of Judicious Prudence for prevention of Hazard, as may be called Natural Prophecy, though it have a Divine Riſe and Original, and is given to a People as one of the moſt Eminent Bleſſings from Heaven: Yea verifies that Sacred Truth, how Wiſdom is preferrable to Strength, and ſtrengtheneth the Wiſe, more than Ten Mighty Men, that are in the City. But on this Subject I need ſpeak little, when ſo much this Day may be juſtly hoped for, from the Wiſdom of Publick Counſels, and ſuch Experienced Pilots that are at the Helm in ſo Threatning a Storm, who know in this preſent Conjunction, how to have ſuch a Scheme of Prevention judiciouſly ſettled, with reſpect to Viſible Hazard, as may not leave the ſame to a Surprize, upon any ſudden Emergents, or for taking Counſel too late. It hath been hitherto the Reſult of moſt Deliberate Counſels, to meet Publick Hazard at a diſtance, rather than wait for its nearer Approach; when otherwiſe it ſeems more than conjectural, where ſo high a Flight of the *French* Ambition and Power, ſhould have come e're now without ſuch a prevalent Stop; and may be yet judged, that ſince a Deſign was never more working than is this Day, how to try their Strength on Britiſh ground, if their Will and their Power were commenſurate.

4. It furely may be a ſpecial Indication alſo of the Standing Intereſt and Strength of *Brittain* from within, in ſuch a Time as this, by what Advantage is gain'd, to

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have the Publick Government, ſo far as is poſſible, rooted in the general Affection and Eſteem of the People; and that Mutual Confidence and Truſt fixed, which is the Life and Sinews of Government, and all Humane Society, ſo as by a conſtraint of Reaſon, they can ſee, how the King and the Nation this Day, are ſo nearly Conjoyn'd and Stated in that Relation, as to be the Mutual Intereſt and Safety of other; and how his Juſt Greatneſs and Rights, with the whole Legal Freedom and Liberties of the People, are ſo joyntly founded on the ſame Baſis, as to beget an entire Acquieſcence of Mind herein; and how thus the Foundation is ſure and adequate to the Stucture that reſts thereon; ſo that not by Fear, or on the Influence of an Imperative Power, but by an Elicite Choice from Love and Eſteem the Government may be Eſtabliſht, and that Homage due to the Soveraign, be given, not by the Knee alone, but by the Heart. It can come under no queſtion in what Poſture the State of *England* was in, before this late Revolution, and what Mortal Signs then was, of ſome great Ruine to be near, when the Government was like to become more *French* and *Italian*, than *Engliſh*; and the Late King ſo far engag'd to Eſpouſe a Party inſtead of the Publick Body, by joyning in with the *Romiſh* Counſels and Power to promote that Intereſt, as he had ſo far paſt the Rubicon, in what was ſo viſibly croſs to the Eſtabliſht Laws and Conſtitutions of the Nation. But as this is too late to be forgot, ſo it is not conceivable by any Humane Rule, that in another way the Publick State this Day can be preſerved, than in the ſame way wherein, by ſo Extraordinary a Deſtination of Providence it was attained; and I judge, that none

none of a Conſiderate Spirit can ſuppoſe any Deſtruſtructive Deſign to the Publick Settlements, ſhould take place, but by ſo Bloody a Scene, as no Humane Relief could ſtop it, in the way of Reaſon, until it reſolv'd in the Diſmal and Tragick Effects. It is true, the private Burthens of many in theſe Times, may be very pungent and ſore, which they who look at a diſtance thereon, do too little regard; but when the Publick Safety is at the Stake, and evident, at how dear a Rate there would be Compounding of the ſame, if Adverſaries got further Advantage; it cannot but have a Ballancing Weight, on Mens Spirits, when they ſee, how all that can be Valuable to them within Time, is conjoyn'd therewith.

5. Though the Extenſive Intereſt of *Brittain*, in its preſent Increaſe, is ſuch, that it may be ſaid to be, as the Sand of the Sea in number; yet ſince the True and Intrinſick Strength of a People, does ever reſpect the Quality, more than the Bulk and Extent thereof; it cannot be otherwiſe underſtood in this Day, or a true Meaſure of our Hope on this account, but by ſuch a promiſing and true Growth of theſe who are Acted on ſome higher Account than their private Concerns, to joyn their Intereſt with the Publick, in a Time of Hazard, and not from a low and ſervile Spirit in this matter; who have ſuch a Senſe both of Religion and Honour, as to render them True to any Publick Truſt they are in, and does ſeek no otherwiſe but in the way of Services and Juſt Merit to have an Intrinſick Intereſt in the Affection and Eſteem of their Countrey; who account the Reward of being Serviceable to the Publick Intereſt, a Compenſation for any Trouble or Loſs they can ſuſtain hereby, and holds

holds no Repute from Oſtentation of the ſame, ſince any true Excellency and Worth, even amongſt the worſt of Men, hath ſuch an Intereſt in Humane Nature, as they cannot poſſibly deny ſome hid Veneration thereto, nor forego a juſt ſenſe hereof, even where Enmity and Envy is prevalent: And it's indeed one of the moſt high and deſirable Ends that Men can attain in their Day, to have done or deſigned ſomething in a more than ordinary way, for the preſent Generation, and their Countries Intereſt in a Hazardous Time: Yea this does render the ſame, more highly comforting and honourable, as a Service of this kind, hath been beſet with greater Difficulties and Oppoſition than uſual. But when I touch this, there's ſomething that cannot be disjoyn'd from it, to advance thus the Stability, and Strength of a Nation, from within it ſelf, and of great uſe for this End, which is in a ſuitable Retribution of Reward and Favour from the Publick to any juſt Merit, which hath a ſpecial tendency to give Encouragement and Life to Honourable Acts and Attempts; yea, to take off Reſentments that might be occaſioned by any unaccountable Ingratitude, as *Solomon* obſerves; and does too uſually occur in the Management of Humane Affairs, that a poor wiſe Man, (as is there ſhewed) helpt by his Wiſdom to ſave a City, yet no Man did regard him herein: It is known from the Hiſtory of all Times, how Inſtruments and Means, are remarkably rais'd and acted forth, according to the Deſigns of Providence about ſuch a place; but where it is known aright, it may then give accordingly a Signal Prognoſtick upon a Nations ſtanding or falling. But it comes upon the ſame Concern, to have ſome equal Reſpect alſo, and a ſuitable Reſentment

ment of any ſiniſtrous and croſs Actings, to the common Intereſt; ſo as it may with a ſpecial note appear, that there is no way for Men, either to ſecure their Credit, or private Concerns upon any ſpecial Truſt, by being unfaithful to the Publick; and that ſuch muſt ſtand or fall this way, by their Integrity herein. It is true, it may oft be Mens Lot to be unfortunate and not falſe; and things managed with the moſt ſincere Deſign, and without any Deficiency either of Courage or Wiſdom, falls under great Diſappointments and Croſs Events; but this rarely wants ſuch Evidence, as may juſtifie the ſame, to the Conviction of all unprejudiced, and ſecure from all unjuſt grounds of ſuffering hereby.

6. But there is a Concern of another nature, wherein the Standing and Strength of a Nation is eſpecially intereſted, and ſeem'd never more applicable than now, to the State of *Brittain*; to have ſuch a Temper ſettled in a Dividing Time, and amids theſe numerous Differences, amongſt the moſt ſerious Proteſtants, as may not in Extream Hazard, obſtruct an Unite Acting for the Publick Intereſt, or divide the Nations Strength from it ſelf. It's true, there can be no poſſible Reconcilement, on a Politick Account, of Light and Darkneſs; nor can Truth and Errour ever have a coalition, or be compounded, or admit any Indifference about things of Sacred Concern: But on the other hand it's evident, that the Rearing up of Walls of partition, this way, have a ſtrange and diſmal Aſpect; ſo far as they tend to ſhut out Friends from any harmonious Concurrence to the Publick Safety, and gives any Strength to the Adverſary to enter thereby. I know that Mens Reaſon and Judgment are not in their

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own power to diſpoſe of, or to make themſelves believe what they pleaſe, no more, than in the moſt natural Acts of their Life; and that it's by Convictive Evidence, that ſuch as are under the power of Reaſon, muſt have their Perſwaſion and Light determined; nor is it ſuppoſable to find any Humane Society, whether of Sacred or Civil Conſtitution, that will not be under ſome diverſity of Light and Judgment; but yet this can give no riſe or pretence to obſtruct a Concurrence and Union for the Publick Safety, or to ſtand together in ſuch a Breach, when it is in ſome more than ordinary way call'd for. But it is well, that it is leſs needful to inſiſt on a Subject of this nature, when the Wiſdom and Prudence of theſe who are in Authority, and moſt nearly intereſted in the preſent Security of the Nation, can ſo fitly judge, what may be moſt conducible to Unite the Proteſtant Intereſt in the Nation, and Improve the ſame in this Day, for the prevention of Publick Hazard: Yea, who knows how to diſcern the Different Quality and Circumſtances of one Time from another, and what Reaſon this ſhould have for an Exception from any ordinary Rule, ſince this ever holds, *Quod ſalus Populi, eſt Suprema Lex*; and as the Riſe and Conſtitution of all Laws, is founded in the Intrinſick Juſtice thereof; ſo in their Subſerviency to the Publick Intereſt of the whole Body, and with reſpect to what a Time may call for, in ſome Extraordinary Caſe; yea, when the proper Intereſt of one part, how great ſoever by a Legal Support, may not then be anſwerable; for a Publick Neceſſary Defence, in a diſjunction from ſuch as are unqueſtionably Unite in the great Ends of Religion and Government, and hath their own Intereſt and

Standing, ſo cloſely imbarqued therewith, as to be Vouchers for their Fidelity, in their being capacitated for the ſame; and who by a Natural Right ſtands related to the Politick Body, as Citizens and Members thereof, and may have a conſiderable Influence to promote a common Intereſt, though in ſome things more remote from the ſame, there be a difference in Light and Judgment.

7. But I muſt yet adventure on ſuch a Subject, to touch one particular more, that may poſſibly ſeem incongruous with what does precede; and when things of another nature takes now up the Spirits of moſt as to the Publick Security of the Nation; that is too clear, when ſeriouſly pondered, will be found to have a moſt near and indiſſoluble connection therewith; that ſince it's ſure the true and permanent Intereſt of *Britain*, does ſtand by the Truth and Stability of Religion, and as it's now fixt in the pureſt Profeſſion there, by an Unchangeable Rule; it muſt be then equal to judge, that the moſt Eminent Hazard and Weakning of the Publick State, does lie in the moſt deſtructive and prevalent Oppoſition to ſuch an Intereſt, when it is as the Scales in the Ballance, where the Riſe of the one, is the Depreſſion of the other. It is on this Head that from a ſad and irreſiſtable Reflection; I cannot but ſee and refer it to the Reaſon and Judgment of all, what ſhall be the Iſſue of the Proteſtant Profeſſion this Day, and how diſmal and dark a night is like to fall down on theſe Nations, and on the Politick Intereſt thereof, if this Modern and Improved Atheiſm of theſe late Times, ſhall get further Strength, and make a New Conqueſt proportionably to what hath been in ſome Years

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paſt, and where it is like to ſtand when its Approaches are ſo ſtrange, as with pretences to Reaſon, to ſtrike at the whole Intereſt and Foundations of Revealed Religion; for without ſome more than Ordinary Deſign and Care for prevention of the ſame, it is not like to reſolve ſo much, in a Regreſs to Popery (though it gains thus a ſpecial Strength by the Inconſiſtencies of ſuch a way, either with Reaſon, or with it ſelf) but in a Viſible Apoſtacy from the Chriſtian Faith, that this Day may be moſt feared. It is unqueſtionable that this World and Humane Race and Society therein, could not Morally ſubſiſt as to any Order, Juſtice and Security amongſt Men, without the Faith and Impreſſions of a Deity to bear out the ſame; nor could the Earth be poſſibly Habitable or Safe to Live therein, if the Senſe of Religion, and Fear of an Inviſible God, were not Implanted in him and Nature: But it's ſure this muſt needs be more ſpecially applicable to a Kingdom and People, which hath entred with greater Light and Engagements on ſo high and diſcriminating a Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, beyond moſt of the Earth; and that the Spreading Encreaſe of ſuch a Contagion, and the Standing of a Nation in its Politick Intereſt and Concerns, will be found ſo incompatible, as that a Publick Ruine is then at hand. It was a juſt Saying of one of the Antients, on ſuch an account, *Si tibi non vis parcere, attamen parce Patriæ tuæ*; and it was from ſo ſad a proſpect of this, that of late Mr. *Robert Boyle* (who was ſo great an Ornament, both to his Countrey, and Profeſſion, as a Chriſtian) did make it his laſt Deſign, to have ſome further Improvement made againſt ſo Mortal and

Growing a Contagion, by Settling a Fund for keeping up a Publick Lecture, which he committed to Select Truſtees for making it Effectual, that might only be directed to ſuch an End: Yea what a hopeful Preſage ſhould it be this Day, if a Project of ſuch a nature as this, might prove more exemplary, and to find Mens Spirits ſet more on ſuch high and truly generous Deſigns, for the preſent and future Generation? We know in what manner the Zeal of the Romiſh Church, did carry them for that End, *de propaganda Fide*, ſo as to have a proper Settlement and Society Erected and ſet apart wholly in this reſpect, which ſhould have been a moſt rare Undertaking, if it had not viſibly Counter-acted ſuch a Profeſſion; yet is ſuch an Example, as may be a Publick Witneſs, againſt the Indifference of the Reformed Churches, every where, too viſible in this Caſe; and why there is not ſomething in a more than ordinary way deſign'd, for the Defence of the Goſpel, when it was never more put on a Defenſive part, than now; and that all prevailing Evidence of the Truth and Divinity thereof, on Mens Spirits, is ſo much loſt. If there were a conſiderable part of the Nation that profeſt Heatheniſm, it might be judg'd this would take with Men of Inferiour Controverſies and Contendings, in behalf of the Chriſtian Intereſt, and that their Strength would go forth this way; but is the Hazard leſs now, when the whole Revelation of Sacred Truth is in the Day-light attaqued, by ſo numerous a Party; and when on the other hand it is ſo viſible, how moſt who bear the Chriſtian Name are deſtitute of any Defence of their Profeſſion, from Internal Motives, or Perſwaſion hereof, from its own Evidence? I do not queſtion but

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that under ſuch a Magiſtracy and Government, as is this Day ſettled in *Brittain*, but under a Proſpect of ſuch Hazard, they clearly ſee and diſcern that the Standing Intereſt and Security of the Nation, and the Safety of Religion, are of the ſame Extent, and muſt aſſuredly ſtand or fall togerher. But ſince it's the Youth, and Growing Race, wherein the Hope of a Nation does moſt ſpecially lie, who ſeems to be now under the Sadeſt Influence of ſuch a Contagion, and to be moſt ſuſceptible thereof; yea theſe whoſe Quality may have a more Leading Influence than many others, and by whom the Publick Intereſt doth ſo much ſtand; it may be thus evident, that the moſt Adequate Mean for Prevention, and to anſwer ſuch an End, does moſt peculiarly lie in the Publick Seminaries and Univerſities, where the Reformed Religion is profeſt. It is true, that there is no Deficiency there, as to the furtheſt Improvement of the Noetick part of Divinity, and inſiſting on Modern Controverſies, but rather to the Exceſs herein: But I muſt profeſs it as matter of Aſtoniſhment, that in ſuch an Age the Dianoetick part hereof is not more intenſly followed and improved; ſo that the Youth which are coming forward, both for Sacred, and Civil Imployments, might be thus engaged to ſee with their own Eyes the Truth and Firmneſs of theſe Principles whereon their Profeſſion is ſettled, and with ſuch clearneſs of Demonſtrative Evidence, as the great Author of our Religion hath ſo abundantly given for this Intent: It will be queſtioned by none, that the Natural Order of things does ever require the Foundation to be ſurely laid, before any Superſtructure be rais'd:: But as there is no want this Day to theſe who are moſt Eminently fitted

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to anſwer ſuch a Deſign, nor any Defect of Conviction of the Neceſſity hereof, why this is not more followed as a Work by it ſelf, and as a Province that's capable of the greateſt Improvements; I muſt humbly judge, that this hath a ſpecial and too evident a Riſe from this one Cauſe, that there is not a proper and diſtinct Settlement entirely on ſuch a Deſign, as well as there is for any other Profeſſion, ſo as this might be peculiarly followed: And it might be thus judg'd, what a face and ſtamp it might put, by a Divine Concurrence therewith, on the Spirits of Men, and of theſe who are now the Hope of the Succeeding Race, when in ſo Inquiſitive an Age there ſhould be ſome higher Excitement this way; and when ſo many of late have been in an unuſual manner carried out on that Choice Study, to know the true Phœnomina of Nature, and the proper Cauſes and Original of things, that there might herewith be ſome anſwerable deſire and propenſion on a much higher account; to know theſe ſtrong and firm Conveyances of the Chriſtian Faith, with the certainty of its own Evidence; and how no Natural Science can pretend to more clear and unanſwerable Demonſtrations, than the Truth of Supernatural Religion, in a rational and demonſtrative way, to any conſidering Spirit. But ſince it is now on that ground, for which I eſpecially touch this, upon ſuch a Publick Intereſt, as the Standing and Safety of the Nation, hath ſo immediately therein, when Publick Hazard is otherways imminent; I hope, to theſe who are in a higher Capacity, both to judge, and be aſſiſtant, in ſuch a caſe, that a Concern of this nature will be no Indifferent thing; and to ſee how great a National Intereſt this ſhould make, that may be ſo effectual to promote

promote the Moral part of Religion and Relative Duties thereof, in a more Universal Diffusion of the same, and to take off that Brutish Credulity, which this Day is the Shame and Reproach of the Christian Profession; and which by a Native Result also should make way for higher Improvements, for the Establishment of Mens Spirits in the way of Truth; but which most specially also should have such a Providence to prepare and ripen a Ministry to the Church, as to make it be in a more peculiar way fitted to deal with Atheists and Infidels, and the great Pretenders to Reason than hath been yet attained, by such Means as bear a most evident Congruity to Mens Natural Light and Reason, and to serve a Constraint thereon, so as to see that serious Religion must assuredly either be their Choice or their Torment: And how great a Service should this be to a National Interest and Flourishing, if this were more attain'd? Yea in a Time, when so numerous a part cannot be dealt with in another way, and take such Advantage for their prejudice and stumbling, when there is any want of a suitable Application of such Means.

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